

Innovations in Gender Representation in Children's Television

The PRIX JEUNESSE 2016 Gender Prize Competition

Dafna Lemish

This study explored innovations in gender representations in children's television that depart from the mainstream of conservative formulas and stereotypes of gender. The four finalists of the PRIX JEUNESSE 2016 *Gender Prize* programs are critically analyzed for their innovative presentation of gender as well as reflected upon during discussion groups of television professionals. *Tasmina: The Horse Girl* from Bangladesh challenges traditional gender roles; *How Ky Turned into Niels* from The Netherlands shares the life of a transgender pre-adolescent boy; *Annedroids: Paling Around* from Canada role models a technological girl and presents a non-gendered character; and *Truth Lies – Feminine* from Argentina reflects on gender fluidity. While each of the programs takes a different approach to gender equality, taken together, the four finalists are groundbreaking and important milestones in efforts to advance children's television as among the leading socializers for gender equity.

What is the potential of television to offer children different perspectives on gender representations and to problematize existing ones? Can television provide children with aspirational role models that break gender roles and stereotypes? And if so, where can we find such television programs for our children? The PRIX JEUNESSE *International Festival* is one of the best occasions for viewing innovations in gender representations in children's television. Since its initiation in 1964 by its founders¹, this bi-annual festival brings together hundreds of industry producers and creative artists from around the world who showcase the best of quality television for children, compete for prizes, share experiences and ideas, and expand their knowledge and understanding of how television can better serve the wellbeing of children worldwide (Lemish, 2010, pp. 22-23).

Throughout its history the PRIX JEUNESSE has screened programs that challenge traditional gender stereotypes as well as sexual identities, such as the following creative and thought-provoking examples discussed by Lemish (2010): *Boxing Beauty* (Israeli Broadcasting Authority), a documentary feature about a talented and ambitious

Lemish, Dafna (2017) Innovations in Gender Representation in Children's Television. The Prix Jeunesse 2016 Gender Prize Competition p. 21-32 in Dafna Lemish & Maya Götz (eds.) *Beyond the Stereotypes? Images of Boys and Girls, and their Consequences*. Göteborg: Nordicom.

girl-boxer; *Fatma* (Nile Thematic Channels, Egypt), the story of a village girl who insists on going to school despite all manner of difficulty; *Hurray! Cool Daddy* (Educational Broadcasting System, Korea) portrayal of fun and games for young children and their fathers; *Peppa Pig* (Astley Baker Davis and El Entertainment, UK) story of a young pig, her family and friends; *Danny's Parade* (NPS, The Netherlands) documentary about a gay boy's activism in organizing a gay and lesbian youth float in Amsterdam's annual Gay Canal Parade; *Sexteens* (Fundacion Huesped, Argentina) exposé about HIV and teen sexuality; *Girls* (NPB/IKON, The Netherlands) exploration of teenage boys' preoccupation with girls and sex; and *Burka Avenger* (Unicorn Black, Pakistan) featuring a female superpower who fights to protect girls' rights for education.

Consistent with its evolving interest in advancing gender equity, the PRIX JEUNESSE initiated its *Gender Prize* in 2014 in order to highlight programs that push the proverbial envelope in their treatments of gender-related issues. Entries for this prize are screened by an international jury comprised of industry professionals and academics with expertise in gender equity. This chapter examines the four finalists chosen by the festival jury to be candidates for the 2016 prize. The following broad analysis of these programs focuses on the narrative, characters, and gender concepts embedded in them, rather than the production qualities of storyline execution. The foundations for this analysis lie in my 2010 research study in which I interviewed 135 producers of quality television for children from 65 countries (Lemish, 2010). The analysis was also informed by the following sources²:

- a) Background information on the programs provided by their creators, as published in the festival catalogue;
- b) Thematic analysis of the discussions conducted by jury members through email exchanges after they completed the voting process;
- c) Thematic analysis of transcripts from ten discussion groups composed of participants who met during the six days of the festival;
- d) Thematic analysis of transcripts of comments made by one youth group regarding one of the finalists for the gender prize.

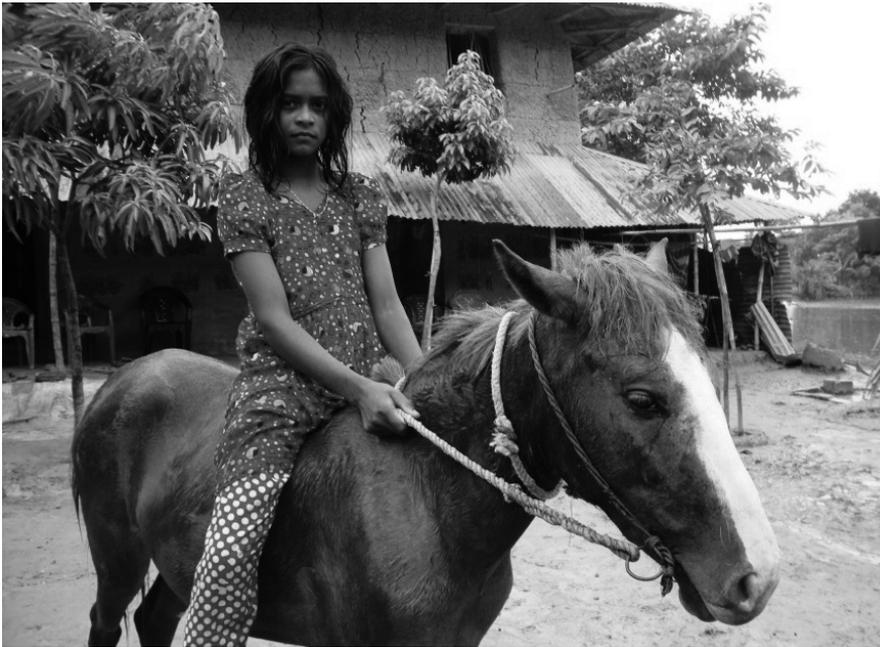
The four 2016 finalists

Challenging traditional society

Tasmina: The Horse Girl (Asshwarohi Tasmina), Bangladesh,

Target age: 11-15³

Tasmina, an 11-year-old girl from a remote village in Northern Bangladesh, is known as 'Horse Girl' in her neighborhood. At a time when sixty percent of the girls in her culture are married off before their 15th birthday, Tasmina aspires



Tasmina – The Horse Girl © AV Cue

to ride horses and to compete in horse racing at least for another five years. In this rural society, outdoor games are not allowed for the 'grown up' women and horseracing is unthinkable. [...] Her father bought a small horse for her. But this tiny little horse can't cope with the big racing horses and she can't race fairly with her elder male competitors. Now she dreams of buying a big horse of her own. But who will give her the huge amount of money she needs?

An 11-year-old girl who rides horses and joins horse races is unthinkable for a 'grown-up' girl in rural Bangladesh. When she goes to school without covering her head and demands her name be announced as a competitor instead of the owner's name, she ignores the norms of the male dominated society. She is confident to achieve her goals and becomes a source of inspiration for many young girls. (PRIX JEUNESSE Catalogue, 2016, p. 26)

By all measures, Tasmina is a brave teenager with a strong personality who is acting contrary to traditional societal expectations and pushing gender boundaries. Viewers seemed to find it easy to identify with and admire, as we see demonstrated in the following quotes from PRIX JEUNESSE discussion groups: "Tasmina the horse girl is a great character [of a] strong willed person. She's fighting against cultural oppression" (UK, male); "A theme we're seeing is female empowerment. [...] I really liked seeing her race against the men and pointing out the gender differences. She doesn't love her limitations but is willing to push past them" (Canada, female). "[...] it is a story of

affirmation. She is fighting [...] [and has] a strong identity. A very good girl for other children to see" (Spain, female).

More specifically, Tasmina is acknowledged to be an empowering role model, particularly when there is family support: "To show how girls, even in a very male-dominant environment, can make their own way (especially when her father supports her)... [It is] wonderful [that] can show them how to 'make their own space'" (Germany, female).

It is interesting that members of the Youth Jury, who reside in a rural mid-west area of the United States and screened the programs and shared their views with a PJ coordinator in their hometown, noted that Tasmina's ambition to participate in a masculine activity came with a "price": While appreciating Tasmina's independence, they were quite critical of what they perceived to be her aggressive treatment of the horse. "She was about to kill that horse! When she was riding that horse, she's like, 'if I had a knife I would have killed that horse!' She was in a really bad mood"; "[..] she had that whip thing and she was like, beating the crap out of it. And I was like, okay, everybody else was just hitting theirs every so often and she kept beating it"; "she comes off harsh"; "she's really aggressive." She's nice but she looks like she could seriously hurt you"; "her voice was so annoying to me. She sounded like she was angry all the time"; "she had an attitude." As commonly found in previous research, behavior that is perceived to be appropriate for males is framed as "aggressive" when taken on by females in the same roles, thus potentially continuing to perpetuate the differential expectations from both genders (Lemish & Tidhar, 1999).

Transgender

How Ky Turned into Niels (Hoe Ky Niels werd), The Netherlands

Target Age: 9-14⁴

Messing with fireworks, ring and run and a lot of football practice. This makes Ky really happy, but she has also been unhappy for years because she has a girl's body. Last summer Ky finally managed to tell her parents she wants to become a boy. And she would like to have a different name: Niels. Together with her friend Sterre, who used to be called Tibor and therefore has a boy's body, they tell their new secondary school class that they are transgender children. It is the beginning of a new life as Niels. *How Ky turned into Niels* is about the search to find out who you are and the right to be yourself, about boys and girls stuff, hormones and more of those confusing things. (PRIX JEUNESSE Catalogue, 2016, p. 15).

How Ky turned into Niels deals openly and authentically with a topic – gender dysphoria – that is a public taboo in television programming for children in the vast majority of the world (with few exceptions in northern European countries). The show creates emotional power by allowing the child to speak in front of peers with another dysphoric child. In doing so, the program recognizes, legitimizes and normalizes transgender lives.



How Ky Turned into Niels © IKONdocs

Niels explains in the class presentation that “gender dysphoria means that you don’t feel comfortable in your body. Some people call it ‘being born in the wrong body.’” They use rigid gender stereotypes to explain how it feels to “imagine you’re a girl, and your parents make you wear boys’ clothes... cut your hair nice and short... and sign you up for football when you’d rather go shopping. [...] Your parents give you a Nerf gun when you were hoping for those sick heels (giggling of empathy in the classroom).” In speaking this way, Niels is presented doing stereotypical boy things – playing football, muscle building, wearing boys’ cloths and short hair, moving about in a masculine fashion, and enjoying loud music, adventures, and pranks played on neighbors and girls.

Participants in the PRIX JEUNESSE discussion groups were attracted to the emotional quality of the program and the ability of Niels to talk about his feelings: “The big point for me was that the boy was crying and emotional [...]” (Libya, female). While a few participants were critical of the fact that Niels was put on the spot in class to answer difficult questions, others appreciated the authenticity of the presentation: “The thing I paid attention to most was who was explaining what was happening. It wasn’t an expert. It was the boy by himself. It works well. The moment that he explains himself without the scientific words shows who the boy is” (Ecuador, female). Clearly the program chose to highlight the social context as understanding and supportive, as one participant said: “The thing that struck me was that everyone was so cool and accepting about it. I was amazed that no one was saying that it was weird. The parents were SO supportive. Most parents would be a little more wary about the situation. Maybe that is real but it struck me that all of the people around him were so supportive” (Denmark, female).

Overall, the documentary offered Niels, and vicariously for viewers, an empowering experience via the program. As the director of the program Els van Driel stated: “[...] for Niels, it was very important to tell his story. He never regretted being the subject of this film. Actually, he is very proud and has received nothing but positive responses”

(2016, p. 32). Yet, as we discuss below, the program reconfirmed the binary gendered structure of society: you are either a boy or a girl; and in cases of gender dysphoria, you strive to correct the incongruity between your body and your identity by aligning them: A clear girl identity in a girl's anatomy and a clear boy identity in a boy's anatomy.

Technology and gender

Annedroids: Paling Around, Canada

Target Age: 6-11⁵

Annedroids takes what kids have come to expect from gender roles on TV, yanks out the circuitry, and reworks it entirely. The series features titular character Anne, an unapologetic science whiz with a particular knack for robotics and computer programming. Working opposite her are newly arrived Nick, an earnest and kind hearted kid and bombastic Shania who's also no slouch in the engineering bay herself. Furthering the theme of blurred gender rigidity is Pal, whom Anne designed to be neither male nor female and who incorporates characteristics of all three kids through mimicry. But this fresh take on gender roles is only one of many motivations behind *Annedroids*. Beyond its inherent agenda of pushing STEM based educational content, it also aims to show the fun side of being smart, particularly in the sciences.” (PRIX JEUNESSE Catalogue, 2016, p. 70)



Annedroids © Sinking Ship Entertainment

Annedroids' dual agenda is clearly visible: to promote enthusiasm over engagement with STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics), and also to promote gender equity by dismantling the traditional exclusive association of masculinity with science and rationality. It presents characters that offer different ways of being a girl and a boy, and a possibility of unity of purpose, collaboration, and friendship of gender and racial diversity that is based neither on difference nor on romance and sexual attraction. Comments from the PRIX JEUNESSE discussion groups reaffirmed that these messages were clear and well received: "Yeah, I really liked it. There was only one token boy and all the others were girls doing science. And the junk yard was great [...]" (UK, female). "And, I think one of the reasons it appeals is because there are characters for all different kinds of children to connect to, which is a difficult thing to do" (US, male).

In addition, we should note that many of the comments focused on the price to be paid for role reversal, when girls are placed in traditionally masculine roles, framing it as hyperactive acting. Such comments were a-plenty: "[...] the two girls were hyperactive" (Canada, female). "super overacting [...] it was too much. Too fast, noisy, loud" (Colombia, female). "The art is great, it is very well made, but there was too much overacting. I wanted to help the little kids to do better so it didn't work with me" (Ecuador, female). "So much overacting. I am sort of getting tired of it" (Sweden, female). "For me it was very bothering, the acting, like posing" (Spain, female).

An exchange in one of the discussion groups spelled it out quite clearly: "I would totally disagree that it turns gender roles upside down. It tries to make up for stereotypes by putting all stereotypes in another extreme" (Germany, female).

Moderator: "Is she likable for you?"

"No, because I couldn't relate to her at all. She was over the top in everything that she was doing. Maybe the talking is not something I could get used to. Very sitcom [like] talking" (Germany, female).

"But the tone is not correct. It is just not there" (Colombia, male).

Such comments resonate with the argument that qualities that are perceived as positive in male characters (e.g., activity, leadership, self-confidence) are perceived negatively in females (e.g., activity becomes hyper-active; leadership and self-confidence are perceived as aggressiveness).

A unique feature of *Annedroids* is the character of Pal, a genderless android character, as explained by the program's director: "My goal with Pal was to introduce a clean-slate-character – one who would be able to reflect on life through a completely innocent filter. [...] Pal being a genderless character throughout the four seasons provides a great and natural way to explore gender and related stereotypes. [...] Pal ultimately decides to be Pal – choosing not to present as either male or female. Pal just wants to be itself – unique and beautiful" (Johnson, 2016, p. 51). In the particular episode submitted for the competition, the role of Pal was not particularly salient to the jurors as well as the discussion groups and very

few comments actually related to this innovative idea. “I like that it wasn’t a boy or a girl (Colombia, female). “It is really gender neutral” (The Netherlands, Female).

Pal, in the episode screened at PJ, is involved in the issue of gendered clothing. At first, his choices are quite masculine: he first puts on a red cowboy hat and later on he wears a grey sweatshirt with a hood.⁶ In the mall, s/he chooses male pants and a female dress, and ends up wearing the dress. However, the way the dress hangs on him/her, s/he is exposed as an android, rather than a human, thus the social challenge presented by its asexual and non-gendered nature is somewhat limited when judged by this episode alone.

Gender fluidity

Truth Lies – Feminine (Mentira la verdad- Lo femenino), Argentina

Target Age: 14-20⁷

“What supports our ideas? Is there only one way of thinking about reality or the state of things? With philosophical discourse as an ally, the show reflects on history, beauty, love, happiness, identity, what supports our value judgments, and the reasons that have made some facts more visible than others.

The gender perspective is a particular approach which identifies women’s unequal and subordinate position in relation to men’s questioning what, beyond all changes and transformations, is still described as ‘natural’. Our material intends to raise an issue as regards what is given as ‘natural’, understanding that there is not a watertight and predetermined division, but that the feminine and the masculine are shaped in the changing social dynamics.” (PRIX JEUNESSE Catalogue, 2016, p. 22)

Truth Lies is a mixed genre program that employs a dramatic confrontation between a transgender daughter in transition to be a man and her/his father. The “father” character, a well-known host of the show who is always involved in the story in everyday situations, is confronted in this episode with an unexpected situation: His attractive and beloved daughter wants to become a man. The narrative consists of short theoretical interventions about gender and feminist theory. For example, the father explains the constructed nature of gender as distinguished from biology, and traces some of the main issues at the heart of feminist thought regarding the nature of phallogocentric cultures, the history of the subordination of women, and the struggle for equality. In doing so, the program asks: “Are there just two possibilities?” “When we talk about sexual identity can we set aside binary thinking?” “[It seems that] any contradiction, ambiguity or mixture is discarded [...] either you are a male or you are a female;” “There is no third option, and, if there is, it is monstrous and therefore, it may be cured, fixed, condemned, exorcized.”

In its response, the program proposes multiple gendered options, with the father stating to the camera: “The opposite of male is not female – but ‘not male’ and the category of not male widely exceeds what we understand by female and it poses a whole series of possible combinations, hybridizations, mixtures. Breaking away of the



Truth Lies – Feminine © Encuentro

binary logic means going beyond trans-sexuality towards the world of transgender. [...] Everything is possible because all natural determinants are broken. And, as Beatriz Preciado⁸ states, counter-sexuality is not the creation of a new nature but rather the end of nature as an order. [...] Nowadays there are multiple categories indicating a slow transformation of the species: transvestites, transsexuals, but also intersex, cyborgs, natural, undetermined gender.”

Interestingly, discussion of this program was very limited, indeed it was hardly touched upon in any of the discussion groups. Left to speculate, we might surmise that participants may have been uncomfortable even talking about the program; or that the experiment, as both genre as well as content, was perceived by some as being too complicated to follow and age inappropriate. The few participants who did comment cited a disconnect between the gender fluidity idea at the core of the program and the actual production, resulting in theoretical ‘overload’. One participant recognized the innovative nature of the program: “It is experimental [...] this is new with the philosophical exposition, the language of philosophy, the language of psychology [...] this is pushing the edge of what we want to understand about gender dualism in western thought” (US, female).

Among the jurors of the program, all gender-experts, there was much appreciation for the ambitious concept of the program: “*Truth Lies* [...] goes so much deeper – because it challenges the gender dichotomy all together and raises very meaningful questions about the way we understand gender – so theoretically it is much more daring and thought provoking (US, female). “It shows how gender and identity is socially constructed and open our minds beyond the binary” (Brazil, female juror). “It broadens our understand-

ing of sexual representation beyond quite traditional frameworks” (UK, female juror). Others on the jury agreed with the discussion group that the execution of the concept was not effective for teens and probably more appropriate for university age students.

Discussion

As can be ascertained from the analysis above, the four programs were presented here in what I consider to be their degree of innovativeness. While the documentaries *Tasmina: The Horse Girl* and *How Ky Turned into Niels* feature two very brave young people, the perspective employed in presenting them is, fundamentally, an affirmation of a binary gender order: In the first film, an independent girl goes against her traditional society’s norms and expectations to seek her personal dreams and aspirations. The illustrations selected present Tasmina’s struggle via role reversal: She wants to do what boys are allowed to do – ride horses and compete for awards; earn money via talent and skills; have the freedom to postpone marriage. She is presented as assertive, rebellious, and even somewhat aggressive – as boys are expected to be.

The role reversal approach demonstrated in *Tasmina* promotes the possibility that roles traditionally associated with one gender will be portrayed by the other one: For example, boys aspire to be ballet dancers, pre-school teachers, or home-makers, while girls want to be boxers, engineers, or combat officers. While boys are portrayed reflecting on their inner world and exhibit emotions, girls express themselves assertively and with self-confidence. This approach suggests that professions, roles, duties, and talents are not gender specific and can be assigned to either boys or girls. It also offers opportunities for different narratives when girls are not limited to relationships ground in talk and romance, and storylines about boys are free from the expectation that their relationships are only created in action and physical interactions.

Ky, in the second film, is also presented as reaffirming binary gender types – a female and a male. Ky feels like a boy trapped in a girl’s body and wants to become a holistic boy. He wants to look, dress, play, and be acknowledged as a boy. He rejects his female body and with it the possibility of a male identity in a female body. He wants to align them so his male identity will live in a male body. Thus, his gender dysphoria experience suggests a clear distinction between two forms of identity.

It seems that in both programs, the gendered constructed dimension of identity can only live in peace with itself if matched by the only option of the “right” physical body that goes along with it. So despite brave attempts at breaking taboos and presenting a transgender young person, both programs retain the conventional understanding of gender as binary: You are either one gender (or you want to be one gender) or the other.

Annedroids, on the other hand, steps beyond the binary. On one hand, Anne represents a successful form of role reversal – a girl who is a science whiz who is not a marginalized “geek”. She is happy, social, and liked by her friends. She embraces both

girlhood as well as science and technology, demonstrating that the two can go together seamlessly and be naturally accepted by society-at-large. Thus Anne is a prototype of a person who rejects the rigidity of a position that sees qualities inherit in the meaning of boyhood and girlhood. The creation of PAL, a non-gendered android, on the other hand, introduces a unique, thought-provoking idea to children: a focus on a shared humanity that is not stereotypically gendered. Anne creates PAL as neither male nor female, letting this being deliberate which of the two to choose across many episodes of the series, and at the end, to decide not to force itself into either. This concept resonates with *The Story of X* (Gould, 1982) that introduced to children a character called Baby X, whose parents participate in an imaginary social experiment of raising a child without publicizing his/her sex. Baby X grows up dressed in unisex clothes, plays with toys and games traditionally associated with both genders, and is treated in a non-gendered way. PAL, like Baby X, calls our attention to the distinction between sex and gender. Here the sexual organs with which one is born do not necessarily determine one's identity; rather gender is the social construction of expectations, norms, and behaviors that we assign to these sexual organs that socialize human beings into one gender or another. Or, to use Simone de Beauvoir's highly cited definition: "One is not born a woman, but becomes one" and adapt it to men as well (de Beauvoir, 1949). The two main characters of *Annedroids* – Anne and PAL – offer gender alternatives: Anne is an example of gender blurring, where gender differences are so blurred that characters can be described as androgynous in many ways, and PAL as a character is non-gendered.

Truth Lies – Feminine, confronts young viewers with the theoretical argument that gender is not only constructed but can be fluid. This is a much more complicated and provocative. Rather than blurring the two genders, like Anne, or erasing all forms of gender, as PAL does, it playfully suggests endless multiple versions of gender, once we reject nature as the determinant of identity. It allows us to imagine a very different way of looking at humanity. In so doing, the program draws on Judith Butler's theory (1990) that seeks to undermine gender binaries based on sexual differences between males and females and challenge the clear and well distinguished heterosexual and homosexual identities. Butler also views gender as a form of performance, rather than a concrete reality, involving acting out according to specific cultural expectations and norms. In the closing words of the program: "Some people understand this tension in an upsetting way. Others understand it as the opening to make the human being a freer place."

Finally, it is very important to also examine these four programs in their cultural contexts, in general, as well as to understand and appreciate the producers' innovative presentations. *Tasmina's* role reversal approach is highly daring in Bangladesh, where girls her age are deprived of education and a voice. Ky's voice would probably be met with strict taboo in the rest of the world except on children's television in the Netherlands and the Nordic countries (Lemish, 2010). *Annedroids* responds to efforts in the Western world to encourage women to engage in STEM professions. *Truth Lies*

– *Feminine* was produced in a country with a machismo culture, where domestic and sexual violence are prevalent, and positive male role models that advocate for gender equality are highly sought after. As such, all four programs are groundbreaking and important milestones in efforts to advance children’s television as among the leading socializers for gender equity.

Notes

1. Free State of Bavaria, the City of Munich and Bayerischer Rundfunk (BR). Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF), as well as the Bayerische Landeszentrale für neue Medien (BLM)
2. Special thanks to the PJ staff for providing me with these resources.
3. Director: *Faridur Rahman*; Producer: Begum Mahbuba Khatun. Original Language: Bengali; Duration: 18 min; First Telecast: 11/1/2016, 17:20. Telecaster: ATN News Lts, Dhaka, Bangladesh. Producing Organization: AV Cue Dhaka, Bangladesh.
4. Director: Els van Driel; Producer: Anouk Donker. Original Language: Netherlands; Duration: 20 min; First Telecast: 26/10/2014, 11:30 Telecaster and Producing Organization, IKONdocs; Hilversum, Netherlands
5. Director: J.J. Johnson; Executive Producers: Blair Powers, J.J. Johnson, and Christin Simms, Producer: Matthew J.R. Bishop. Original Language: English; Duration: 22 min. First Telecast: 23/09/2015, 18:30; Season 3, Episode No. 3 out of 13. Telecaster: TVO, KIKA, Toronto Canada. Producing Organization: Sinking Ship Entertainment, Toronto Canada.
6. In North American culture this is highly associated with young black males and has become a symbol of “Black Lives Matter” movement, given the victimization of young black males in “hoodies”.
7. Director: Pablo Destito; Producer Mulata films para Encuentro; Original Language: Spanish. Duration: 29 min; First Telecast: 22/10/2014, 23:0; Episode No. 7 out of 13. Telecaster and Producing Organization: Encuentro, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
8. Beatriz Preciado a contemporary philosopher and writer focusing on gender, body, sexuality, and identity. Born originally as Paul Preciado in Spain, she is currently a university profession in Paris.

References

- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. NY: Routledge.
- de Beauvoir, S. (1989[1949]). *The second sex* (p. 267). New York: Vintage Books.
- Gould, L. (1982). The Story of X. In L.C. Pogrebin (ed.), *Stories for free children* (pp. 13-16). NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company; A Ms. Book. See also, http://www3.delta.edu/cmurbano/bio199/AIDS_Sexuality/BabyX.pdf
- Johnson, J.J. (2016). *Annedroids*: The producer’s gender concept behind the series. *TelevIZion*, 29E, 50-51.
- Lemish, D. (2010). *Screening gender in children’s TV: The views of producers around the world*. New York and Abingdon: Routledge.
- Lemish, D. & Tidhar, C. (1999). Still marginal: Women in Israel’s 1996 television election campaign. *Sex Roles*, 41, 389-412.
- PRIX JEUNESSE Catalogue (2016). *Quality in children’s TV worldwide: What it means to be me – Identity and children’s TV*. Bayerischer Rundfunk: Munich.
- Van Driel, E. (2016). “When being transgender isn’t a taboo, these children can more easily express themselves” Transgender youth, children’s rights, The Netherlands, and *How Ky Turned into Niels*. *TelevIZion*, 29E, 31-32.