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Globalization of Cultural Production: Children's Animated Television, 1978 to 1995

by

David Hubka

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
October, 1998

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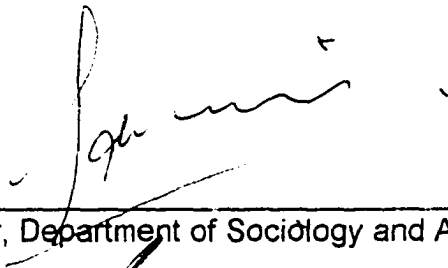
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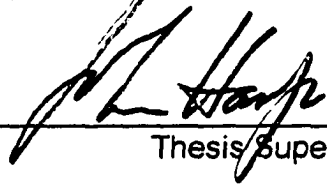
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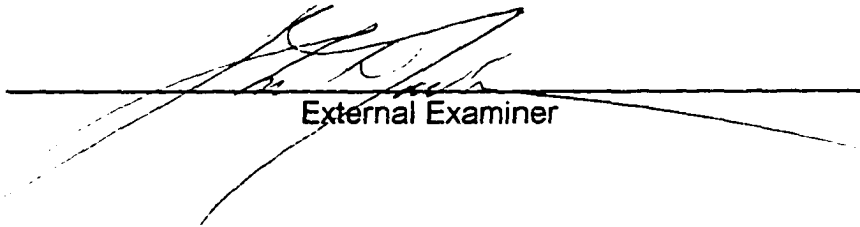
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy



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November 13, 1998

Abstract

The globalization of children's animated TV in the 1980s and early 1990s is assessed according to Robertson's conceptualization of globalization, which understands that local and global cultural practices operate through a series of practical instances of intersocietal and intercultural encounters, articulating processes of both homogenization (e.g. global compression) and heterogenization (e.g. a production of diversity). The analysis applies the circuit of culture model, which understands that the process of culture operates through an articulation of each sphere of cultural production (regulation, production, consumption and representation). An overview of developments in the globalization of children's animated TV is provided, with the exemplar of *Smurfs* providing a focus on specific processes. Firstly, related concepts are reviewed, including childhood consumption, consumer sovereignty, cultural imperialism and the *ethnie* (exoticized, ahistorical depictions of identity). Substantive focus then turns to regulation: advocacy groups, government quotas, labour groups, industry self-regulation, and commercial deregulation. The process of production is then discussed, focusing on the trend towards corporate mergers and acquisitions, the rise of international coproduction strategies, as well as developments around post-production alterations and versioning as a means of accommodating local cultural differences. It is argued that animation is distinct from other TV genres, given, for example, its greater adaptability within international forms of production (including international divisions of labour and cooperative ventures) and versioning. The analysis

then reviews the development of global consumer marketing strategies, and the diverse ways in which producers accommodated local cultural differences within the context of global distribution. The specialized representational features around the globalization of animation are then reviewed, focusing on the development of versioning: language and accent dubbing, alterations in storylines, dialogue, scene sequences and duration, as well as alternate hosts with local identifications. The case of Smurfs is examined, beginning with a discussion of scholarly and industry critiques, and proceeding to an analysis of the deployment of the ethnics, and a comparison of two alternate language versions of a single episode, with a focus on differences in dialogue, characters and linguistic accents. In conclusion, implications for future research are discussed, including the importance of ethnographic analysis of the impact of globalization.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to a number of people who made important contributions to this work: my supervisor, John Harp, for his intellectual example, reflections and patience; my committee, for their valuable and timely comments; Natalie Allen, for her assistance at the National Archives of Canada; Emer Killean, for her tireless efforts as copy editor; and Amber Hubka, for explaining Smurfs to me.

Thanks are also due to the Social Sciences Research Council of Canada, and the Ontario Ministry of Education and Training for Ph.D. Fellowship and Ontario Graduate Scholarship support.

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Chapter One: Introduction

The globalization of mass media has received much attention in recent years from scholars, policy-makers and public interest groups. Dramatic increases in the international distribution of TV programs over the past two decades¹ have led many to question this process of globalization, and concerns have been raised around issues of cultural sovereignty and the cultural influences of foreign TV programs. Many critics of TV culture have also noted that the 1980s and early 1990s were marked by significant changes in childrens' commercial TV. Programs developed substantially higher popularities on an international scale, and the practice of child product marketing tie-ins for toys, food, and accessories reached new heights of commercial success, driven by new levels of global market expansion. While these events have tended to draw increased criticism from academics, little attention has been given to the specific, practical instances that make up processes around the globalization of children's animated TV. Considerable focus has been given to the prevalence of the global distribution of same and similar programs. On the other hand, analyses have tended to avoid, for instance, the development of new practices of international program development, such as international coproductions, and the development of

¹ For instance, in 1985, *Variety* reported that Worldvision (the largest distributor of TV programs) had experienced increases in revenues from international sales that year, and had reached the point where international sales had been greater than domestic sales for the first time (Variety, 1985g). The international market continued to grow after this. For instance, Briller (1990) describes that the international television market was growing at a rate of 25-30% annually in 1990.

different versions of animated programs for distribution in different international consumer markets.

The present study addresses the globalization of animated TV programming in the 1980s and early 1990s, following primarily the approach to studying the processes of globalization developed by Robertson (1990; 1992; 1995).² This theoretical and methodological conceptualization calls for a mapping of the intersocietal and intercultural encounters around an array of interlocutors that operate throughout the process of cultural production. Rather than a homogeneous replacement of local with global cultural conditions, it is argued that the globalization of cultural production involves a heightened, reflexive awareness of local and global experiences. The present study also employs a 'circuit of culture' model of cultural production that involves a unified understanding of processes of cultural production, one that does not prioritize the determinacy or importance of one sphere (regulation, production, consumption, representation, identity) over another. It is argued that children's animated TV has formed a vanguard of international TV production and consumption through the 1980s and early 1990s. This has involved the development of institutional frameworks for an international division of labour, attention to worldwide regional cultural differences,

² The current study focuses mostly on TV cel animation, but includes prominent instances of puppetry, as opposed to other types of animation, such as (following industry categories - *TV World*, 1979f, p.44): the specialized scientific short for teaching; adult comedy and tragedy; and abstract or semi-abstract as a forms of graphic composition; as well as various non-program TV segments that use animation, such as advertising and public announcements.

and the development of new forms of representation directed at global audiences. The processes around the globalization of the TV animation genre are distinct from that of other genres such as live-action dramatic and news programming, especially since the production and representation of animation involves a flexibility that allows for a more intensive process of international versioning.

Overall, it is argued that the articulations of the various spheres of cultural production in the processes of globalization have worked in other ways to mediate the boundaries of global and local ³ cultures. For instance, while several factors, including changes in regulatory practices such as commercial deregulation, have contributed to a globalization of economic practices around broadcasting, as well as the creation of global TV audiences, it becomes important to understand how the different contingencies of local consumer cultures have required accommodations of global production and distribution practices. Though analysts and policy-makers have often assumed a displacement of local cultures (as suggested, for instance, by the homogenization thesis), an account of the practical instances of globalization around children's animated TV demonstrates that local differences have remained salient throughout these processes. It is evident that a series of contingent accommodations

³ It is acknowledged that standard distinctions between global and local, and that standard units such as a national consumer markets are seldom homogeneous. Therefore, the implied scope of reference to 'local' is necessarily indistinct. However, for the purposes of the present analysis, references to the local are taken generally to suggest consumer markets for TV programming that are most often, but not always, nationally-based.

have been required, and that the articulation of production and consumption in the process of globalization around animated TV has not involved a replacement of local with global cultural processes. Attempts to globally market the genre of TV animation have been more successful than have those focused on other genres of programs, since animation more readily allows for the mediation of global and local cultural practices. It is argued that the mass global appeal of animation can be partly explained by the genre's greater flexibility in accommodating, through international versioning for instance, the uneven and differentiated ways that people worldwide consume TV programs.

Globalization

It is commonly assumed by many analysts that the processes of cultural production and globalization involve a form of homogenization of culture - the expansion or imposition of a generic, universal culture on local, particular cultures. For instance, Leiss et al (1986) argue that the 100-year development of mass consumer culture has worked to assimilate or homogenize existing cultural traditions - a process that began in the 1920s and became widespread in the 1960s (p.11). The process of creating and maintaining personal and social identity was co-opted from indigenous cultural traditions by the marketplace. Therefore, they theorize that this type of consumption created new, specific and homogenized types of cultural products, as well as new, specific and homogenized sets of social relations around these types of products. In a

similar sense, many theorists of mass culture have argued that the globalization of consumer culture has involved homogenization through the international distribution of dominant cultural products. These types of assumptions, that local consumers are bounded by global processes, are not supported through the current study, which demonstrates that local and global cultural production are reflexively interrelated. In other words, while the globalization of culture involves to some extent the expansion of cultural sameness, this expansion is importantly mediated by local contingencies, and is characterized by the maintenance of local differences.

In this sense, following Robertson, it can be observed that current trends in media production and consumption, involve a range of different modes of practical globalization, in which a heightened sense or awareness of local particularities is developed through a heightened awareness of global universalisms. The current study relates to Robertson's dual purpose in studying globalization: to develop the sociological problematization of globalization, and the closely related, but separate project of mapping the (highly complex) practical conditions and processes of glocalization - i.e. the articulation of global and local cultural practices (described below). Rather than focus on the problem of cultural relativism, this mapping should, according to Robertson, direct sociologists to study the actual intersocietal and intercultural encounters around globalization. The study of these encounters should deal with the: "processes of cultural syncretization - more specifically... the ways in which problems of particularism and universalism have been addressed and dealt with

in situ over the centuries" (1992, p.41). For Robertson, the focus on relativism is itself an outcome of the "cultural heterogeneity of a compressed, global world", and represents, in effect, an echoing of globalization rather than a study of it (p.42). In order to advance the sociological understanding of the processes of glocalization, Robertson emphasizes the need for substantive analysis of the uneven, and culturally contingent processes of intercultural encounters that make up the larger process of globalization. In sum, Robertson argues that: "much more needs to be done to demonstrate the ways in which the selective responses of relevant collective actors, particularly societies, to globalization play a crucial part in the making of the world as a whole" (p.60). Following Robertson, the present study attempts to advance both the substantive awareness, as well as the theoretical problematization, of globalization, while working to map the differentiated, and locally contingent responses to globalization around the cultural production of children's animated TV.

Rather than a homogeneous process, globalization is uneven, and takes on different forms when applied to different instances of international relations. For example: "The global system is not simply an outcome of processes of basically intra-societal origin or even a development of the inter-state system. Its making has been and continues to be much more complex than that" (Robertson, 1995, p.60). To distinguish his conceptualization of globalization from those that assume a straightforward homogenization process, it is useful to develop a concept of 'glocalization', in which the production of diversity is incorporated into the process of globalization, and

involves a set of principles that allow locals to identify with local cultures (p.29). The primary theoretical concern, following Robertson that one should not equate the interconnectedness of cultures world-wide with the concept of homogenization. In contrast, the concept of glocalization does not characterize the process of globalization as an outcome of homogeneous interstate processes, but rather as a unique phenomenon that plays out in different ways in different locales. These various processes have involved an array of uneven mediations of local and global cultures.

Other researchers into the globalization of culture have also called for a developed, substantive focus on the practical instances of globalization. For instance, Featherstone (1990) argues for attention to the individual triumphs of international trade, ie. those instances wherein varieties of blends and forms of cultural integration and differentiation can be said to take place. Rather than assuming a process of homogenization, Featherstone observes a reflexive process: "We are slowly becoming aware that the West is both a particular in itself and also constitutes the universal point of reference in relation to which others recognize themselves as particularities" (p.12). Featherstone and Lash (1995) similarly argue, it is "important that we become attuned to the nuances of the process of globalization and seek to develop theories which are sensitive to the different players participating in the various global struggles" (p.3). The current study draws from these arguments, and suggests that the mapping of the specific processes of globalization that involve an articulation and syncretization of global and local cultural processes supports a better sociological

understanding of globalization.

The current study contributes to this project of mapping the different responses to globalization by focusing on the processes around the globalization of children's animated TV programs in the 1980s and early 1990s. While most critics of the globalization of children's TV have characterized it as a simplifying, homogenizing cultural process, the current study understands that such a perspective on children's TV, especially the perceived homogeneous development of international production, distribution and content of children's TV, has limited the effectiveness of interpretation, and has radically understated the complexity and differential nature of these processes. In contrast to identifying a process of homogenization, the current study attempts to demonstrate that international TV animation has involved new institutional and productive arrangements, innovations in program format and content, that provide for different international versions of programs. As opposed to other genres of TV, this has involved processes that are less susceptible to analysis that starts with assumptions of cultural homogenization.

This analysis relies centrally on information provided in international industry trade journals (especially *Variety*, but also others such as *TV World* and *Broadcast*). These journals relate developments in production and distribution practices as well as developments in consumer markets around the globalization of animated TV in the 1980s and early 1990s. These sources tend to have a 'pro-industry' bias, especially in

reporting on the efforts of regulators and industry pressure groups for example. However, information provided by trade journals is seldom entirely one-sided in support of producers and distributors. For instance, program reviews are often critical, and space is often given to those critical of industry positions, such as Peggy Charren, President of the US children's advocacy group Americans for Children's Television (ACT). Similarly, during labour struggles between animator unions and producers in the 1980s, the trade sources often presented positions highly critical of corporate figures and activities. Also, trade journals sometimes appeal to specialized audiences within the television industry. For instance, *Emmy* in the 1980s often emphasized issues around labour relations, and included information for animators and technicians.

As such, trade journals represent the views of various actors involved in the TV industry and related organizations, even if they do represent some voices better than others. Furthermore, trade journals are, in many instances, the only sources of information on industry trends, events and activities; they tend to be the most complete sources in that they provide detailed and focused records. On the other hand, there are some limitations. For instance, journals often include quotes from important industry figures that are briefer than would be provided through full interviews, and are likely 'filtered' by such sources as corporate publicity and public relations offices. As such, industry trade journals are not likely to provide detailed information on some corporate, behind-the-scenes activities, motives and perspectives.

The consideration of sources for the present analysis was sensitive to these biases and

differences within trade sources. While the initial review identified over 1000 potential sources (i.e. references to international activities around TV production and distribution), a process of selecting the approximately 200 references sources, and sorting them into analytic categories was carried out using the circuit of culture model (see below). For instance, a source was deemed useful for analysis if it provided a description of how a coproduction project met a regulatory requirement or took a specific approach to meeting diverse international consumer requirements. In many of the initial 1000 reference, information was limited to, for instance, merely the announcement of a project or change in regulation, or the assignment of specific management personalities to specific corporate posts. In most cases, the referenced sources involved the intersection of two or more spheres of cultural production.

The Circuit of Cultural Production

The current study follows the perspective that all forms of cultural production, especially those involving globalization, require an inclusive understanding of the interdependent spheres of cultural production: i.e. regulation, production, consumption, representation. This theoretical model follows the Birmingham school (eg. Hall, du Gay), and is part of a general attempt to overcome the limitations of previous analyses of cultural production that have tended to include an assumption of exclusive or overdeterminant influence of one or another specific sphere in the final outcome of cultural production. For instance, some scholars have argued that this power rests

almost exclusively with producers - eg. Ewen (1976) who emphasizes the power of advertising agencies in shaping cultural preferences. Kline (1989) also takes a strong position against commercial market practices, arguing that through marketing strategies targeting children's play activities, children's TV producers have been allowed to determine the boundaries of children's imaginative play (p.209). This overdeterminacy is to be avoided in analysis, following Robertson (1995), who disparages cultural studies itself as having "both reductionist ('textist') and expansive ('culture is everything') tendencies" (p.47). These overdeterminist and reductionist tendencies are closely related to the 'massification critique', which assumes that mass consumption involves a commonality or sameness in the ways in which people relate to consumer products, as opposed to an understanding that sees the mass appeal of products as operating through their capacity to relate differently to large numbers of people.

The current study attempts to avoid a reductionist approach by applying the circuit of culture model, which tends to deprioritize the importance of any one process, and emphasizes the balanced importance of the various spheres of cultural production. The circuit of culture model focuses analysis on the outcomes of the intersections or articulations of the spheres (du Gay et al 1997) and serves ultimately to better understand the dispersion and sources of power in determining the meaning of cultural products. The current approach therefore takes the position that the process of cultural production around children's animated TV is contingent on the articulation of all spheres of cultural production. In other words, the process of cultural production

around animated TV production involves an articulation of regulation, production, consumption and representation. While the present analysis divides the discussion of these processes into separate chapters, it should be noted that this is more a heuristic categorization, since the processes are ultimately seen as fundamentally interrelated. The current project therefore attempts an analysis that is balanced across the spheres of cultural production, and includes a consideration of each sphere (regulation, production, consumption and representation) guiding an analytical mapping of the various practical instances of glocalization around children's animated TV.

It is also important to understand that the medium of broadcast TV is characterized primarily by the feature of flow (eg. see Williams, 1974), creating a sense of immediacy for broadcasts that articulates TV content in a certain way with the experiences of viewers in local, everyday practices. As Moores (1997) argues, while day-to-day communications involve the co-presence of producer and receiver, electronic broadcasting involves consumption patterns that are spatially dispersed and in competition with other domestic practices. The globalization of cultural production around TV involves a process wherein the boundaries of audiencehood are inherently unstable, especially since cultural knowledges and competencies are unevenly distributed on a global level. The flow of standardized programming offers a way for broadcasters to maintain these boundaries of audiencehood; however, different techniques characterize flow in different locales and cultural contexts. Since consumption in this sense involves the maintenance of differentiated audiences, it

becomes important to study the ways in which global modes of production mediate the various local modes of consumption.

Moreover, it is important to contextualize children's consumer culture as a specific analytic category, especially within the context of the globalization of mass communication. Both state policy makers and academicians worldwide have emphasized that children's culture requires particular forms of protection. The current study focuses on the special regulatory efforts made by legislators and public advocacy groups, as well as the efforts at self-regulation made by industry actors. Analysis is also directed at the distinct strategies of production that were developed around children's animated TV in the 1980s, including the use of character licensing and toy product tie-ins. Importantly, the particular, local needs of children's culture required global producers and distributors to develop different contingent strategies in order to develop international consumer markets for children's animated TV. This required a special attention to the differences of culture and socialization practices around childhood in the different locales worldwide. The project therefore includes a comparative mapping of the strategies that were developed around these variations in international consumer markets.

The International Production of Animated TV

Significant changes occurred in the production of children's animated TV in the 1980s

and early 1990s. One such change was the rise in international production strategies, including the international division of labour, and the creation of international versions of programs for an increased number of markets worldwide. Evidence suggests that children's and animated programs are more easily oriented to international TV markets. For instance, in 1984, *TV World* quoted Stan Marinoff, past president of the National Association of TV Program Executives and Director of Program Operations at WISN, Milwaukee at an industry convention in San Francisco: "once a rare phenomenon, the exchange of programs between countries has progressed without pause over the past five years into a billion dollar enrichment process... Do you get the idea that children are a more advanced audience? That they are more open to the product of other nations? I think we are breeding a generation which welcomes and encourages cultural exchange." (*TV World*, 1984, pp.26-27). The current study focuses on children's animated TV, providing an account of how this genre is particularly suited to the process of globalization, and arguing that it displays less evidence of homogenizing tendencies than do other TV genres.

This globalization of children's animated TV also involved a significant trend away from US dominance in TV production and distribution. For instance, the President of Hearst Entertainment Distribution noted in 1991 that it could no longer be assumed that the sale of product to the primary US networks was the greatest source of industry profits; now, "everyone knows that the secondary market is where you make your profit" (Busby, 1991, p.41). Financial incentives to access foreign markets motivated

important developments in international production strategies. Among these new production strategies was the development of international coproduction partnerships, wherein producers from two or more nations cooperated in the production of animated programs. The trend towards international coproduction partnerships began in the early 1980s and increased into the 1990s, developing inroads into other types of production. For instance, in 1984, *TV World* quoted Marinoff, who noted that the international coproduction of children's programming had created a new, global standard for producers: "The initial inroads were made by other English-speaking broadcasters, of course, and we've a lot of BBC and CBC, and Australian shows lately. With the help of co-production as an entry tool, the flood-gates are now opening for France and Italy and Japan and other sophisticated sources of television." (*TV World*, 1984, p.27). Therefore, some indication exists that the earlier development of international production of TV animation established the genre as a form of vanguard for the international production of other TV genres.

International coproduction partnerships continued to increase into the 1990s, while the international trade of animation outstripped that of other types of TV programs. In describing the animation production boom in Europe in 1990, *Variety* emphasized the rise in coproduction projects, calling it 'coproduction fever': "The atmosphere, further intensified by the proliferation of TV stations in Europe and their seemingly insatiable appetite for programs, has led to a welter of European coproductions. Animation is well-suited to this purpose because of the ease with which foreign-language versions

can be made; at present, less than 20% of all European productions are screened outside their country of origin; animation, however, is exported at a rate of about 50%" (Hardy, 1990, p.55). The current study focuses on this time-frame, and provides a detailed account of the various modes and strategies of international production and distribution, including the nuances of the various global consumer markets and representational features around international children's animated TV.

The Example of Smurfs

While the current study reviews overall developments around the globalization of children's animated TV in the 1980s and early 1990s, it is useful for some aspects of the study to focus on a single exemplar, especially since the range of information on the broader contexts is too expansive to incorporate into the present analysis. For this purpose, the current study focuses on the example of Smurfs, which was the product of an international coproduction partnership, and had a highly successful production run from 1981 to 1989. This exemplar is used to describe a series of labour disputes around the international division of animation labour and the trends towards corporate acquisitions and mergers. A detailed study of representational features of the program is also provided. Smurfs are a primary example of the type of children's animated TV that was developed and distributed internationally during this time-frame, since it involved intensive children's marketing tie-ins, a variety of international production strategies, and the development of strong consumer markets worldwide. The following

discussion reviews the developments around the cultural production of Smurfs, as an introductory exemplar of the globalization of children's animated TV.

Les Schtroumpfs, the creation of Belgian cartoonist Peyo (Pierre Culliford), first appeared in a 1958 edition of the Belgian children's comic-strip publication *Spirou*. The immediate popularity of the little blue elf characters, who were introduced as secondary figures in another comic strip, was unanticipated. Les Schtroumpf's popularity spread rapidly throughout Europe, until German Schlumpfes, Italian Puffos, Spanish Pitufos, and Scandinavian Smolfs appeared in toy products and phonographs. Plush dolls and plastic figurines had been marketed successfully throughout North America by the producer of Smurfs, Societé d'Éditions de Presse et Publicité Audiovisuel (SEPP International of Belgium), when Hanna-Barbera Inc. negotiated an international coproduction agreement with the company to produce an animated Smurfs television program for children. The Smurfs aired in the US at 9:00 am on NBC's Saturday morning broadcast schedule, and foreign-language versions of Smurfs were aired worldwide (for example, in Canada on the SRC).

Smurfs gained a 44% market share during their first season in 1981, and quickly became the single most successful Saturday morning animated program in the US (until they were overtaken by Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles in the 1990s). As well, early in the 1980s Smurfs had highly successful toy and accessory tie-ins, yielding a reported \$600 million in retail sales in the US in 1982 -- a success that extended into

the late 1980s. *Variety* reported in 1982 that Smurfs were powering a Saturday morning television advertising revival, headlining, "Smurfs Power NBC Kidvid Sales Surge". The trade publication noted that 40% of advertising sales, \$60-70 million of the available \$140 million, had been committed 'upfront' (Loftus, 1982, p.37). 'Upfront' refers to sales made to advertisers in advance of the onset of the broadcast season; upfront sales are an indication of the strength of confidence in the advertising market, since less risky purchases can be made after current-season ratings have been generated for a given program. In the case of Saturday morning, the majority of upfront sales came from toy and cereal advertising buyers, who tended to prefer full-year coverage of a given product. NBC was enjoying an upfront selling spree in 1982. As an executive at a rival network lamented: "a year ago they were no place, but then along came Smurfs and took Saturday morning by storm" (p.37). The success was particularly important for NBC, which, at that point, had slumping ratings in primetime: "NBC's [position] on Saturday morning is one of absolute dominance thanks to those Belgian imports - Smurfs - that have spread the wealth around the Saturday morning sked. Obviously, NBC doesn't sell Smurfs alone. If a buyer wants in, he buys the whole Saturday morning sked." (p.37). Moreover, this growth was largely unanticipated, since the aging of the overall population was expected to have led to lower ratings for children's programs in the US.

While the immediate success of the Smurfs TV program and toy products was a financial boon for NBC, the program was particularly profitable for SEPP, as the

Belgian company soon established a large niche for itself in the US children's commercial broadcast TV market. For instance, in 1983, *Variety* noted that SEPP, having developed a property (ie. Smurfs) which had "brought in enough in millions of dollars to stagger the imagination" (*Variety*, 1983a, p.115), was now a potential powerhouse in Saturday morning US TV. Before the NBC-Smurfs coventure, the company had amassed numerous holdings and had been involved in a variety of entertainment ventures, centring around a highly successful children's publishing division. Though it was surprising in 1981 that a company like SEPP would join the ranks of Saturday morning animation producers, the broader developments in international TV animation in the 1980s and early 1990s included the greater involvement of firms with diverse interests, such as publishing and toy and accessory production and distribution. This followed a general trend in the 1980s toward toy tie-in marketing associated with children's animated programs, and especially with toy-driven programs such as Smurfs, He-Man and My Little Pony. The program also marked the beginning of a sharp trend towards international coproductions - i.e. the sharing of creative control, production and distribution by two or more international partners. In 1981, Smurfs was the only international coproduction on the US Saturday morning schedule.

The children's TV industry throughout the world continued to grow through the 1980s and into the 1990s. In 1995, *Variety* reported on the boom in children's advertising sales for network, cable and syndication in the US; upfront sales for the 1996 season

were up by 6%, amounting to almost \$700 million. The cost per thousand viewers was also up 9-10%, because there had been a smaller inventory of children's programs in the market than in the previous year (McClellan, 1995, p.9). But a shakeup of the industry in the US was in the works. Disney, a company relatively new to the TV (as opposed to theatrical) animation industry, was reported to have sold \$75-80 million worth of upfront advertising sales, roughly the same as it had done in 1994. Fox had sold \$200 million, up roughly 25% from 1994. The gains were largely at the expense of the CBS and ABC networks, whose combined upfront sales had dropped from \$60-65 million in 1994 to \$50-60 million in 1995 (p.9). These dramatic changes in profit growths for the US networks through the 1980s and early 1990s were part of a larger trend towards what has become an industry norm of international production arrangements and global market expansion.

Smurfs marked the beginning of a sharp increase in the international production and distribution of children's animated programs, as well as a strong worldwide trend towards toy-driven animated children's programs that lasted until the late 1980s. The success of the program, along with the successes of other coproduced programs, motivated similar arrangements for the company throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. For example, *Variety* reported a large-scale promotion at the 1985 MIP-TV conference by Hanna-Barbera Australia, for their new series, Challenge of the Gobots. This was to be added to the ongoing commercial-oriented programs by Hanna-Barbera-Australia - a division of the Taft-Hardie Group, "set up in Australia in 1971 to ease the increasing

workload of Hanna-Barbera's US studios and tap into the bountiful supply of skilled animators, a rare and vanishing breed in most countries" (*Variety*, 1985a, p.155).

Hanna-Barbera-Australia was also selling the ongoing Saturday morning programs, *Smurfs* and *Flintstones*, as well as two others, *Return to Eden* and *The Return of Bungee*, involving an Australian-based storyline, which were moderately successful in the 1980s. The success of *Smurfs* helped generate interest throughout the industry in similar international coproduction arrangements and programs. For instance, in 1988, Canada's Global TV reported that in the Fall 1987 sweeps ratings, *Smurfs* were among the most popular childrens' shows, along with others produced abroad, *Real Ghostbusters*, *My Pet Monster*, and *Bionic 6*. The company had entered into a coproduction arrangement with France's Antenne-2 to produce 26 half-hour episodes of *Smoggies*. International coproduction and distribution arrangements of children's TV such as these had become increasingly common throughout the industry into the late 1990s (Devins, 1988, p.190).

In 1989 Hanna-Barbera CEO, John D. Ryan, announced a change in the content of the upcoming 1990-1991 season of *Smurfs*: "One of the longest-running hits on network TV, now on NBC, *Smurfs* will be taking a different direction, changing the format and a few of the basic premises. This may generate a whole new batch of *Smurfs*, Ryan believes." (*Variety*, 1989a, p.64). However, Hanna-Barbera and SEPP ceased production of *Smurfs* that season. This decision was part of a major reorienting of US television network programming, as well as a result of global changes in viewer's

tastes, and competition from alternate TV products and formats (eg. cable, direct, sell-through home video). In the case of childrens' programming, this reorientation included the elimination of the prime-time rating for Saturday mornings, and a partial shift towards adult programming among the US broadcast networks. This was a result of the loss of major audience shares to cable and home video distribution. The cancellation of production of Smurfs reflects the general decline in popularity of children's network and toy-driven TV programs in the late 1980s, following the advent of cable and sell-through home video programs. While attention to this case study provides an important detail in accounting for developments in the 1980s and early 1990s, it is also important to consider an overview of important dates (such as that provided in appendix one), and broader trends in industry structure (such as those detailed in appendix two).

Chapter Outlines

Chapter Two: Conceptual Approaches to Globalization and Cultural Production.

The following chapter provides a theoretical overview of the scholarly issues around globalization and cultural production, with the purpose of setting parameters for the current substantive project of mapping the various intercultural encounters around the globalization of children's animated TV. The problematization of globalization within sociological traditions is reviewed, including a brief discussion of the history of the

concept of globalization in sociological work, and the related concepts of cultural imperialism, nationalism and national identity, and consumer sovereignty. An emphasis is placed on the issues and assumptions of cultural homogenization, to which Robertson's concept of glocalization is a preferred alternative.

As well, a brief review of the treatment of childhood as a special category in the study of consumer culture is provided, with an emphasis on the child as active consumer in the process of cultural production. Theories of cultural production are then reviewed, as a means of establishing the theoretical and methodological benefits of the 'circuit of culture model', which emphasizes the need to consider the relationships between the various spheres of cultural production: regulation, production, consumption and representation. Robertson's theory of glocalization is then described at length as a conceptual alternative to the dominant assumptions of homogenization in theories of globalization. Rather than a homogeneous expansion of cultural sameness worldwide, the concept of glocalization involves a reflexive syncretization of local with global conditions and, through this, a heightened awareness of both particular and universal cultures. The key focus for analysts of globalization is described as a mapping of the array of intercultural encounters, or interlocutions, that make up the general process of globalization, within a theoretical and methodological framework of a circuit of culture model that focuses on the articulations of the various spheres of cultural production.

Chapter Three: Regulation and the Globalization of Animated TV.

Chapter three covers the central issues around, and practical instances of the regulation of children's animated TV in the 1980s and early 1990s. The discussion begins with a brief review of the theoretical and substantive distinctions between public and commercial functions of TV, focusing on the issue of cultural homogenization through globalization, and its presumed effects on citizenship and consumer sovereignty - issues that have tended to dominate international regulatory concerns over the past two decades. The discussion then turns to the development of children's TV pressure groups, both in the US and internationally, with a comparative focus on the key concerns raised by these groups, and their effects on government legislation and industry practices.

It is noted that significant local and national differences have existed in the operation of these groups, especially regarding the importation of foreign programming, and that they have taken on different concerns, according to variations in local children's consumer cultures and practices of socialization. Various forms of industry self-regulation are then discussed, including influences of industry reviewers and consultative panels. The responses of US national labour groups to the use of labour from outside the US are then discussed, including collective action taken and bargaining negotiations with the major animation studios in the early 1980s.

The effects of commercial deregulation on children's programming worldwide are then reviewed, with a focus on the significant rise of toy tie-in marketing strategies around animated programs in the 1980s. As well, the overall effects of deregulation on commercial broadcasting of children's programs worldwide are discussed, with attention to the global shifts away from broadcasting as a public good, and towards the development of commercial broadcasting systems. Finally, the link between regulation in the form of national broadcasting quotas and the rise of international coproduction strategies is discussed. Overall, it is argued that the influence of regulation is pervasive, and articulates in notable ways with other processes around the globalization of TV animation, such as production, consumption. As such, regulatory influences are discussed in further detail in the chapters that follow.

Chapter Four: The International Production of Animated TV.

The chapter reviews significant changes around the globalization of industrial production of children's animation in the 1980s and early 1990s, including the rise of an international division of animation labour, and the development of international coproduction partnerships. It is argued that animation is a particularly glocalizable TV genre, since it allows a greater degree of flexibility in developing versions that can meet diverse cultural needs, whether through dubbing and/or through radical changes in storylines and cultural themes. The chapter first reviews the corporate mergers and acquisitions that took place involving Smurf coproducers Hanna-Barbera and SEPP in

the 1980s and early 1990s, including the range of corporate activities undertaken, and the processes of corporate takeovers that affected both organizations, as an exemplar of the types of mergers and acquisitions that took place throughout the children's TV industry during this time, and which affected most other producers and distributors.

The discussion then turns to the historical changes in TV animation in the US in the 1980s and early 1990s, including a review of the factors leading to the rise in use of international sources of animation labour throughout this time period. The dramatic rise in the employment of Asian animation labour by producers from outside Asia is then reviewed. The financial motivations for doing so, the global rise of alternate TV formats, and shortages in local labour sources are discussed. The significant developments in production strategies around post-production (development of alternate international versions of programs after the initial version is produced) and versioning (the simultaneous development of alternate international versions of a program during initial production) that occurred in the 1980s and early 1990s are then reviewed. This discussion focuses on a review of the various techniques through which specific, alternate cultural requirements are met through post-production and versioning.

The chapter then covers in detail the rise of international coproduction partnerships around children's animated TV. The discussion deals with how these coordinated strategies involved significant innovations around the production of animated TV, as a

means of tailoring programs to meet the diverse needs of international consumer markets. This involves detailed reviews of: developments in international industry conferences, and the support this gave to creating production partnerships; the effects and underlying motives of national and international regulations that generated a need for, as well as controlled coproduction arrangements; and the economic and market benefits to producers and distributors that followed from international coproduction partnerships. Overall it is argued that the development of international production strategies involved the use of distinct local variations, which differed according to the particular requirements of local consumer markets.

Chapter Five: The TV Consumer Audience and the Global-Local Context.

Chapter five deals with the development of international consumer markets for children's animated TV in the 1980s and early 1990s. While many argue that the globalization of TV programming has involved greater concentration of power in the hands of producers who, in effect, create consumer markets, the chapter argues that the operation of consumer sovereignty during this time was significant in mediating the control of producers and distributors. The initial boom in US Saturday morning viewership following the success of Smurfs in 1981 is described, focusing on the attempts of broadcasters to maintain and extend programming flow as a means of developing consumer audiences. As well, the discussion examines the practices of 'chasing' audiences into fringe schedule times and responding to audience

fragmentation, including the different accommodations required in this respect within international consumer markets. The creation and maintenance of program flow through scheduling is shown to have significant international variations.

The chapter then describes international differences in consumer tastes for certain program features, as well as the often unexpected preferences for and rejections of specific programs. The discussion then turns to the specific operation of consumer sovereignty in the case of toy-driven animated programs in the 1980s, which figured significantly in the sudden rise and fall in popularity of these types of programs. The development of consumer markets internationally was also marked significantly by the development of alternate TV distribution formats, such as cable and home video, methods which were strongly preferred by consumers internationally. The strong preference by child consumers for video animated programs, which allowed repeat viewing, was unexpected by producers and distributors, and the development of this format had significant implications for the industry as a whole, and for the globalization of animated TV in the 1980s and 1990s. Finally, the chapter reviews some of the implications of the alternate formats for TV distribution (e.g. cable and home video) regulatory efforts by government, industry and consumer advocacy groups who attempted to mediate the local consumption of global programming.

Chapter Six: The Representation of Global TV Animation.

The final chapter deals with the representational features of animated TV in the 1980s and early 1990s and their role in the process of globalization. Firstly, the features that lend a generic, global appeal to the animation genre -- the more colourful, fast-paced features of animation design, as well as the employment of fantasy characters (e.g. animal characters such as Mickey Mouse and Yogi Bear) that tend to have non-specific (e.g. ethnic) identifications -- are discussed. The chapter then describes the international production of animation, especially focusing on flexible specialization around the development of international versioning. Versioning was intensified in the 1980s and early 1990s, both through post-production (i.e. alterations in programs already produced) and coproduction (i.e. the production of different versions of a program from the outset). The representational aspects of versioning are described, including prominently language and accent dubbing, and the less common practices of changing program storylines, scene sequences and program duration. The discussion also includes, however, the important development of live-action wrap-arounds - i.e. the incorporation of a live program host with local consumer identification.

The chapter then turns to the case of Smurfs, beginning with a description of industry reviews and an extended analysis by Kline (1993). While both tend towards reductionist readings of Smurfs (and other children's animated programs in the 1980s), viewing the program as simple and banal, the present study takes the position that

Smurfs has a greater representational complexity, and provides examples of storylines and character features that run counter to Kline's conclusions. The focus of the chapter then turns to an analysis of the deployment of a series of the *ethnie* in Smurfs - i.e. the representation of exoticized, ahistorical and premodern versions of international identities and places in the final season of the program. While these constructions can be broadly recognized on a global level, they do not reflect, as some regulatory sources might have preferred, current cultural realities. Finally, the chapter provides a detailed comparison of two international versions of a specific Smurfs episode, including a line-by-line comparison of dialogue, a description of differences in characters and their relationships, and a contrast of linguistic accents that are specific to the different consumer markets at which they are directed.

Chapter Two: Conceptual Approaches to Globalization and Cultural Production

Considerable theoretical and substantive work has been focused recently on the process of globalization, a process which has been associated with rapid and broad-sweeping social change in recent years. This focus has involved a wide range of questions and sociological fields. While much of this work has examined the globalization of economic and political activity, and the effects of globalization on state formations, interesting questions have been raised around the relationship between globalization and changes in cultural practices and experiences. The broadly defined interest in globalization among academicians is a relatively recent development ⁴ and, not surprisingly, the nature of the process is highly contested among sociologists. For example, the process of globalization has been theorized to include both cultural convergence as well as diversification. This is due in large part to the fact that the practical processes of globalization have been highly complex, while theories have worked largely to create generalized and unified understandings of globalization. Similarly, theories of cultural production have tended towards reductionism or over-determination, prioritizing, for example, industrial, regulatory or representational features. These theoretical generalizations have tended to fashion models of globalization as involving processes of homogenization, or the creation of a worldwide

⁴ For example, Waters (1995) notes that, while globalization is now recognized as highly significant among academics, the use of the term is recent. He notes that the US Library of Congress contains only 34 items with the term globalization or a derivative in the title. None of these items were published before 1987 (p.3).

cultural sameness.

The current project works to develop the theoretical position that the globalization of cultural production does not involve a single process operating in a homogeneous fashion worldwide. This model of homogenization tends to dominate theories of cultural globalization, and assumes that local cultural practices are replaced by global practices. Instead, the present study argues that globalization involves complex, uneven and contingent processes of intercultural encounters in which the distribution of similar programming is contingent on the accommodation of localized cultural needs. The need to account for these processes has been identified by others, for instance Harp (1991), who calls for a focus on how the local, particular cultural conditions of communities mediate the changes stemming from broader, institutionally-based societal processes. Similarly, following Robertson (1990; 1992; 1995) it is argued presently that the many instances of practical 'glocalization' have involved a wide array of global-local interlocutors that have worked to create a heightened, reflexive awareness of both local and universal conditions. The methodological objective of the current study involves a mapping of these reflexive interlocutors, as they have played out in the globalization of cultural production around children's animated TV in the 1980s and early 1990s. The current study is also part of a broader trend in cultural studies, identified by Morrow (1991) as a movement towards the: "conceptualization of empirically-oriented cultural research" that has regrettably "lagged behind the

theoretical discussions" (p.165).⁵

The globalization of children's animated TV, rather than representing a singular process of homogenous expansion, has involved a complex, differentiated series of negotiations between global and local processes, each with nuanced orientations to the tensions between global and local cultural conditions. These processes have not involved a unification or centralization of cultural production, but rather the development of alternate strategies that work to syncretize local and global cultural processes. It is important to note that the assumed model of globalization does not involve on balance a preference for assumptions of either homogenization or heterogenization, but rather a conceptualization that the two processes operate together, in a reflexive fashion. The assumptions of homogenization (those that assume a replacement of local by global culture) are often used as a contrasting perspective in the current study, since they are common in studies around the globalization of culture. Following Robertson, however, the current study assumes that both cultural sameness and difference are maintained and created through globalization, often in support of each other.

⁵ As described by Morrow (1991), the study works to question divisions between cultural analysis, cultural practice and cultural consumption. Following Morrow: "in part, this importance is methodological, to the degree that interpretive research requires one to be an 'insider', the object of inquiry must be known in a manner quite different from the superficial knowledge of the subject being required for effectively employing high-powered statistical techniques" (p.163).

The following chapter summarizes selective conceptual approaches to the globalization of cultural production, with an interest in developing a context for understanding the globalization of television culture in the 1980s and early 1990s. The discussion focuses on Robertson's concept of glocalization, and its utility as a theoretical framework for interpreting the broad range of practical developments in the globalization of cultural production around television, and working towards an overall mapping of these developments that have constituted broader processes of globalization. The history of the concept of globalization, as applied in the study of cultural production, is closely related to numerous other sociological concepts, problems and phenomenon, such as modernity, cultural and/or media imperialism, cultural homogenization, and cultural nationalism. Similarly, the phenomenon of the globalization of media culture has been closely related to issues around consumer sovereignty, which have tended to have a particular meaning when applied to the study of children's consumer culture, especially television, in recent years.

Important theoretical developments within the field of cultural studies have also recently taken place around the study of cultural production, especially in understanding the relationship between the various spheres of cultural production: regulation, production, consumption, representation and identity. While previous studies have tended to involve a reductionist, or over-determinist focus on the importance of one or another sphere, analysts have recently begun to recognize the importance of a theoretical and analytical approach that incorporates a focus on the

inter-relationships between the spheres of cultural production. For instance, Harp (1991) identifies important points of convergence between political economy and cultural studies, as a means of better understanding the sites wherein local, particular cultural processes encounter universalizing institutional structures. Following Robertson (1995), the central difficulty with models of globalization that assume global processes override local processes is that they avoid the fact that locality is to a large degree constructed on a "trans or supra-national basis" (p.26) and that much assertion of locality is done from the global level: "much of what is often declared to be local is in fact the local expressed in terms of generalized recipes of locality" (p.26).

This follows from the fact that diversity has been constructed in many cases in the process of marketing - e.g. tourism. Therefore, it is often assumed that local cultural presence has been constructed through the process of globalization, and that globalization involves: "the simultaneity and interpenetration of what are conventionally called the global and the local - or in a more abstract view - the universal and the particular" (p.30). This presencing or reimbedding involves neither processes of homogenization nor heterogenization, but rather a complimentary and interpenetrative accommodation of both processes. Therefore, while globalization does involve a compression of the world, and that the global and local are often in tension, the combination of global and local cultural processes is in many ways mutually accommodating (p.40). The present discussion develops an understanding of the

usefulness of this approach, focusing ultimately on what has been termed the 'circuit of culture' model (eg. Punter, 1986; du Gay et al, 1997). This approach underscores the importance of studying the interpenetration of all of the spheres, in order to fully understand the process of cultural production, and guide substantive research into the field.

The circuit of culture model has important implications for issues related to the study of the globalization of media culture, especially regarding the concepts of cultural sovereignty and homogenization. Some analysts have tended to wrongly assume, for instance, that messages carried by the international media have involved a singular process of production and consumption, as well as a singular form of representation. The current study attempts to avoid these types of determinist tendencies, and works to include consideration of variations in the processes around the globalization of children's animated television. This involves a comparative focus on the differentiated processes and outcomes of the spheres of cultural production, as they have occurred in various global locales. Unfortunately, however, given the lack of specific data, this must exclude phenomenological processes, and attention to differentiated meaning-formation through the consumption of TV programs. However, there are other studies of how viewers have consumed global TV (e.g. Liebes and Katz, 1990; Moores, 1993) from which some conclusions can be generalized and inferred for the purposes of the present study.

Robertson's concept of glocalization as a reflexive process of cultural syncretization, used in conjunction with the circuit of culture model, is central to the present study. In attempting to understand important developments around the globalization of television as cultural production, the concept of glocalization most importantly works to counter the assumptions underlying theories of cultural homogenization. The following discussion attempts to define the theoretical parameters of the current study of globalization of cultural production around children's animated TV.

Problematizing the Globalization of Culture

The first theoretical project is to situate the study of the globalization of cultural production within the broader context of sociological theorizing. This relies significantly on Robertson (1990; 1992; 1995), who has worked extensively to situate the concept of globalization within the tradition of sociological theory. He notes that the concept of globalization has evolved along with general developments in sociological thought. Following Albrow (1990a), Robertson describes general stages in the history of sociology.⁶ However, while Albrow provides a preliminary periodization of sociological thought around globalization, Robertson takes issue with Albrow's

⁶ Robertson describes these stages as: *universalism* (the aspiration to develop universal principles of humanity), *national sociologies* (the limitation of sociologists to national boundaries, and the 'residues' of universalism), *internationalism* (following the collapse of nations and social problems after WW II), *indigenization* (the crystallization of the Third World, and the inclusion of 'local' sociologies) and *globalization* (the rise of international relations between sociologists) (p.20-21).

project, in that it seems to shift from a history of the sociology of globalization to a history of the globalization of sociology, and implies that the two are equivalent (Robertson, 1992, p.21). While describing the process of globalization as involving a series of reflexive cultural interlocations, Robertson argues for a critical self-awareness -- an awareness, in other words, that the study of globalization makes the sociologist part of these interlocations. ⁷

As Robertson (1992) notes, the concept of globalization has developed and proliferated in recent years: "During the second half of the 1980s its use increased enormously, so much so that it is virtually impossible to trace the patterns of its contemporary diffusion across large areas of contemporary life in different parts of the world" (p.8). The scholarly implications of these developments have been far-reaching, particularly for the study of culture. In tracing the history of the concept of globalization, Robertson concludes that it became a part of global consciousness itself in the 1980s. Within the academy, Robertson observes that the concept of globalization had affected every aspect of the disciplines. The treatment of globalization in sociology has been strongly influenced by the concerns of modernization theory, especially the debates around convergence and divergence, and the question as to whether or not different societal (regional and national) contexts for modernity were homogenizing or

⁷ Morrow (1991) similarly notes: "though not seeking to promote a growth of culture in the manner of economists, the enterprise of cultural studies cannot be separated from its engaged relation to the formation of and transformation of cultural subjects in a particular national and international context" (p.163).

heterogenizing, and/or whether the process of globalization has involved universalization or particularization.

Robertson (1992) also works to establish a better understanding of the development of the conceptualization of culture within sociological thought, especially as it relates to theories of modernity. He notes that, while the recent, heightened interest in culture in sociology is a manifestation of the increase in sociological reflexivity, it is equally important to understand the decline in interest in culture following the 1920s: "a major possibility in that connection being that mature modernity was unfavourable to concern with culture, whereas what is often diagnosed as postmodernity - or postmodernism - encourages it" (p.32). The discussion of culture within sociology has become so dominant that, Robertson argues, it is more useful to discuss the problematic of culture rather than culture per se. This is important to sociological understandings, since culture has been used increasingly in recent years as an important analytic component in the understanding of social structure and change. The current case study takes this perspective, especially since alternative explanations of the globalization of the mass media often neglect the importance of culture over other features such as technological or economic change. However, it is equally important to avoid cultural determinism, or as Robertson (1992) describes, an expansive approach of 'culture as everything'.

In terms of relating the practical phenomena that have been associated with globalization, several theorists have proposed definitions of globalization that tend to

involve a form of cultural expansion. For instance, Albrow (1990) defines globalization as "all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society" (p.9). Similarly, in providing an initial, broad definition of globalization, Robertson acknowledges the prevalence of empirical generalizations regarding rapid compression of the world into a single, global field (1995, p.174). However, this definition, he argues, is useful only in as much as it provides a broad analytic framework; it does not, however, work to describe in specific terms how this process takes place, or to indicate which other social phenomenon globalization can be related to, or from which it can be distinguished. To this end, the current study works to develop a specifiable mapping of the practical instances of the globalization of children's animated TV. While acknowledging that a global compression of human experience and a global expansion of cultural processes around TV has developed in some form in recent years, the current study argues that this process has not been unified, singular or homogeneous, but has rather been mediated by different practical processes around regulation, production, consumption and representation.

This reflexivity of the particular and the universal follows Robertson's reconceptualization of globalization (ie. glocalization, as discussed at length below), and has been developed also by Featherstone and Lash (1995). In the introduction to their edited volume, they define their theme as the understanding of the degree to which the rise of the globalization problematic represents the spatialization of social

theory. It is their general position that theories which more or less identify globalization as the universal logic of modernity - the 'triumph of the universal', introduce difficulties in theorizing culture, since they incorporate: "substantial measures of abstraction, of 'disembedding', and the hollowing out of meaning in everyday life" (p.2). As an alternative, they contend that: "the seemingly empty and universalist signs circulating in the world can be recast into different configurations and meaning. That these transformed social semantics can - in the context of traditional and self-reflexive social practices - instead inform the (re)constitution and/or creation of individual and communal identities" (p.3). This is an important distinction for the present study, since it works to remove assumptions of a homogeneous replacement of local with global culture, and posits a model of globalization that is reflexive, involving a syncretizing process through which globalization is mediated by local variations around cultural production. Featherstone and Lash (1995) identify theories of homogenization within the study of globalization, noting that, recently, considerable attention has been paid to Europeanization and Americanization, as well as to Japanization and Brazilianization. These contrasts of the different modalities of globalization also suggest a need to create a practical mapping of the various processes. Featherstone and Lash (1995) acknowledge the importance of approaches similar to that taken in the present study, noting: "it is important that we become attuned to the nuances of the process of globalization and seek to develop theories which are sensitive to the different players participating in the various global struggles" (p.3). The development of this sensitivity to different players includes a

contrasting approach to the intersocietal and intercultural relations and exchanges that have characterized the globalization of children's animated TV.

Cultural Imperialism

The cultural imperialism thesis represents a significant stream of theoretical work closely related to the area of globalization, and has involved centrally assumptions of cultural homogenization. Thomlinson (1991) has addressed this tradition at length, and has noted that globalization is conceptual successor to cultural imperialism. Cultural imperialism, moreover, is a generic concept that refers to a range of broadly similar phenomenon. He therefore seeks to assemble the concept of cultural imperialism "out of its own discourse", given that no single definition has been able to grasp all of the broad uses of the term since its emergence among other terms of radical criticism in the 1960s (p.3). For instance, though the majority of literature dealing with cultural imperialism has focused on the media, Lee (1979) argues that cultural imperialism is used also by Marxists, who prefer to view the media as part of a larger context of domination. Others argue for specified conditions of domination. For instance, Collins et al (1988) note: "The conditions of quantitative subordination are economic and organizational, the conditions of qualitative subordination are cultural and aesthetic" (p.56).

Thomlinson (1991) observes that a large portion of the literature around cultural

imperialism assigns a central role to economic practices, and often assumes that cultural domination exists in the service of economic power -- and vice versa. For instance, Berman (1989) addresses theoretical attempts to understand transnational practice and the instrumentalization of culture as part of the expansion of economic activity. In this sense, the hegemonic expansion of the western social system in the project of modernization has consequences for culture: "the imperialist project of transnational power relies on the imagery of universal culture that provides an alibi for expansionism" (p.61). From this tradition, a common precept in the application of the concept of cultural imperialism is the assumption of the political necessity of the sovereignty of particular cultures, specifically that: "how life is lived is a judgement to be made by the particular collectivity that possess this culture, and by no one else" (Thomlinson, 1990, p.6). Thomlinson, however, rejects the notion that media imperialism is an independently viable term, arguing that the media may not be analytically separable from culture, and that to enforce any such separation results in the loss of all critical understandings of the term media imperialism. Thomlinson notes: "to understand claims about cultural imperialism, we need to examine the relationship of the media to other aspects of culture without assuming its centrality from the outset" (1990, p.23). In that they assume the outcome of cultural production is generally determined by a single sphere (more specifically, that of production) within the process, theories of cultural imperialism evince reductionist tendencies that the current study works to avoid by including consideration of determination that operates between each sphere of cultural production.

In an argument similar to Robertson's problematization of globalization, Thomlinson (1991) argues that the need to avoid particular notions of cultural domination has led some analysts to view cultural imperialism as a product of the same historical forces that bring us modernity. In an attempt to conceptually separate cultural imperialism from modernity, Thomlinson proposes to problematize not just the cultural practices characterized as modern, but the underlying cultural narratives that sustain them. In particular, the attempt to enforce these narratives as "one true story" of how humans should organize social life assumes a process of cultural homogenization (rather than describing its operation), and identifies modernity as the "main cultural direction of global development" (1991, p.27). This assumption has resulted in the reification for some proponents of the cultural imperialism thesis of a particular 'modern' way of life that has a series of multiple determinants: capitalism; urbanism; mass communication; a system of nation-states; a particular way of organizing social space and experience; and a specific subjective-existential mode of individual self-awareness (p. 27). The current study works to remove assumptions about these determinants, while focusing on the diverse, practical modes of syncretization of global and local cultural conditions, and the mediation of global TV by local differences in the various spheres of cultural production - i.e. regulation, production, consumption and representation.

In avoiding a conceptual over-determinacy of the conditions of modernity in the process of globalization, it is important to note that the history of transnational media cannot be limited to recent events. For instance, Collins et al (1988) identify the

internationalisation of the information market as an integral part of the long history of the communications industries. Economies of scale have been introduced and expanded through time and space by new technologies of representation and distribution since the development of moveable-type print (p.50). While this trend towards internationalization of media is well over one hundred years old, theorists who tend to link modernity with the process of globalization have developed a heightened sense of the threat of homogenization as something very recent in world history. This has added weight to the arguments of the defenders of national culture and consumer sovereignty that the globalization of culture poses a threat to both economic and cultural life.

National Culture and the Threat of Homogenization

The concept of national cultures, including political culture and citizenship, has been central to the cultural imperialism thesis, especially for those analysts who presume a struggle over cultural sovereignty in the process of globalization. The culturally homogenizing processes of globalization have been largely presumed to present a threat to national culture. Thomlinson (1991) notes that the most prevalent feature of the cultural imperialism thesis is that local or indigenous cultures are threatened by the invasion of foreign cultures. However, the concept of national culture is itself problematic, since it assumes a sense of authenticity, or a natural sense of belonging to a political/geographical region. What are often assumed to be homogeneous national

cultures are, in fact, divided by significant distinctions within national geographic boundaries. Moreover, consumer markets do cross national borders, and are often congruent with transnational or continental divisions, or others, such as linguistic divisions. Collins et al (1988) have also identified this tendency within the cultural imperialism thesis: cultural, moral and religious criteria have been exercised in support of the promotion of indigenous production and controls on the consumption of foreign programs, following the belief that imported values have a negative effect on national mores (p.55).⁸ While these types of arguments have tended to centre around the assertion or rejection of notions of cultural homogenization, the approach taken by the present study, in contrast, employs a model of cultural syncretization through which the globalization of TV operates in different, contingent modes, according to variations in local cultural contexts, in which local differences have tended to remain salient.

Other defenders of national culture focus on the need to protect the cultural bases of national, political citizenship from the threats imposed through globalization of mass media. For instance, Murdock (1990) argues that regulation should ensure that the resources necessary for effective citizenship are provided through media entertainment, which can be a viable means of engaging contemporary experience: "The economics of

⁸ As a policy objective, they conclude from this that: "There is, of course, no more necessity for the coupling of public service broadcasting (the service of a series of minoritarian publics) with national culture (the binding together of this majority into a shared 'imagined community' of a nationalist state) than for the linking of a European common broadcasting market with a European culture and consciousness" (Collins et al, 1988, p.97).

transnational television operate to marginalize or exclude certain kinds of programs that play an important role in providing the resources for citizenship, such as documentaries and innovative contemporary drama" (p.83). The provision of these resources, and the maintenance of this citizenship are important to the maintenance of the nation-state itself. Similarly, according to Anderson (1983) nations are best seen as a specific way of organizing and representing solidarity among people, providing a sense of unity, and representing them as heirs to a shared past and future. In this sense, as cultural artefacts, the 'cultural instruments of nationing' become important in the *types* of imagined communities that are fictioned into existence as nations. For Thomlinson (1991), these formulations of national identity underscore most versions of the cultural imperialism thesis, which generally focus on the subsumption of one national identity by another. The understanding of the way these types of cultural constructions have developed and are maintained lies in understanding the development and working of the nation-state. It is therefore important in the study of the globalization of culture to be sensitive to nationalism and national identity as political projects of the nation-state, rather than as cultural objects in and of themselves.

Some analyses have recently begun to view the emphasis on protectionism and cultural nationalism as a limitation in attempting to understand the processes of globalization. For instance, modern sociology is limited, according to Robertson (1992) by a "global institutionalization of the idea of the culturally cohesive and sequestered national

society during the main phase of 'classical' sociology. Ironically, the global aspect of that condition has received relatively little attention" (p.50). Hobsbawm (1983) describes the way in which 'invented traditions' are used to create a universal and timeless sense of invariance to national culture, especially national identity, and the appearance of deep roots that often do not exist. In opposition to this process, Robertson (1992) argues that national citizenship should not drive the debates and analysis of the discussions of the globalization of the mass media: "the homogeneous nation state - homogeneous here in the sense of a culturally homogenized, administered citizenry - is a construction of a particular form of life. That we ourselves have been increasingly subject to its constraints does not mean that for analytical purposes it has to be accepted as the departure point for analyzing and understanding the world" (p.58). Featherstone (1990) similarly argues that the sociological focus on the nation-state should be reformulated, that the challenge of sociology is rather to: "both theorize and work out modes of systematic investigation that can clarify these globalizing processes and distinctive forms of social life which render problematic what has long been regarded as the basic subject matter for sociology: society, conceived almost exclusively as the bounded nation-state" (p.2). The focus on maintaining the interests of the nation-state is a problem in studies of globalization, since the concept of the nation-state is itself an historically contingent, political project that works to create a universalized conceptualization of itself. ⁹

⁹ The present analysis follows these critical approaches to globalization, attempts to counteract reductionist and reificationist conceptualizations, and develops an understanding of the process as the outcome of complex interactions between various

Defences of national identity tend to use some version of the homogenization of culture thesis. Typically they imply the notion that an external culture, through operation of the mass media, will be imposed on local, national cultures, eventually creating a global sameness that will tend to replace the features of local cultures. Yet, national identity is not necessarily useful for arguments that focus on the notion of cultural imperialism, since national identity must take as its cultural referents the symbols used by state administrative institutions to evoke identification. As Giddens (1985) argues, these referents will never exhaust the full contingent of elements that make up national identity and necessarily involve other forms of cultural identity. This rejection of the defence of a homogeneous, universalized notion of culture attached to nationhood against the presumed process of cultural homogenization operating through globalization is important for the current study, since it is argued that national identity is not merely an expression of cultural belonging. Instead, as argued by Thomlinson (1991), national identity is rather a series of: "complex cultural constructions that have arisen in specific historical conditions" (p.84). This distinction is reflected most clearly in the representation of the *ethnie* (described below), which, though involving an ahistorical, traditional and exoticized construction of identity, is neither directly congruent with a national-based culture, nor a reflection of current cultural reality.

While the threat of cultural homogenization is a central theme in many theoretical approaches to the globalization of culture, the current study, through a mapping of the

processes and contingencies.

varieties of intercultural encounters around the globalization of children's animated TV, argues that the processes have not involved a homogenization of cultural practices. Rather, the study works to demonstrate that the requirements of the globalization of trade in children's animated TV programs are different in each national context, and require accommodations of global programming according to the contingencies of diverse consumer cultures, including, for instance, national variations in children's cultures and practices of socialization. It is therefore important to understand the key issues around consumer sovereignty - a concept that has been closely associated with debates around cultural imperialism, national identity and critiques of the homogenization of culture, debates that have had an impact on state regulatory efforts around the globalization of children's TV.

Consumer Sovereignty

The concept of consumer sovereignty has been central to many arguments developed by critics and analysts of consumer culture, including those studying processes of globalization. Consumer sovereignty relates to the capacity of the consumer to make independent decisions around the practice of consuming, as opposed to a determination of this practice by producers or the representational features of consumer products. For instance, while some argue that the globalization of consumerism around television has involved an expansion and imposition of foreign (most often, but not exclusively, US) cultural practices, others contend that audiences have an over-riding freedom to

consume according to their own needs and local cultural contexts. While some critics have overemphasized the power of the producer in determining the outcome of cultural production, others have worked to develop an understanding that active consumers mediate the power of producers and distributors to create and maintain the process of consumption. The present study follows current approaches to consumer culture that assume neither a model of cultural manipulation (as previously assumed within sociology), nor the operation of individual consumer sovereignty (as preferred by economists) are adequate to describe processes of consumption (e.g. see Jary and Jary, 1991, pp.81-82). This assumes that while consumer culture involves a manipulation of consumption to perpetuate, for example, production, it is also a source of individual pleasure. Most importantly, however, consumer culture has also become a significant source of differentiation of social groups.

Following Williams (1983), the problematization of consumer sovereignty is an issue that centres around the individual and broader cultural processes of consumption. In other words, it becomes important to understand to what degree is the 'satisfied' consumer a 'sovereign' consumer. Williams argues that individual consumers work to improve their individual conditions through consumption, but on the larger scale contribute to a market system that amounts to a statistical reality (pp.188-89). The current study follows recent developments in cultural studies that work to understand that consumer sovereignty is central to this construction of social difference - e.g. through the acts of decoding and appropriation of cultural codes and symbols.

Historically, cultural studies has identified a distinction between the cultural centre and the margin, wherein cultural resistance of difference is threatened by a hegemonic incorporation of the marginal into the cultural centre (e.g. Grossberg, 1991, p.48). Cultural studies conceptually shifted the site of cultural resistance to within the process of consumption, and identified a tension between: "on the one hand, the new possibilities that consumption appeared to offer, and on the other, the rapidly increasing rate at which central practices and social groups were incorporated into the hegemonic formation" (Grossberg, 1991, p.48). Therefore, the operation of consumer sovereignty does not override producers power to determine the process of consumption, but does offer an important resistance to this power.

It is important to maintain that commercial broadcasting is not primarily about audiences consuming programs, but rather is centrally about the commodification of audiences themselves. In other words, the activities of producers and broadcasters are oriented to the process of selling audience shares to advertisers. These debates have been particularly central to analysis of children's TV culture, since children are generally considered by critics of consumer culture as an especially naive audience, and as one that is therefore easy to attract. Producers, however, have often noted that the preferences of child audiences are particularly difficult to predict, and that they change more quickly than do those of adult audiences. The importance of the commodification of the audience to commercial broadcast television is evident in the history of the TV ratings industry, as well as in such features as scheduling and serial

format which promote the placement of advertising.

It is important for the current study to understand the significance of the commodity audience to the critical analysis of commercial television culture. The sole purpose of dramatic content on commercial television is not, as producers tend to argue, to entertain, but rather to create an audience to be sold to advertisers.¹⁰ The false appearance of consumer choice, and the ultimate project of producers and broadcasters to create a commodity audience in commercial television are important considerations for the present study, since they underscore the motives for global market expansion of commercial television. While global producers and distributors have emphasized the sales of programs according to the various preferences of audiences worldwide, it is important to understand that the consideration of audience preferences is only secondary to the importance of selling audiences, and therefore to maximizing audience sizes within the structures and limits of commercial television.¹¹

A common theme in critiques of consumer culture has been that practices such as

¹⁰ This involves centrally the creation of a broadly held belief of consumer sovereignty, wherein, as Freiman (1983) argues, each consumer is presumed to have the right to define their own needs, and the proper functioning of a free market is presumed to allow the full expression of consumer preferences (p.106).

¹¹ Freiman (1983) also notes that the programming prerequisites of the needs of the advertiser are: 1) primarily to maximize the size of an audience; 2) provide a dramatic rhythm to accommodate advertisers spacing (which puts serious limitations on narrative techniques) 3) place an emphasis on audience stability and a reliance on proven forms and contents of programming (p.107-108).

advertising and packaging are used by producers to create false needs which their products may then fulfil. Critics have often argued that modern practices of consumerism have generated a false sense of consumer choice, and have placed *ultimate control of the process of consumption* with advertisers and producers. For example, according to Leiss et al (1986), advertising is a manipulative tool used to create demand among consumers by creating a false need, and by establishing a universal ethos of consumption whereby all needs are fulfilled through purchase of consumer goods.¹² Since advertising in this way works to create desires, the possibility of consumer sovereignty is seriously limited. Leiss et al (1986) argue ultimately that the fulfilment of natural means of satisfaction through the artificial mediation of commodities is dangerous for modern society (p.27).¹³ This type of critique involving the denaturalization of human experience through consumer culture is similarly developed by Wightman and Lears (1983), who argue that the ability to take joy or satisfaction from lived experience is rendered impossible in most avenues of commercial culture, since the sole purpose is the continued pursuit of pleasure or satisfaction through ongoing consumption choices. These choices are determined ultimately by the needs of advertisers and producers, tending thus to exclude non-

¹² Leis at al (1986) identify this argument as typical of marxist and neo-liberal critiques. While Marxists view advertising as essential to maintaining exploitative relations of capital, neoliberals view advertising as un-necessary to effective management of the economy (p.26).

¹³ Jhally (1989b) also argues that advertisements present products and commodities that perform "magical feats of transformation - bridging instant happiness and gratification" (p.218). This creates and maintains a false sense of pleasure fulfilment.

consumption oriented choices. However, these types of analysis have tended to over-emphasize the power of the producer to create and maintain consumption.

However, the present study also understands the importance of the power of consumers to make choices and influence the process of consumption. This entails an understanding of both the importance of producers, as well as the influence of consumers to shape the process. Many critiques, on the other hand, have more appropriately focused on the mediation of the relationship between consumer and product, displacing to some extent the power of the producer, and assuming an active role on the part of the consumer in determining the process of consumption. Brunson (1990), for instance, describes the importance of theorizing consumer freedom in determining the meaning of mass media messages (Radway's analysis of readers of romance fiction, Katz and Liebes study of Dallas and the Tubingen Soap Opera Project are examples of ethnographic audience work that develop this model). In this sense, consumption involves the articulation of identity, which provides a means of distinguishing local differences within the processes of globalization. This is important for the current analysis, since it provides a conceptual balance between the powers of producers and consumers in determining cultural processes, and involves a mediation of global processes through local consumption. Moreover, this is a particularly significant distinction, since the sovereignty of child consumers figured prominently in the process of the globalization of children's animated TV in the 1980s and early 1990s.

The Child Consumer

The notions of consumer sovereignty and choice have been central to most critiques of children's TV, since child audiences are broadly seen as more naive than are adult audiences. Analysts have therefore tended to focus on the imposition of consumerism on children, who are viewed as less able to resist the influence of television consumerism. For instance, some analysts contend that children's consumer culture is over-determined by producers, who impose a specific type of cultural production on children. For instance, Kline (1993) argues that, in the case of children, mass consumer culture creates a context for a diminished level of imaginative play. He argues that the rise of character-driven marketing strategies directed at children marked an important change in the marketing of TV to children, since they were developed around an image that could be sold in a number of ways: TV shows, toys, greeting cards and accessories (p.307). Character licensing, and its corollary, cross-marketing, create the world of play -- for example, Barbie involves a comprehensive strategy that orchestrates all available channels of communication, and achieves a high measure of synergism among them, wherein a child has the potential to recreate an entire Barbie universe (p.310-311). In overview, Kline suggests that the broad-reaching influence of producers has had the effect of limiting imaginative play according to singular media and toy images. Similarly, Gitlin (1989) argues that narrative is important, because it shapes and structures children's popular culture - children mythologies, heroes and world view (p.312). He describes Saturday morning as a 'ghetto' for only the youngest

who, unknown to parents, becomes preoccupied with fantasy and imagination - a radical "departure from folklore traditions [wherein] shared narrative allows a channel for parents to convey 'subtle and complex' moral and ethical ideas to children" (p.313). However, for the purposes of the present study it is understood that, though dominant in scholarly approaches, these arguments have tended to over-emphasize the power of producers in determining the outcome of consumer culture, especially in considering the case of children's consumer culture around TV and toy products.

On the other hand, an important approach for the current analysis is developed in some recent analyses, in which the potential of children as active consumers is formulated. This suggests that children are more critically aware, and that consumer culture has a more intrinsically social meaning and value for children. Following Willis (1991), for instance, it is argued that children's mass consumption has been treated as a specific category of banality in cultural analysis. She notes that this is due to the fact that children are a particularly unattainable other, and are not credited with the power to construct alternate readings of cultural products. She contrasts this with the depiction of aboriginal cultural others in the study of globalized mass media. Here the emphasis is often placed on the ability of the aboriginal other to provide counter-ethnographic readings of cultural products. This distinction is important for the present study, since the globalization of children's TV has involved a series of intercultural encounters in which children's awareness of local cultural conditions has resulted in an active, reflexive negotiation with global conditions.

The present analysis therefore takes the position that children have the ability to develop resistive readings of cultural products. Following Hodge (1989), for example, it should be assumed that children have a strong potential for resistive readings - as strong as that of adults. "The way children are constructed and appropriated for ideological purposes is itself a part of an important social phenomenon, even if it's a game that only adults are allowed to play. In this game children are expected to be seen and not heard. If anyone bothered to listen to what they see and say, it would spoil the game" (p.170). Nava and Nava (1996) note in their discussion of the decoding skills of young people that they do provide progressive and oppositional readings. Moores (1993) argues that childhood is itself a socially constructed category and for this reason children have constituted a blind spot for cultural studies analysts. He notes that ethnographic evidence supports the conclusion that children have a "skilful manipulation of space around TV to create a viewing situation which suits their purpose" (p.57) and that "children are active in negotiating their everyday relationships with TV" (p.58).

These approaches to children's culture around TV are significant. since they focus on the importance of the social context of children's culture. They oppose elitist assumptions about the nature of mass consumer culture, and include the possibility of prioritizing the features and activities of everyday life among child consumers.¹⁴ This

¹⁴ This reconsideration of the importance of everyday life has been recognized recently by cultural analysts. For example, Mellencamp (1990) argues: "how people use mass media is defined not in opposition to 'high' or 'elite' cultural analysis, but in connection

shift in focus to the study of important everyday activities is an important correction to the general study of children's consumer culture, which has traditionally been dismissed as unimportant or banal. The current study attempts to develop a perspective on children's consumer culture that includes the potential of the child as an active, reflexive consumer - one who plays an important role in the process of cultural production. As well, the current analysis of the representational features of children's TV does not simply assume that such programming is devoid of subtlety and sophistication, as do some analysts such as Gitlin (1989) and Kline (1991), but rather attempts a careful examination of those features that reveals the complexity of their construction and of children's potential readings of them.

The Circuit of Culture

The circuit model of cultural production is used in the current study as a means of overcoming assumptions that generate an understanding of children's consumer culture that is over-determined by producers or representational features. For instance, Morrow (1991) has identified trends within sociology and cultural studies that have worked to reduce the determinism and reductionism of text-based and economic analyses, focusing instead on the relationships between text and context. In this sense, the development of the circuit model of cultural production has had important, far-reaching

with a general study of activities - cooking, walking, reading, talking, shopping" (p.27).

implications for studies of consumer culture, as well as for studies of the globalization of culture. Consideration of the relationships between, or interpenetration of each of the spheres of cultural production -- regulation, production, consumption, representation and identity -- has developed mostly as a result of the perceived analytic shortfalls of studies that have tended to conceptualize the over-determination of one sphere by, or to the exclusion of, others. This generalized reaction against over-determination has included in large part attempts to refute the assumptions of textual reductionism, and an emphasis on the audience or the consumer's capacity to engage in resistive readings. Similarly, while the focus on the consumer-text relationship has been an important development in the field of cultural studies, some (Punter, 1986; du Gay et al, 1997) have argued that in order to understand the process of cultural production, analysts must consider the full circuit of inter-relationships between each of the spheres.

These developments within cultural studies have been motivated largely by acknowledgements and criticisms of reductionism from cultural analysts. Reductionist tendencies have been common in the analysis of cultural production, particularly in according overwhelming weight to the spheres of production and representation, but also regulation. For instance, Freiman (1983) discusses the difficulties of the debate on broadcasting regulation in Canada and the US. The debate has included various regulatory themes: deregulation; Canadian content rules; public interest; national sovereignty etc. Freiman argues that there has been little cohesion in this debate and

that the varieties of intellectuals who engage in them -- political scientists, historians, communication studies analysts -- have contributed to the confusion, as they often do not share common theoretical and methodological ground. He therefore works towards integrating an understanding of the relationship between regulatory influences and the concepts of consumer and national sovereignty.

On the other hand, the over-determination of the sphere of production is a common problem with studies of cultural production. For instance, de Vries (1993) attempts to begin a reconciliation of demographic and cultural approaches. He argues that the greatest fault of economistic approaches is the privileging of the sphere of production, and the consequent neglect of the consumer revolution.¹⁵ Ewen's analysis (1976) represents a primary example of this privileging of the sphere of production. He argues that analysts of consumer culture have generally failed to develop an understanding of social energies that underlie industrialization in favour of considerations of technological development. A better understanding of consumer culture, he maintains, would include a focus on how the relations of production work to maintain corresponding social formations and relations of production. Thus, he describes the rise of consumerism in the 1920s as an aggressive device of corporate survival,

¹⁵ A few, on the other hand, have argued for a renewed focus on cultural analysis within the tradition of political economy. For example, Magder (1990) argues that, while "ownership and structures and levels of concentration remain major areas of concern" it is important to also consider the "ominous trend toward the internationalization of cultural production in which national production and consumption patterns become integrated into a world-wide market" (p.292).

representing a project of social engineering on the part of producers (p.54). Schiller (1979) provides a similar focus on institutional issues, dealing with developments in the global marketplace, including issues of economic development and dependency. His emphasis is on the ideological manipulative power of the media, and the expansion of a global media system, which, using the incorporative power of the capitalist system, carries with it the ideals of capitalist consumerism and the 'American way'. These types of analyses involve strong assumptions of the primary power of producers to determine the effects of media messages on consumers.

Hamelink (1985) argues against this emphasis on the influence of the sphere of production, noting that many studies have tended to avoid dealing with the content and impact of media messages, focusing instead on the structure of production. His preference for discourse analysis lies in its "insight into the ways in which the structuration of messages and the reinforcement of dominant legitimations relate" (p.149). For instance, he argues that international communications produce and distribute messages that cultivate or legitimate an image of the present international order, and that the analysis of these images will help to uncover ideological perspectives (p.150). However, the most common reductionist tendency in the study of cultural production has been evident in this type of analysis, one which includes an over-determination of the textual or representational features of mass media. For instance, Stafford (1993) argues that cultural analysts of the media require a renewed and careful reconsideration of what has become a largely ignored division between

how images are presented and what they express, since this hidden division is a form of concealed manipulation. Similarly, Jhally (1989a) focuses on the study of media messages in TV arguing that TV content is structured according to three considerations: 1) it must be able to attract large numbers of people; 2) it must be able to attract the right kinds of people; 3) it must deliver them in the right frame of mind (p.76). He therefore focuses on the content of TV programs, emphasizing the preference for upper-class values (eg. *Dallas*, *Dynasty*, *Lifestyle of the Rich and Famous*) rather than for the culture of working-class, lower and middle-class people. However, this emphasis on the textual features of TV, including an account of metaphors over a range of programs, avoids dealing with the participation of consumers, who make important determinations in the process of consumption.

The circuit of culture is an important reconceptualization of the process of cultural production, developed largely as a means of overcoming the shortfalls of reductionist tendencies. While various attempts have been made to reconsider the importance of mediation between the various spheres of cultural production, the circuit of culture model includes consideration of each sphere's dynamic interpenetration. Rather than focusing on the relationship between the consumer and the message, the circuit model considers the process of cultural production as following a circuit of mediating influence through all of the spheres, and assumes that a full understanding of the process cannot take place until the circuit has been completed. As a result, the circuit of culture model represents an important means of deprioritizing the importance of

individual features of cultural production, such as representational influences, and works to include analysis of the implications of all of the spheres of cultural production considered together. This is important for the present study, which attempts to develop a mapping of the various ways in which local contexts mediate the globalization of children's animated TV through various sources of regulation, as well as alternate production strategies, consumption patterns and modes of representation.

Glocalization

In this sense, the circuit model of cultural production has important implications for the conceptualization of globalization, particularly as it relates to determinist notions that assume some form of cultural homogenization. Theories that tend to assume a subsumption of local cultural practices through the importation of foreign media products typically fail to account for the possibilities of differential processes of regulation, production, consumption and representation, and identity formation.

Robertson's (1990; 1992; 1995) conceptualization of globalization, ie. glocalization, is similarly useful in understanding the processes of globalization, as it integrates a conceptualization of the practical processes around the mediation of global and local cultural practices. Glocalization is a conceptual alternative to the homogenization thesis, since it includes a practical consideration of the complexity and reflexivity of the globalization of cultural production. The consumption of global culture by local cultural participants involves diverse processes of syncretization, which, as Robertson

argues, require a detailed practical mapping that can be accommodated within the concept of glocalization. This conceptualization is central to the current study, which works to map the practical instances of reflexive local-global interlocutions around the globalization of children's animated television.

In accounting for the history of the concept of globalization in sociology, Robertson (1995) contends that the debate around globalization has emphasized the conditions of 'divergent modernization', defined by two main camps: homogenizers (eg. Giddens, structural marxists, functionalists) and heterogenizers (Said, Bhabba, Hall). Within the category of homogenizers, for example, are the proponents of the world-system model, which specifies a profound contradiction between the universal and the particular (eg. between the McWorld and the Jihad World). Both the homogenization and heterogenization (ie. that globalization has involved an increasingly distinct awareness of local particularities) theses are, according to Robertson, equally misleading.¹⁶ The predominant conception of globalization, however, is that it over-rides localities (even conditions of ethnic nationalisms) and it is this aspect of the homogenization thesis to which Robertson objects most strongly: "[I]t is not a question of either homogenization

¹⁶ He notes that the early studies of globalization involving either assumptions of homogenization or heterogenization have tended to devolve into a focus on cultural relativism, the problem of which is that it is itself an outcome of the "cultural heterogeneity of a compressed, global world", and in effect represents an echoing of globalization rather than a study of it (Robertson, 1992, p.42). Robertson (1995) furthermore argues that a 'mythology of globalization' has taken hold within the discipline, and presents the danger of interpreting processes as a triumph of the homogenization of cultural production, as well as de-emphasizing the importance within sociological enquiry of micro and local social processes (p.25).

or heterogenization, but rather of the ways in which both of these two tendencies have become features of the late-twentieth-century world", and moreover, the ways in which the two processes can be mutually implicative (p.27), especially in explaining how we have come to live in world in which "the expectation of uniqueness has become increasingly institutionalized and globally widespread" (p.28). This is important for the current study, since it is argues that the globalization of TV does not involve a displacement of localized culture, but rather a heightened awareness of the distinctions between global and local particularities.

Following Robertson (1995), it is important to note that in current accounts of globalization, both within and outside of the academy, "globalization trends are regarded as in tension with 'local' assertions of identity and culture. Thus ideas such as the global versus the local, the global versus the 'tribal', the international versus the national, the universal versus the particular are widely promoted" (p.33). These dichotomies suggest that one term represents either a reaction against the other, or as in distinct contradiction with another, or is the opposite of another. As a remedy for these shortcomings, Robertson suggests the replacement of 'globalization' with the term 'glocalization', which emphasizes the interconnectedness of the two terms and processes (p.29). The production of diversity (ie. the presence of cosmopolitanism) should therefore be understood as the production of a set of principles that directs locals to identify with local cultures, while in a similar sense understanding that "there can be no cosmopolitans without locals" (p.29). As Robertson notes, one cannot

assume that the interconnectedness of cultures world-wide necessarily involves a process of homogenization (p.31). This contention is supported by the present study, which notes that the production of alternate versions of animated TV programs for various consumer markets has in the 1980s and early 1990s involved reflexive mediation of global and local processes, and, through this, the maintenance of local cultural conditions and particularities.

Arguing that there is neither a practical nor a conceptual tension in instances of the intersection of the universal and the particular, Robertson refines his concept of glocalization as:

'the intersection of presence and absence' over broad periods of time and space. This stretching of social relations over time and space involves first, the disembedding or absence of traditional and local activities and artefacts and then, the re-embedding (or 'presencing') of activities and artefacts from far away in that same local context" (p.4).¹⁷

In reference to current trends in media production and consumption, Robertson observes that "glocalization can be - in fact is - used strategically, as in the strategies of glocalization employed by contemporary TV enterprises seeking global markets (MTV, CNN and now others)" (p.40). In these cases, one can observe that there are "many different modes of practical glocalization" (p.40). This conceptualization is followed by the present study, which reviews the various, different negotiations

¹⁷ Robertson (1995) notes that Japanese business discourse originated the term *dochakuka*, which means roughly 'global localization', and is translated into English as *glocalize*. The term became an advertising buzzword in 1990 that was meant to convey the Japanese marketing strategy that led to successes in the global economy (p.4).

involved in the globalization of cultural production around children's animated TV. Most importantly, the conceptualization does not prioritize global or local processes, nor universal or particular conditions, but rather views each process as complimentary and as operating simultaneously.

Following Robertson the current study works in opposition to the strict homogenization thesis, in as much as it simplifies the process of globalization. It is argued generally that the various practical instances of globalization have tended to involve a complexity that simplified concepts such as homogenization do not take into account:

"... in a world which is increasingly complex... and in which its most formidable components -- nationally constituted societies and the inter-state system -- are increasingly subject to the internal, as well as external, constraints of multiculturalism or, which is not quite the same thing, polyethnicity, the conditions of and for the identification of individual and collective selves and of the individual and collective others are becoming increasingly complex" (1992, p.98). "My main point," he notes, "is that there is a general autonomy and 'logic' to the globalization process, which operates in relative independence of strictly societal and other more conventionally studied sociocultural processes. The global system is not simply an outcome of processes of basically intra-societal origin or even a development of the inter-state system. Its making has been and continues to be much more complex than that" (p.60).

This attention to the complexity and differential nature of the various practical instances of the processes of globalization, again, supports the contention that a detailed, practical mapping is required. Similarly, it understands globalization as a syncretization of local and global processes, as well as particular and universal processes, encompassing both cultural differentiation (e.g. as observed in the recent

rise of ethnic nationalism worldwide) and the global compression of experience that has operated through globalization.

A similar, if less useful, model of cultural globalization is that of hybridization, as developed by Pieterse (1995). He defines hybridization as a process by which localized, constituent cultural forms "become separated from existing practices and recombine with a new form in new practices", and which constitutes a form of interculturalism as opposed to multiculturalism or universalization (p.5). He points to world-music, as an example of a new hybrid of previously distinct elements. Following an approach similar to that of Robertson, Pieterse develops a distinct conception, hybridity, which, like glocalization, primarily describes an institutionalized phenomenon. In describing hybridization, Pieterse notes that in strictly structural terms, globalization can be defined as the "increase in available modes of organization, to include transnational, international, macro-regional, national, micro-regional, municipal, local. ... all of which are in operation simultaneously" (pp.50-51), and that, "This ladder of administrative levels is being crisscrossed by functional networks of corporations, international organizations and non-governmental organizations..." (p.50). Moreover, Pieterse (1995) argues that the history of the hybridization of metropolitan cultures would be a "counter-history to the narrative of imperial history" (p.64). However, the over-simplified concept of hybridization does not incorporate a practical, heightened awareness of local particularities, but rather a version of homogenization that involves the creation of global sameness in a newly created form.

Robertson's concept of glocalization, on the other hand, includes the important feature of reflexivity in the process of cultural globalization, in which the globalization of cultural products such as TV programming creates a heightened sense of both global and local differences. The observation that there are different and reflexive ways of mediating global and local cultures has been made in earlier work by Nettl and Robertson (1966), and underlies the concept of reflexive modernization. This follows the argument that all societies experiencing modernization (not merely the 'underdeveloped' newcomers) have engaged in an interactive comparison with conditions in other societies. This tends to oppose the dominant 'world-system' theory (ie. Wallerstein), developed in the 1960s, which theorized the rise of a single global system of economic, political, and to a lesser degree of importance, cultural relations (Robertson, 1992, p.15). The globalization of cultural production, however, involves not merely a heightened awareness, and expansion of awareness to global levels, but a specific, reflexive awareness of local and universal conditions. As Robertson notes: "The distinction between the global and the local is becoming very complex and problematic, to the extent that we should now perhaps speak in such terms as the global institutionalization of the life-world and the localization of globality" (p.53).

Following Robertson (1992) it is important to provide, through an analysis of globalization, a practical accounting of the various ways in which the processes of globalization are made up of a series of reflexive interlocutions. He notes: "one of the major tasks of the contemporary sociologist is to make sense of the vast array of

interlocutors", but cautions that the sociologist must remember that he or she also represents one of these interlocutors (Robertson, 1992, p.31). In this way, Robertson's approach to the concept of globalization works to understand the variations in orientation to global circumstances (1992, p.26). He argues that:

...some of the most significant cultural phenomena of our time have to do with responses to and interpretations of the global system as a whole. More specifically, globalization involves pressure on societies, civilizations and representatives of traditions... to sift the global-cultural scene for ideas and symbols considered to be relevant to their own identities. This consumption and syncretization of culture is, perhaps, the most neglected aspect of the revitalization of culture as a sociological motif (Robertson, 1992, p.46).

Rather than focus on the problem of cultural relativism, Robertson suggests that it would be better for sociologists to focus on actual intersocietal and intercivilizational encounters, and provide a mapping of the different processes of cultural syncretization.

Following his argument:

Much more needs to be done to demonstrate the ways in which the selective responses of relevant collective actors, particularly societies, to globalization play a crucial part in the making of the world as a whole. Different forms of societal participation in the globalization process play a crucial difference to its precise form (p.60).

While acknowledging the complexity and reflexive nature of the various modes of practical glocalization, Robertson argues that analysts should begin a mapping of these processes.

The current study of the globalization of cultural production around children's animated TV makes up part of this mapping, and similarly demonstrates that simplified perspectives on children's TV, especially those involving assumptions of

homogenization, have limited effectiveness in interpreting the processes around this instance of globalization. The processes of globalization around children's animated TV has involved a differential series of reflexive processes that mediate global and local cultural practices, and suggest that the model of glocalization is more appropriate than such conceptualizations as the imperialism or homogenization theses. The present study includes a review of the development and operation of these processes, and the practices oriented around the various spheres of cultural production - regulation, production, globalization and representation. While these practices evolved in the 1980s and early 1990s largely as ways of developing more globally marketable programs, e.g. the regulatory practices, organizational arrangements around production, developments of consumer markets and representational features of programs have involved reflexive processes around a variety of intercultural encounters, and have worked to provide for an accommodation of local differences in the process of globalization, rather than replacing the local with a singular expansion of a homogenous global culture.

TV as Flow

Another important means of mediating global programming with local experiences is the production of flow, a concept that has been developed extensively within cultural studies approaches to the study of TV. For instance, Williams (1990) discusses the formats of *Sesame Street*, *Electric Company*, *Monty Python*, *Laugh-In*, which used

sequence changes to create and alter tone and perspective. Hall (1996) similarly discusses the "assembly role" of television as one of its unique properties as a medium - its capacity to switch from place to place, event to event, 'live' to 'canned' content (p.8). Importantly, Williams (1990) argues that flow operates culturally to give a "structure of feeling" (p.111).¹⁸ Flow has consequently been important to the experience of TV, and has been used and developed historically to expand programming into marginal schedule times. Presently many broadcasters have extended programming to a 24-hour schedule. Williams (1990) argues that one indication of the importance of flow to the experience of TV is the fact that people usually say that they are 'watching TV' as opposed to identifying what they are watching on TV. The flow of TV encourages this descriptive prioritization of watching as an activity.¹⁹

Fiske and Hartley (1978) similarly discuss the importance of programming as sequence or flow: "the phenomenon of planned flow is perhaps the defining characteristic of broadcasting, simultaneously as a technology and as a cultural flow" (p.86). Prior to broadcasting, programs offered a sequence or a set of alternative sequences of events. However, the development of flow has led to a new type of social experience: "it has

¹⁸ Fiske and Hartley (1978) describe this as a form of textual mobility that represents a response to a highly mobile society.

¹⁹ Williams (1990) also discusses the future impact of cassettes and recorded programmes, noting that the "most revolutionary" innovation in TV will be interactive technologies (p.146). However, he focuses on the united financial monopolization by broadcasters of these technologies, rather than the significant implications for program flow (p.145).

preferred connections with the growth and development of greater physical and social mobility, in conditions both of cultural expansion and of consumer rather than community cultural organization" (p.88). Programming has therefore become a series of plays, of timed units, and the work of programming becomes a serial assembly of those units, one which deals with mixing appropriate units within a service according to presumed social and educational levels. While programming has become increasingly rationalized and specialized, the notion of sequence as programming has shifted to one of sequence as flow (p.89). The insertion of spaces between programming units with advertising thus represents an important change. In Britain, regulations allowed ad placements in TV programs only at 'natural breaks', while on US TV, ads were placed within programs thus creating an interruption of program flow. Program trailers were inserted in order to capture audiences for longer periods or sequences during the schedule. Fiske and Hartley (1978) argue that these variations in the historical development of flows in different global locales provide for significant differences in the experience of TV viewing.²⁰

Modleski (1983) examines the importance of ads in the flow of soap operas. She analyses the interaction of programming and advertisements, and how they relate to the work of women in domestic settings. The connection of ads to programs, rather

²⁰ Similarly, Caughie (1990) provides anecdotal descriptions of significant differences, as a Brit watching TV in the US. He was struck by: 1) technologies of plurality; ie. can surf without planning; 2) organization of time - the regularity of 'prime-time'; 3) bearers and interruptions of commercial TV.

than their separateness is emphasized. She argues that, while game shows work to speed up time, soap operas work to slow time down: "the formal properties of daytime TV accords closely with the rhythms of women's work in the home" (p.93). Producers of soap operas, conscious of viewers' distracted state, repeat elements of content several times; the 'distractions' of soap operas are intimately bound up with a housewife's efficient functioning in the home. This manipulation of the sense of time provided to viewers is similarly theorized by Doane (1990). Drawing on Barthes' description of the modal tense of the photograph, he notes that TV is organized around the present tense: "TV fills time by ensuring that something happens - it organizes itself around the event" (p.222).

The analysis of flow, and its capacity to convey a structure of feeling around viewing TV has also been developed by Tulloch (1989, who analyses how the flow of Australian soap operas and advertisement breaks produces a sense of 'Australianess'. He focuses on how the institutional spaces of soap opera broadcasts create a sequenced relationship between the program and the advertisement gaps within it. For Tulloch, the content of the program may be politically ambiguous, but the ad breaks provide a distinct sense of national identification (eg. an ad for nationally-oriented drama, and an Orange Growers ad that identifies US power over Mexican workers). He shows how the structured marginality of TV's institutional practices work to create a sense of Australianess through the content and placement of advertisements. This argument is significant to the present analysis, which notes that different advertisement placements

are a significant feature distinguishing the global broadcasts of TV programs, and convey a sense of presentness and place in each locale. These conceptualizations of flow are central to the analysis of global TV, since they emphasize international variations in program scheduling as a means to mediating the consumption of global programs within diverse consumer markets.

The Importance of Language

A significant feature of the intercultural encounters brought about through the globalization of TV programming has been the operation of language, which is argued by many to be the primary dimension of shared culture. For instance, the fact of common language often has greater salience in determining the extent of consumer markets than do national or geographical boundaries. As such, the translation of TV programs has been the primary mechanism by which producers and distributors mediate global programming and local consumer cultures. Since language is argued to be a central dimension of shared culture, it follows that the greater flexibility of animation (as opposed to live-action) for more effective language dubbing helps to explain its greater global popularity. Moreover, it is argued that language performs important cultural functions that extend beyond that of the referential, and includes the broader function of constructing a common social reality. The present study discusses language dubbing of animated programs, which has included practices beyond translation such as rewriting to incorporate locally identifiable references, names and

personalities of characters, places, the form and content of dialogue, comedic turns, and often even complete storylines for different global versions of animated TV.

However, the linguistic translation of programming is significant in a broader sense, as it provides an important context for the experiences of shared culture. As Hall (1996b) argues, objects do not carry their own meanings that language attempts to reflect accurately: meanings are constantly shifting across cultures and historical contexts, communities, groups, etc. He notes that language is of primary importance to cultural community, since, in order to share a culture, people must also share a system of linguistic codes. Languages work through systems of representation - the elements of language do not have meanings in and of themselves, but are rather vehicles of meaning (Hall, 1996c). The relationship between objects, concepts and signs lies at the heart of the production of meaning in language (Hall, 1996b, p.19). In the operation of language, according to Hall (1996c) a process of translation takes place to facilitate cultural communication, while always "recognizing the persistence of difference and power between different 'speakers' within the cultural circuit" (p.11).

Hall (1996b) notes that since representation connects meaning and language to culture, it has come to occupy a place of importance in the study of culture. He distinguishes between three models of language. The first, *reflective* (the simple reflection of meaning that exists as embodied by a real-world object) involves a mimetic theory that assumes that language is a direct reflection of the real world. While in some instances

this is the case, it is not an effective theory for understanding the communication of abstract concepts.²¹ The second model, *intentional* (the assertion that language is the expression of meaning that the speaker wants to convey) assumes that language is a direct outcome of the speaker's attempt to communicate a concept. However, since individual people can never be the sole originators of meaning in language, the intentional approach is highly limited in encompassing the breadth of functions that language fulfils. The third, *constructionist* (that reality is constructed through language) assumes that things do not carry meaning by themselves, nor that individual users fix meaning through producing language, but rather that the meaning of objects is constructed through the process of representational systems. Constructivists do not deny that real-world objects exist, but do reject the notion that the material world itself conveys meaning. In the constructivist approach, it is social actors who make meaningful the material world and communicate its meaning to others. The constructivist approach is best suited to cultural studies, since it emphasizes the social relationships between communicators, and incorporates the potential for a culturally contingent and variant processes of meaning production.

Hall has also noted that there is no single authorial identity of the TV communicator,

²¹ This is similar to a limitation identified by Fiske and Hartley (1978), who argue that language and TV work to mediate social reality. They note that a problem with content analysis is that reading TV progresses from the manifest content to the latent content, and few studies follow this path (p.21). Coding schemes of content analysis often presume what TV should represent. They conclude that since TV is distinct from reality, but is related in some way, that it reflects the structure of values and relationships 'between the surface' (p.24).

especially since the images require linguistic resources to decode. This argument is developed by Fiske and Hartley (1978), who, following Jakobson, describe six different functions of language: 1) referential, wherein the dominant function is the relationship between the sign and the referent; 2) emotive, wherein the dominant function is the relationship between the sign and the encoder, and expresses attitude toward the message's subject; 3) conative, wherein the dominant function is the relationship between the sign and the decoder, eg. imperative commands; 4) poetic function, wherein the dominant function is the relationship between the message and itself, eg. TV advertisements tend to have poetic functions); 5) phatic functions, wherein the dominant function is to stress the act of communication between parties, eg, everyday remarks about the weather have more to do with communicating rather than the information itself; 6) metalinguistic, wherein the dominant function is to communicate a message about the language itself, eg. spoofs about TV on Monty Python. The identification of these various functions of language is important, since it too accounts for cultural variations in languages systems, which imply that language performs functions beyond the referential.

This feature of language is also evidenced in the problems encountered with translation, and the fact that many concepts that are referenced in one language cannot be translated into another. In concurrence with this, Hall (1996b) notes that linguistic codes vary significantly from one culture to another; "many cultures do not have words for concepts which are normally and widely acceptable to us" (p.24). The

variations in linguistic codes, he argues, are especially apparent in the practice of translation. Similarly, as Quester (1990) notes, confrontations between viewers and national TV authorities tend to arise around language in instances where there is a struggle around maintaining political issues of ethnicity -- ie. for bilingual, multilingual social services or autonomy from dominant cultures.

The importance of language-appropriate TV programming in the process of globalization is also emphasized by Fiske and Hartley (1978), who identify an important bardic function of TV. TV performs a bardic function in that it involves a social ritual, one that over-rides individual distinctions, and has the cultural function of communicating with the collective self. TV stresses the commonalities of the individually differentiated people who consume it. The classic bardic function is to mediate language, to compose from the linguistic resources of a culture a series of "consciously structured messages which serve to communicate to members of that culture a confirming, reinforcing version of themselves" (p.86). Moreover, "the structure of those messages is organized according to the needs of the culture, whose ears and eyes they are intended for, and not according to the internal demands of the 'text', nor of the individual communicator" (p.86). Bardic functions also include that of mediating social fragmentation: "TV is one of the most highly centralized institutions of modern society. This is not only a result of commercial monopolies or government control, it is also a response to the culture's felt need for a common centre, to which the TV message always refers. Its centralization speaks to all members of our highly

fragmented society" (p.89). Therefore, according to Fiske and Hartley (1978), the bardic functions of TV are to: 1) articulate cultural consensus, 2) implicate members in a dominant value system; 3) celebrate, explain, interpret and justify the "doings of a culture's individuals and representations"; 4) assure a culture of its practical adequacy in the world; 5) expose practical inadequacies; 6) convince an audience that its cultural status is guaranteed by the culture as a whole; and thereby 7) transmit a sense of cultural membership.

Overall, these diverse functions of TV, and the centrality of language suggest that the translation of programs into locally-specific languages serves a greater cultural function than, for instance, the referential aspect of communication. Language dubbing provides a primary means of cultural identification, and an important means of mediating the relationship between global programs and the locally contingent consumption of them.

Ethnic and the Nostalgic

Also significant to the current analysis is the notion of the *ethnie*, as the ahistorical, exoticized representation of a universally recognized identity. Many have noted that the representation of cultural identity through the mass media typically involves a distinctly ahistorical, premodern, traditional and exoticized version of local cultures. The most important function of these representations is that akin to the nostalgic,

which works to evoke a common response from viewers, who, on a global level, are able to recognize the distinct features, and identify them with a specific cultural context, identity and place. This is important for the globalization of the cultural production of TV, since it provides a means by which programming can be consumed internationally, while maintaining the identification of local cultural particularities.

The representation of the nostalgic and the ethnique has important implications for issues of identity and place. Davis (1974) defines collective nostalgia as: "that condition in which... symbolic objects are of highly public, widely shared, and familiar character, those symbolic resources from the past ... can trigger wave upon wave of nostalgic feeling in millions of persons at the same time" (p.122-23). The issue of locally-oriented particularisms is, for instance, important for Caughie (1990), who argues that locality is a particularly urgent question for TV studies - ie. nationality as a locality is a major issue for TV studies (p.47).

This issue of representing local identity in global media has been emphasized in a similar sense by other researchers. For instance, Turner (1990a) recognizes that national cultures tend to be ahistoricized and mythologized in national discourses. Mattelart et al (1984) also comment on national cultural representations in transnational television:

cultural identity is reduced to a national label stuck on what is essentially a transnational copy... a large number of television series, for example, have fallen into this trap... admittedly the series may be based on a national past, or real historical situations, but the general narrative style is still that of the big

television empires... in the process, cultural identity becomes a picturesque folklore (p.18).

Caughie (1990) argues that Scottishness in US films celebrates a national identity that is already given, and is rooted in a misty, mythic and static past. Similarly, McArthur (1990) views Hollywood and British depictions of Scotland as idealized counterpoints to the experience of modernity, as either embodying an exoticized feudal past, or a "range of loveable eccentrics and non-conformists" (p.66). Producers are relentlessly bound by the "objective weight of cultural representations", even though they may prefer to break them (p.67). He begins by relating a depiction of Scottish settlers in a US western film, the corollaries of which are apparent in many other examples. Rather than identifying the depiction with the popular, but misleading, term, stereotypes, he prefers the more accurate term: discursive positions relating to Scotland (p.94). The reasons that Scots have come to be constructed within these categories are complex and historical (p.95), but McArthur understands the generative cause as originating in the rationalism of 18th century Europe. In this period, Europe defined its own identity by constructing the identities of people on its periphery, and in its colonial conquests, according to a set of "binary oppositions to the qualities most celebrated in itself" (p.95).²² The constructions of Scotland and Scots in British films, for example, follow the visual styles of easel-painting representations of Scotland constructed in European imaginations in the early 18th and late 19th centuries. In this way, MacArthur works

²² McArthur refers here to M. Chapman (1978) *The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture*. London.

to show how Scottishness in screen depictions involves an absolute absence of any sense of national culture that extends beyond what is already constructed -- it is inimical to the development of Scottish culture. It is therefore more often the case that the discourses within which cultural identities have been constructed through media forms are inadequate for dealing with the historical and contemporary realities of these identities. The dominance of these often discursive constructions are influenced by a powerful existing tradition of representation in the west, which resists oppositional constructions in favour of 'tried and true' marketing ploys.

As opposed to presenting a form of threat to the expression of current, everyday cultural realities, others have argued that representations of national character such as the *ethnie* may provide a site of struggle against which modern identities can be articulated. For instance, Griffiths (1993) analyses *Pobol y Cwm* -- a Welsh-language soap opera that has been criticized for failing to provide a progressive sense of Welshness. In particular, the program depicts an image of a rugby-playing, singing and coal mining Welsh identity, one that is rooted in a colonial-historical sensibility. However, Griffiths contends that some progressive representation exists. Similarly, Turner (1990a) argues that the mythologization of Australian culture in popular media is, in effect, a declaration that struggles over Australian national character exist solely in the past, and that the contemporary situation is a result of the positive outcome of these struggles (p.120). He describes the "less equivocally nationalist narrative context" as opposed to the "vividly nationalist film" (p.122). *Snowy River*, for example, is an

"Australian transformation of the individualistic ethic of the American Western" (p.124). However, he acknowledges that the meanings carried in nationalist discourse seldom self-evident. Griffiths relies on Stuart Hall's assertion that the popular is a constant site of struggle between dominant and subordinate, to argue that nationalism breaks from its normal hegemonic function in popular representations, as it becomes a site for changing dominant articulations of culture.

Similarly, while potentially providing a site for a form of struggle between local and global identities, the *ethnie* is argued by others to be a way of contrasting and articulating local identities through the recognition of the cultural 'other'. For instance, Anthony Smith (1990) works to partially supplant the argument that there has been a generalized rise of a homogeneous global culture, by positing a resilience of the *ethnie*, as "the ethnic core of a nation, the premodern traditions, memories, myths, values and symbols woven together and sustained in popular consciousness" (p.10). He notes, importantly, that: "While particular television programs, sport spectacles, music concerts, advertisements may rapidly transit the globe, this is not to say that the response of those viewing and listening within a variety of cultural contexts and practices will be anything like uniform" (p.11). It is possible, for instance, that the representation of the *ethnie*, as a universally recognized character, provides the means for the development of local identities through a reflection and identification of the cultural other. This follows from Hall (1996b) who argues that we need identification of difference, since we can only construct meaning through a dialogue with the 'other'.

Difference is important in an overall sense to cultural communication, since it requires a classificatory system that assigns meaning to things.²³

The importance of the orientation of the ethnics in the globalization of TV is therefore argued to be one in which global and local cultural identifications are reflexively articulated. While providing a universal representation of local identity -- i.e. one that can be globally recognized -- the ethnics also works to maintain the identification of local cultural differences. As such, it is an important mechanism that facilitates the globalization of programming, while, as discussed by Robertson, it also works to heighten the distinction between global and local cultures. Though this contention is best supported through ethnographic analysis (not conducted in the present study), it is suggested by other analyses that global readings of the ethnics are diverse, and are oriented around local identifications and contrasted with local cultural conditions. In other words, as with conclusions of analyses of global readings of Dallas in other research, it is likely that alternate readings of the ethnics in global TV animation involves distinctly different associations with local identities, and, as such, the ethnics is a mechanism that provides markedly different results across various intercultural encounters.

²³ Hartley (1985) develops analytic procedures for TV, and emphasizes: 1) the general comparisons within the conditions of news or a given news stories' presentation; 2) reversal of we/they identities - ie. points of view. The use of 'we-them' in news stories is common, sometimes implicit, and indicates a political positioning, in the sense of news in the active politics of sense-making. For example, the use of here at 'home' - implying a nation (p.162).

Chapter Three: Regulation and the Globalization of Children's TV

Regulation has, in its many forms, played a significant and complex role in the globalization of children's TV. The current study shows that regulatory efforts, whether those of governments and pressure groups, or industry attempts at self-regulation, have had varied and contingent influences on the globalization of children's animated TV. While the international efforts of pressure groups have tended to concentrate on the quality and educational content of children's programs, industry responses, mostly through self-regulation, have tended to involve conditioned responses that do not disrupt standard commercial practices. State attempts to regulate have varied, most commonly involving some form of broadcast quotas, but states have also attempted in various ways to influence industry practices around the production and distribution of children's TV throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. These influences have been contingent on the local cultural conditions and requirements in different national contexts, often following assumptions about the threat of cultural homogeneity and the political project of consumer and cultural sovereignty. Other regulatory efforts have come through the efforts of pressure groups to influence the activities of broadcasters and producers, as well as through responses to the globalization of production by labour groups. While very little research has been conducted into this specific process, a number of scholars have identified the importance of the study of the regulation of

mass communication in general (eg. see Mosco 1996).²⁴ The current study shows that, rather than representing a homogeneous response to the process of globalization, the various regulations around the development and globalization of children's animated TV have involved a variety of practical efforts, contingent on the needs of local cultural conditions. Therefore, as a process around the syncretization of global and local cultural conditions, regulation is globally pervasive, but takes varied forms across different local contexts.

Much prior research, rather than attempting to specify the different national contexts of regulation, has largely dealt with the implications of the homogenization of culture through globalization. Similarly, a common theme in the study of consumer culture has involved a struggle between the requirements of public culture and consumer culture. Arguments around consumer sovereignty have had a particular resonance in the case of children's TV because of the assumption that children are a special category of consumer, requiring specialized protection through regulation. For instance, in 1979, the US children's TV advocacy group Action for Children's Television (ACT) argued that children under 12 are too young to make judgements about ads and products (TV World, 1979a). However, reversals of protective regulations have taken place. For

²⁴ Similarly, Meehan (1990) deals with the history of the relationship between scholarship and commercial TV, and remarks on the early history of TV in the US: "the quiz show scandals provoked a new and more polarized relationship between the TV industry and its various critics, and an end to the hope, or illusion, of many for significant reform of US TV within existing commercial and regulatory structures" (p.112).

instance, governmental deregulation of commercial broadcasting by the Reagan administration in the US in the early 1980s had a dramatic impact on children's TV in the US, allowing producers to develop new types of animated programs oriented around intensive toy and accessory tie-in marketing strategies. These types of strategies were highly successful in the 1980s, and operated on a broad international scale.

Moreover, it is evident that government regulation (mostly legislative, but also judicial) throughout the world in the 1980s was strongly motivated and informed by assumptions of the threat of cultural homogenization, especially the Americanization or Japanization of national culture. Regulation through production quotas, for instance, while intended primarily to support national production and national content, was a significant factor in the proliferation of international coproduction arrangements. On the other hand, significant developments also took place in terms of the globalization of production of children's animated TV in the 1980s and 1990s. In this regard, responses from labour groups as well as national labour regulations played their roles in the way that these strategies were employed. The current project to map the regulatory features of the globalization of production and distribution of children's TV throughout the 1980s demonstrates that the processes involved a variety of conditioned responses to the processes of globalization through diverse national regulatory contexts.

The current study also shows that regulations around the globalization of children's animated TV has involved considerable struggles between perceptions of TV as a public good, and as a vehicle for commercialism. This distinction has also been central to numerous scholarly discussions. For instance, Williams (1974) observes that the early development of TV institutions occurred around the contrast between public service and commercial broadcast systems. While the FCC in the US prior to 1944 defined the public interest around TV as the need to defend competition in the market, and protect against monopolization of TV production and distribution, after 1944 it began to define this interest in terms of social usefulness, political fairness, and public morality (p.35). Other researchers have focused on the importance of regulation in creating the conditions of consumer sovereignty. Quester (1990), for instance, deals very generally with the issue of regulation around international TV production and distribution, focusing on a defence of the open market-place.

On the other hand, in reflecting on the early regulation of TV, Kline (1993) notes that the development of a specifically commercial structure, largely through regulation, created a strong tendency in commercial TV towards broadcast of dramatic entertainment; he speculates that: "television could have been institutionalized in other ways that might have given emphasis to alternative social purposes and cultural forms, such as news, documentaries, state propaganda, education or religion" (p.317). In discussing questions of cultural regulation around the development of the Sony Walkman as a new cultural form, du Gay et al (1997) argue that the Walkman is an

instance of the extension of the private sphere into the public sphere, while, radio and TV are instances of the extension of the public into the private sphere.²⁵ These analyses, focusing on the regulations around struggles between public and private culture, represent significant themes in the study of cultural production. These themes are also central to the current study, since the various processes around the globalization of children's animated TV have often centred around struggles between such issues as particular vs. universal and citizenship vs. consumerism.

Following from this, arguments around the regulation of the globalization of cultural production have involved assumptions about the homogenization of culture. For instance, Hamelink (1995) notes that international piracy throughout the 1980s resulted in regulations of intellectual property protection, which have had a "fundamentally negative impact on the possibilities for Third World countries to develop local technologies and cultural expressions" (p.116).²⁶ Murdock (1990), on the other hand, argues that the deregulation of commercial broadcasting in Britain has created a market-dominated environment wherein TV is no longer an instrument of cultural space, but is rather a commercial instrument created for and by globalizing markets. In

²⁵ du Gay et al (1997) emphasize the regulatory responses to the proliferation of the Walkman in public spaces, identifying the creation, for instance, of London Transport regulations on acceptable Walkman volume levels in public transit spaces.

²⁶ Hamelink (1995) furthermore identifies regulation as essential to effecting empowerment, which he equates with increased access to information. He proceeds to analyse the impact of Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms as one which imposes on broadcasters the duty to accommodate viewers' rights to receive information and ideas.

this new globalized environment, programs of diversity are marginalized because they are the most expensive to produce, and net the lowest returns (p.92). In other words, for Murdock, new regulations have created a commercialization of TV, which has had the effect of singularizing rather than diversifying content. While these types of analyses have tended to take on assumptions of cultural homogenization through changes in regulation or deregulation around a process of globalization, the current study regards the processes of regulation as occupying a contingent and inter-related position in a circuit model of cultural production. This implies a more nuanced understanding of the influence of regulation in the various practical instances that have made up the broader process of globalization.

The current project identifies several distinct sources of regulatory influence: public pressure or advocacy groups; industry self-regulation; labour groups; legislation and state regulations. This follows from the practical conditions surrounding the globalization of children's TV in the 1980s and early 1990s.²⁷ Specifically, these regulatory influences have taken various practical forms: the development of national consumer advocacy and pressure groups worldwide, who lobby governments and industry organizations to restrict, for example, violent or commercial content of

²⁷ This is similar to the framework developed by Hamelink (1995), who argues that the regulatory approach to empowerment has three main sources: legislation, jurisprudence and self-regulation, as well as Shaw (1995), who separates the regulatory influences on TV into three (overlapping) categories: 1) laws that regulate the operations of broadcasters; 2) the conditions placed by a licensing organization; and 3) decisions made in a retrospective manner by independent organizations.

children's TV; industry efforts at self-regulation, which have been both self-motivated, as well as responsive to external pressures, but have seldom disrupted standard commercial practices; interventions by labour groups who rely on labour legislation as well as collective action and bargaining; efforts by state legislators to restrict the commercial content of TV (eg. limits on advertising); support to public broadcasters to replace or compete with commercial broadcasters; the imposition of national broadcast and production quotas. The following discussion treats the various, practical instances of regulatory practices around children's animated TV that work to mediate local and global cultural practices, involving struggles that have been thematized by distinctions between citizenship and consumerism, as well as the particular and the universal.

Pressure Groups

A significant source of regulatory influence on children's animated TV has come from public advocates or pressure groups. As Turow (1984) notes, pressure groups have typically targeted broadcasters rather than producers, and when targeted together, networks are most often treated as more important than producers (p.146). The focus of pressure group efforts, as opposed to government regulation, has usually been on the content of children's programs. As Shaw (1995) notes, the most dominant focus of pressure groups has been the protection of children from the 'harmful' influences of TV content, most often in the form of violence. However, as Turow (1984) also observes,

pressure groups (ie. those in the US) have had a highly conditioned impact on children's TV. He notes that a key value of US commercial TV networks is liberal capitalism, and that the demands of children's TV pressure groups have often involved a departure from this value. Through analysis of a number of examples, he notes that "even when advocacy organizations do not intend to attack liberal capitalism in their demands, network protective stances sometimes treat them as if they have offended values at its core" (p.144).

In analyzing the impact of pressure groups, Turow (1984) concludes that networks have developed highly conditioned responses, since networks "incur strong risks in either submitting to pressure groups or refusing their demands for change in TV material" (p.151). US networks have therefore developed responses to pressure groups that do not interrupt the usual routine of TV production and distribution, but nonetheless appear as a response to pressures. He defines a 'resource-dependent framework' to identify responses: 1) limiting admission of the legitimacy of complaints to those that can be easily accommodated within existing, acceptable programming practices; 2) working to delegitimize those complaints that cannot be accommodated within existing practices as violations of core 'American' values; 3) sometimes invoking changes that seem to have broad implications, but actually still fall within standard practices; 4) maintaining that any changes are in fact a result of audience desires rather than pressure groups (p.152). This pattern is more or less consistent with the influence of pressure groups on TV production and distribution worldwide, and is a

useful framework to present instances of industry responses to pressure groups in the case of children's animated TV in the 1980s and early 1990s.

As Turow (1984) suggests, producers and distributors of children's animated TV tend to reflect strong animosity towards pressure groups, and have worked to delegitimize their criticisms. For instance, in 1977, *Variety* reported that Saturday morning pressure group advocates had been 'boiled in oil' by producers of animated children's programs at a Beverly Hills Hollywood Radio and Television luncheon. After Joe Barbera described his hope that the day will return "when a cat chases a mouse, he doesn't have to stop to teach him how to blow glass or weave a basket", the audience broke out in laughter, and one pressure group advocate was "sufficiently upset" to leave the front of the room (Gelman, 1977, p.19). *Millimeter* concluded: "While Barbera may have been exaggerating a bit, his one-liner highlighted what is the most pressing problem facing television animation today - the ability of organized pressure groups to influence the networks in the area of children's programming, particularly animation... The new demand from the pressure groups is a simple but devastating one: remove all advertising from children's programming" (Schaeter, 1978, p.72); and "Although it is difficult to predict what will happen in the standoff between the pressure groups and the producers of children's programming, one thing's for sure: the art, intelligence and creativity of imaginative animation will be constrained even further than it is today... as Joe Barbera has inferred, maybe it would be better if educating was left to the schools and entertaining left to the TV producers" (p.97). These types of attempts to

delegitimize criticisms of pressure groups are common responses of producers and broadcasters of children's animated TV, and involve disagreements between pressure groups and industry actors regarding the role of TV as having either a public, educational function, or as providing a form of entertainment. ²⁸

Moreover, it is clear from the subsequent deregulation of children's TV by the Reagan administration in 1981 that pressures to ban children's advertising did not have immediate or far-reaching effects. In 1983, the FCC was petitioned by an advocacy group, Action for Children's Television, who wanted the Commission to regulate programs that, according to President Peggy Charren "flaunt its own Policies that pertain to program-length commercials" (p.61). *Variety* described the argument: "Network television children's shows such as Pac-Man and Smurfs are in fact program-length commercials for kiddie products and should be logged that way by broadcasters" (p.61). ²⁹ The ACT argued that each of the programs were developed as a way of promoting products -- in none of the examples was a toy developed following a popular TV series. This was described as a clear violation of the FCC's

²⁸ However, it is important to note that the ultimate purpose of TV for commercial producers is neither to educate nor to entertain, but rather to generate audiences for sale to advertisers.

²⁹ The ACT named 14 shows - eight Saturday morning commercial broadcast programs: Monchichi, Pac-Man, Rubik the Amazing Cube, The Biskitts, Dungeons and Dragons, and Saturday Supercade (made up of Donkey Kong, Donkey Kong Jr., Frogger, Pitfall), Shirt Tales and Smurfs; as well as six specials or miniseries in syndication: Care Bears, The Charmkins, GI Joe, He-Man and the Masters of the Universe, Herself the Elf, and Strawberry Shortcake (*Variety*, 1983a, p.80).

definition of a commercial-length broadcast, in which advertisement and program are interwoven to the extent of being indistinguishable. ACT President Charren argued:

this is just the tip of the iceberg, there are at least eight other toys or products being developed for children's TV specials or series. What makes matters worse is that most of the products are being advertised on children's television as well, making it hard to distinguish between product and programming. (*Variety*, 1983a, p.80).

This follows from the assumption that children are an easily influenced audience and require special regulatory protection.

Industry responses to ACT's charges ranged from subtle acknowledgements of criticisms to broad attempts to discredit the charges altogether. A subtle strategy was to distinguish advertisements from programs through the use of markers announcing advertisements, and pro-social public service announcements, first used by ABC in 1979 (*Variety*, 1979, p.44). However, more direct attempts to discredit charges of public pressure groups were also made. In 1988, *Variety* described responses from toy manufacturers to critics of toy-driven animated programs for children (*Variety*, 1988a, p.115). In a rare style, *Variety* did not identify sources, but rather described "the consensus in the toy industry" and "toy industry reps" as sources; perhaps due to political fallout, no one was willing to be sourced. In taking the position of toy-driven program producers, the article suggests that the consensus in the toy industry was that Peggy Charren of ACT had been selective in criticizing the toy-driven shows of the 1980s; she had not, they noted, complained about Peanuts, or Disney programs. They

also noted some toys had been developed long before they became the subject of television programs: GI Joe, for instance, was popular for 30 years before becoming an animated TV character. Should the fact that the toy was popular prohibit producers from featuring it in animated TV show? *Variety* notes another defence: "there isn't a direct, quantitative relationship between the sale of a toy product in quantitative terms and its starring in a TV series" (p.115). For example, Mattel's Barbie was the number one toy line, but was not featured in a TV program; Smurfs continued to be the top-rated Saturday morning program, while the toy line had all but disappeared from the market (p.115). *Variety* also noted that the consensus among toy manufacturers was that TV was becoming too expensive as a promotional medium, and that they would gladly accept another, but none were emerging (p.115).

However, *TV World* reported that, despite the complaints from advocacy groups, "the tidal wave of tie-ins shows absolutely no signs of abating. It has poured in on the so-called Children's Prime Time of 3:00-5:00 pm weekdays. It's flowed over from the traditional commercial network Saturday morning block to Syndicator's Sundays. There is also animation in the air from 6:00 to 9:00 pm weekdays" (Friedman, 1985, p.27).

TV World observed that He-Man and the Masters of the Universe had driven an expansion into fringe-time markets -- ie. those outside the traditional Saturday morning schedules: "When everybody won (producers, distributors, stations, advertisers, toy manufacturers - and the kids, whose loyalty to the series was charted and noted) other product/production deals fell into place. The general attitude about it all seems to be,

"Where's the harm?" (p.27). When asked about the criticism of program-length commercials, Alice Donenfeld, Executive VP at Filmmation, replied: "Whether the product or the program comes first, if it's a hit there's sure to be merchandising. If you want to stop tie-ins and licensing, you have to rule that there cannot be any toys based on TV characters and vice-versa" (p.27). Subsequently, producers and broadcasters of toy tie-in programs continued this marketing strategy until child viewers stopped watching them in the 1990s. This trend away from toy-driven animated programs was described most often by industry sources as the result of shifts in audience preferences. However, some indications exist to suggest that trend in part was a result of widespread reactions against toy-driven programs and influence from such sources as public pressure groups (as described in chapter five).

While these types of pressures from ACT and other advocacy groups had moderate, conditional influences in the US throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, similar groups were formed in other countries during this time, and began different campaigns according to the different local conditions of children's programs. For instance, in 1978 a children's TV campaign was conducted in Hong Kong by The WHO (The Action Committee for Improving Children's Programs). As (cynically) described by *TV World*, WHO was formed by "two expatriate house-wives, Penelope Elias and Annette Crisswell. Finding six other people with similar views about the standard of children's TV in Hong Kong, they decided to call a public meeting..." (Goldrich, 1979, p.24). Among the main problems brought up in that meeting, according to Annette Crisswell,

were: the unpredictability of programming ("one day you get a documentary, then the next you'll get an x-rated movie at the same slot"); the lack of suitable material for older children; the showing of unsuitable trailers and commercials during children's viewing time; the showing of unsuitable adult programs during early evening - particularly *The Young and the Restless* ("I watched it twice in 12 months and both times someone had just got raped") and *Days of Our Lives*; and above and beyond all, the heavy reliance on cartoons by all channels to pad out children's viewing." (p.24). These complaints differed widely from those targeted at US broadcasters. In Hong Kong, Crisswell and Elias were most critical of imported animation programming: "They seem to form the basis of children's programming here and there and that's sheer laziness on the part of the stations. You don't need that kind of mindless rubbish. They are of absolutely no value. And a lot of those cartoons are violent. Much too violent" (Tillman, 1979, p.10). Similarly, in 1984, *Variety* reported that the Australian Broadcast Tribunal had released new standards for children's television, formed in opposition to the commercial deregulation of children's TV, which the ABT argued would deter the provision of quality, age-appropriate programming (Murdoch, 1984a).

Similarly, in 1988, *Variety* reported the rise of the British Action for Children's Television. Simpson, the head of education for the British Film Institute described the development of the group as a "direct outcome of a talk by ACT's Peggy Charren at a BFI London conference" (Variety 1988b, p.118). While the BACTV was to be formally launched in the following year, a working committee had already begun to

pressure broadcasters, and had "fuelled a channel four debate on imported kidvid, such as Thundercats, He-Man and She-Ra, and had a TV confrontation with the channel's chief exec Michael Grade over his recent decision to drop kidvid altogether" (p.118). However, less concerned with the importation of US programs, Simpson argued that the aim of the BACTV was to increase broadcast time dedicated to children, and, was not "just another stick to beat TV and US TV in particular. We recognize that many of those who make kidvid both at home and abroad are concerned about quality, good storylines" (p.118). Similarly, in 1990, *Variety* reported on a legislation obliging commercial broadcasters to include a range of children's programming with their new franchises in 1983. This was considered a victory by pressure groups, since it was anticipated that children's broadcasting would be deregulated in the course of the British government's plans to create a stronger free-market environment for commercial TV (Coopman, 1990, p.43).

Moreover, aside from attempts to influence the commercial content of children's TV, advocacy groups were also sometimes involved in influencing the production of programming that reflected local cultural content. For instance, in 1982, *Variety* reported on the Australian Children's Television Foundation's first annual report: "Script development projects must be Australian, written by Australians or adapted from books by Australians and they must be relevant to the life experience of Australian children and young people" (*Variety*, 1983b, p.58). The international development of consumer advocacy groups thus represented attempts to influence

children's TV that took different forms and approached regulation in different ways according to local culture standards, often as a defence against the homogenizing effects of imported foreign programs. However, it should be noted that not all national contexts involved pressure groups attempting to regulate children's TV. For instance, in 1988, *TV World* noted that the violent content of animation in Japan was intact, and had not been affected by the worldwide trend towards 'soft' animation: "there are virtually no conspicuous anti-TV lobbies trying to reduce the amount of violence in cartoons" (March, 1988, p.29).

Clearly the presence and approaches taken by children's TV pressure groups responded to the perception of different interests worldwide. In the US, the most significant project of the highest profile group, the ACT, was to decrease the commercial content of children's TV, and increase the levels of educational content, especially following the deregulation of commercial broadcasting in the early 1980s, and the subsequent rise of the animated toy tie-in programs that were identified as program-length commercials. However, the issues around campaigns conducted by pressure groups in other national contexts differed according to local conditions. Hong Kong's WHO in 1978, for instance, was concerned centrally with the appropriate scheduling of children's programs, and the division between content oriented to adults and children. Britain's BACTV, on the other hand, was concerned primarily with the quality of what was largely imported programming in 1984, and worked to increase the amount of time dedicated to children's programs. Australia's Television Foundation in 1982, on

the other hand, was concerned specifically with the lack of content specific to the Australian life-experience. Moreover, in 1988, Japan was marked by a lack of lobby groups that worked to influence the content of children's TV. These different cultural responses from public pressure groups indicate highly varied local responses to the global distribution of children's TV.

Industry Self-Regulation

Another significant regulatory influence on the representational features of children's TV in the 1980s and early 1990s came in the form of industry self-regulation. This included, for example, industry publication program reviews (which were often among the first to deride producers and broadcasters for the content of children's programs) and the integration of regulatory bodies into the TV animation production process. As Stipp et al (1987) observe, while the main sources of public policy for children's broadcasting in the US are Congress, the FCC and the FTC, the most significant policies are those developed within the industry itself, in the form of self-regulation. For example, a significant movement within the industry came with the development of pro-social program content. In 1983, *Variety* described the strong trend towards pro-social content on Saturday morning children's programs, but was sceptical of its impact: "Pro-social themes in entertainment programming aren't enough. Sometimes you have to talk right at the kids. They understand that" (Loftus, 1983a, p.42). The development of the *Cartoon All-Stars to the Rescue* in 1990 was a significant attempt

to develop a pro-social project that included contributions from a wide range of producers and distributors of children's animated programs, from all four of the national US networks at the time. The plot focused on a number of popular animated characters who helped a child victim of drug abuse overcome his problem.

Broadcasters agreed to 'roadblock' the program (ie. it was broadcast simultaneously on all commercial networks) and aired the program on a one-time basis without advertisements. The development of pro-social content is another instance of a limited response to criticisms public advocacy groups that, as Turow (1984) notes, has not presented a serious or long-term disruption to the practices of commercial producers and broadcasters.

It is clear that children's TV receives severe criticism from industry reviewers, possibly even more severe than the criticism directed at adult programs. For example, in 1985, a *Variety* review attacked not only program content, but also child audience tastes:

"Most of the new entries are uninspiring and the overall quality of the animation ranges from awful to unacceptable. Most of it is flat, lacking any dimension.

Obviously the production companies are striving to hold down costs because the webs are trying to keep license fees down. The result is poor product. But the webs believe the kids will never notice. They're probably right." (Variety, 1985b, p.58) Aside from criticisms of quality, the reviewer complains of a lack of 'pro-social' content, especially compared to several years prior, "when practically everything aimed at kids had to have some sort of pro-social message" (p.58). *Wuzzles* in particular was described as

having nothing scary, but neither anything pro-social. On the other hand, in reviewing the 1978-79 Saturday morning schedule, yet another *Variety* reviewer complained about the pro-social content on Saturday morning programs: "Fimation's Ark II is an ecologically oriented sci-fi live-actioner, and it's dreadfully dull but responsibly pro-social (everyone has something to contribute to society was the message of the show caught)" (Michie, 1978, p.53).

Smurfs, along with other programs in the Saturday morning schedule, received similar criticism from industry reviewers in 1981. *Variety* described the strong criticism from TV critics, parents groups and professional peers, including, for example, animator Chuck Jones, who dismissed the whole range of TV animation as "illustrated radio". Leonard Maltin described TV animation as "consciously bad: assembly-line shorts grudgingly executed by cartoon veterans who hate what they're doing" (Canemaker, 1981, p.86). Even the producers seemed to accept the criticism. *Variety* interviewed Bill Hanna: "Are you accomplishing what you believe is good TV animation? - No I do not. - Have you ever been ashamed of your work, especially since parents groups have ranted about the general lack of quality on Saturday morning cartoon shows? - Actually, I feel like I should crawl under a seat sometimes" (p.86).³⁰ Similarly, in

³⁰ Joe Barbera defended Hanna-Barbera's position, blaming budgets: "We had to get that stuff out for Saturday morning. That's a budget problem. Believe me, I don't stand still for people saying Oh, they're doing junk! They don't; know how to do... We're not doing that. We only do it because you don't get the money to do it differently. When we get the money - and you're talking about millions - we do a job!" (Canemaker, 1981, p.86).

1989, *Variety* reported on a public attack by Ted Turner, describing his speech ("in his usual stream-of-consciousness form") as a plea to Hollywood to stop making hate films about the Soviet Union, specifying *Amerika*, a miniseries on ABC, *Rambo* and *Red Dawn*. This was in the course of promoting his new pro-social, environmentally-oriented production, *Captain Planet* (*Variety*, 1989b).³¹ Turner's criticism of anti-Soviet content, as well as the pro-social, environmental content of *Captain Planet* was congruent with pressure group and broader societal concerns. But the critique was not meant to disrupt the commercial practices of producers and broadcasters, and may also have represented an attempt to promote production standards for a globalizing marketplace.

Critical or positive reviews alone have generally had little effect on program content. Still, the most important influences have come from self-regulation and the guidance of bodies integrated with the production process. For instance, Joseph Barbera described in 1988 Hanna-Barbera's efforts to maintain accuracy of original Biblical accounts in his direction of a series of Christian bible stories: "The company has appointed a three-member board that includes a priest, a rabbi and a Presbyterian minister, who review the scripts and all stages of production." (Bierbaum, 1985a, p.26). As with Turner's attempts, the range of production consultation in the case of Hanna-Barbera's bible story series is presented as a highly positive sensitivity to public

³¹ Subsequently, in 1990, however, a *Variety* reviewer delivered a highly critical review of *Captain Planet*, reproaching the program for its weak attempts at pro-social content, and ineffective treatment of important environmental issues (Michie, 1978).

and consumer needs. However, following Turow's (1984) observations, this did not disrupt standard production practices.

Similarly, William Hanna and Joseph Barbera describe the filtering out of slapstick humour from TV animation production in 1982: "Each network has a staff of people, that includes cadres of psychologists and child guidance experts, to inspect scripts. Maybe 32 different people will make remarks about what was once a nice, clean idea - and it results in compromise in one way or another" (Hanna and Barbera, 1982, p.160). Broadcasters have on occasion echoed the concerns of regulators, forming a conditioned response. For example, in 1990, Margaret Loesch, president of Fox Children's Network, in anticipation of pending government legislation that would require more educational and better quality programs noted: "We all want to do more good programming. I think we could be more education, as well as entertaining" (Stevenson, 1991, p.51). Producers in this case admitted the legitimacy of pressure groups' criticisms. However, they did so only within the boundaries of existing industry-accepted programming practices.

The development of regulatory bodies that are internal to the production process have similarly formed only a conditioned response to regulatory pressures. For instance, Stipp et al (1987) reported on the workings of an experimental advisory group - the Social Science Advisory Panel at NBC - comprised of four social scientists. During the early 1980s, this panel influenced programming in five areas: violence;

stereotyping; developmental appropriateness; pro-social program content; and program and product connections (pp.67-69). However, they noted: "the panel has had little or no impact on the overall structure of Saturday morning programming. NBC has allocated air time, determined the basic parameters of the types of shows it will air, sold advertising time, and scheduled program and non-program content with only very occasional discussion with the Panel" (p.472). Specifically, the panel influenced the production of Smurfs when it was bought by NBC in 1981: "programmers and the panel agreed that having one Smurfette in a village of male Smurfs was another example of male over-representation. The Smurfs creator, Peyo, did not want a radical change in his concept. However, he did not object to making Smurfette less coquettish and more active, resisting villains herself rather than always being rescued. Smurfette became one of the most popular characters on Saturday morning, and ratings data indicated that both boys and girls liked the program" (pp.464). Again, therefore, as described by Turow (1984), while producers in this case were reacting to criticisms from a panel of reviewers, and while they responded to a type of consumer advocacy pressures, they were able to conclude that program changes were congruent with audience preferences.

Therefore, while these types of internal, self-regulatory responses by producers tended to give the impression of sensitivity to public needs, they did not significantly disrupt standard commercial practices. For instance, while pro-social messages, such as those of an anti-drug nature, tended to have the appearance of meeting public needs, and

changes in program content were argued to be congruent with audience desires, it was the creation of a commodity audience of children for sale to advertisers that remained the ultimate purpose of producers. Similarly, the development of international production strategies, as a means of reducing production costs and increasing profits through improved access to foreign markets tended to take priority over such public concerns as maintaining local employment levels.

The Rise of International Production and Labour Regulation

Since the early 1980s, varying national regulatory efforts have been made to protect local cultural production. It was the existence and development of national production quotas, however, that contributed most directly to the creation of new categories of program production and distribution. Most notably, these new categories came in the form of coproduction arrangements. These types of projects were developed with the commercial intent of producing a program that could be tailored to more than one national market, and they provided a way around the barrier of nationally regulated broadcast content quotas. The arrangements have been taken on in a broad sense by industry actors, and have operated increasingly on a global level since the early 1980s. For instance, Briller (1990) notes: "As one strategy in overcoming any hurdles that may be erected by quotas, American companies are buying into foreign firms, or entering into coproduction deals" (p.73).

Moreover, Murdock (1990) notes that international TV coproduction practices, including cost-sharing with outside interests, was becoming the norm in Britain in the 1980s, and, as a result, foreign markets were beginning to determine the content of British production (this typically took the form of televisual tourism, in which British heritage was presented in a manner most easily recognized by the foreign consumer) (pp.95-96). Similarly, in 1985, Canadian Communications minister Marcel Masse and Britain's Norman Lomont extended the 1975 Anglo-Canadian Coproduction accord to include TV and video production. *Variety* noted that few feature film producers had taken advantage of the accord by 1985. They argued that TV producers were far more likely to take advantage of the accord by producing programs that could qualify for a Canadian government production fund and meet TV broadcast content quotas in both countries: "[The] feeling of Canadians is that this agreement could become the most significant of the country's coproduction treaties" (Groves, 1985, p.40). Meeting production quotas through coproduction arrangements that were sanctioned through formal treaties was common in the 1980s. For instance, in 1986, *Variety* reported on the efforts of Canadian producers to develop coproduction ties with foreign producers and they noted that, in Australia, legislation required that coproductions meeting quota restrictions were required to be negotiated government to government, ie. under a formal coproduction treaty arrangement (*Variety*, 1986a). It has been suggested, on the other hand, that international treaties supporting coproductions became less important for producers in the early 1990s, as financial benefits began to outweigh the need to meet quota restrictions. For instance, a special section on coproduction agreements in a

1993 issue of *Variety* questions whether or not government-regulated coproduction pacts were necessary to motivate producers at that point. The section banner reads: "*TV World* examined the state of co-production in five countries, and asks if formal co-production treaties are necessary" (Swain, 1993a, p.65).

However, a significant indirect regulatory control of international production strategies throughout the 1980s and early 1990s came in the form of responses by labour groups, who used existing labour legislation to protect their members from 'runaway work'. This involved primarily the development of cheaper labour sources in foreign countries. For instance, the TV and video extension of the 1985 Anglo-Canadian Coproduction accord resulted in union opposition to the pact, since it shifted broadcasters away from the use of in-house staff to those of independent producers (Groves, 1985). In the area of TV animation, the efforts of union members in the US were especially significant. Hanna-Barbera, which had relied heavily on the use of international labour in producing TV animation in the 1970s and 1980s, and was among the first TV animation producers to enter into international coproduction arrangements, provides a primary example of the response of labour groups and their role in regulation. *Millimeter* reported in 1978 that the fear of a ban on advertising in children's TV resulted in attempts to develop the theatrical market for children's animation by Filmation - one of three US Saturday morning animation production houses: "Filmation research has shown that there is sizable market for children's animation features, especially if they are booked into theatres on a Saturday and

Sunday matinee basis. As a result, Filmation is committing itself to a minimum of three pictures a year and a maximum of five" (Schaeter, 1978, p.73). Similarly, Hanna-Barbera began production of their first animated theatrical release in over 10 years, *Heidi's Song*. The additional work created serious labour shortages in Hanna-Barbera's US studios. The development of animated theatrical production created changes in TV production schedules, and consequently placed strains on labour supplies.

In May of 1978, *Variety* reported on charges of overworking being laid against Hanna-Barbera by Local 839 - the US cartoonists' union. While Hanna-Barbera management had told workers that "their work quotas must be greatly increased, under threat of dismissal." (Variety, 1978a, p.16), Lou Appet, business representative for the union, reports that the union had advised workers to continue working at a normal pace. He advised Hanna-Barbera that "the sensible way to solve their problems is through overtime. It is not through speedup" (p.16). Full employment of animators, the result of increases in theatrical animation production, was in contrast to layoff complaints less than a year prior. Strains on labour supplies for TV animation production in the US were, nonetheless, real, Lou Appet agreed: "Of course, they have problems. They need more journeymen, and there are just no unemployed journeymen around to fill the openings" (p.16). Subsequently, Hanna-Barbera, and other US TV animation producers began to increase the use of foreign (ie. 'runaway') labour in animation production.

As a result, Local 839 of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees took strike action against the three major TV animation producers: Hanna-Barbera, Ruby-Sears and DePatie Freleng in August of 1979. After a two-week walkout, the local received cash settlements from Hanna-Barbera (\$250,000) and Ruby-Sears (\$50,000), and agreements that work would not be sent abroad while a union member was not employed (a settlement had not been reached at that stage with DePatie Freleng). As well, Hanna-Barbera and Ruby-Sears had begun calling back work that they had sent abroad. *Variety* described the payment by the two companies as "an admission of guilt on their part". Local 839 cartoonist representative Jeff Massie reported that the four-step grievance procedure had narrowly fallen short of arbitration and that "the settlement seemed a wiser course for producers than entrance into a long and expensive legal tussle" (*Variety*, 1980a, p.13). The union planned to spend the settlement money on training, arguing that no work would have been sent abroad if enough qualified US labour existed. Local 839 President Moe Gollub noted that the training would be in the full animation style of classic cartoons, as opposed to the limited animation used on Saturday morning TV, since he felt that the market was moving towards a demand for a wider range of animation styles (p.13).

However, labour shortages and runaway labour remained an industry-wide problem in the 1980s. *Variety* estimated in August of 1980 that 85% of the product in preparation by major animation studios, involved runaway production. As a result, in August of 1980, Local 839 filed additional grievances against 18 different animated programs

that were in violation of the cartoonists' pact, and planned information pickets at major production studios. Cartoonist business agent Bud Hester blamed the foreign contracting of cartoon production on network scheduling, which had created the "latest start in the work season that American animators have ever had" (*Variety*, 1980b, pp.3,42). With the prospect of only 4 months of employment per year, the animation field was systematically discouraging experienced animators from continuing in the field, and potential animators from entering it (p.3). In 1983, following a strike action, a new contract was struck between Local 839 and animation producers to include restrictions on the use of runaway labour. However, in 1983, *Emmy* reported that the new runaway labour agreement was flawed, since it required only that the studios be filled to capacity before allowing the shipment of work overseas, and producers were able to avoid the restrictions by contracting work to smaller studios. In 1985, the *New York Times* reported that the agreement restricting runaway labour had not been renewed. Bud Hester, the union business representative reported that: "It would have been futile to go out on strike again. The studios were already set up overseas, and we would have been killed permanently" (*New York Times*, 1987, p.17).

While their efforts had an overall minimal impact in the long term, these struggles represented a localized resistance in the US to the globalization of production. US labour groups had a conditioned influence on the development of alternate production strategies, but TV animation producers continued to develop foreign labour sources into the 1990s. The international division of labour around animated TV involved

specialized arrangements that were contingent on the different conditions in each national locale (see the more detailed discussion in chapter four below). This followed however, from a heightened popularity of children's animated TV, which in turn followed from significant changes in the state regulation of commercial TV in the US, and the subsequent proliferation of children's animated toy tie-in programs.

Commercial Deregulation and Animated TV-Toy Marketing

The popularity of Smurfs and other toy tie-in programs in the early 1980s was largely unanticipated by the TV production industry. While animated children's programs had enjoyed world-wide popularity since the 1950s, the strategy of comprehensive program-product marketing had not been developed until the early 1980s in the US, following Reagan-era deregulation of commercial children's TV. As a result, the existing systems of international distribution and marketing carried the popularity of US toy tie-in programs to a global level. Furthermore, state deregulation of commercial children's TV was a generalized trend that took place in various national settings. Most efforts to deregulate were based in the fear of a narrowing of program content, and the perceived tension between quality/educational programming and the overall commercial project to generate a commodity audience and develop consumerism among child viewers. Moreover, this trend toward deregulation was not uniform, and tended to involve different national regulatory contexts and responses.

Several researchers have focused on the commercial deregulation of children's TV programs in the early 1980s, emphasizing the consequent sharp rise in toy tie-in marketing strategies. As Kline (1993) concludes, "deregulation of commercial TV in the 1980s... marks an important shift in attitudes towards the rights of commercial interests and away from the criteria of programming quality and the developmental needs of children" (p.278). Since the FCC's position on deregulation was based exclusively on the belief that the children's marketplace should be restricted only if harm to children could be proven, the shift was towards the determination of children's culture through "marketplace mechanisms of consumer choice and unfettered commercial media" (p.278). Hamelink (1995) notes, however, it is important to understand that deregulation is a misleading term, since it often refers to re-regulation, and can lead to more rather than less rules. The focus of deregulation was to create a more market-driven environment for the production and consumption of children's TV programs. This was accomplished, however, through the FCC's traditional key regulatory mechanisms: control of the proportion of advertising time and of the types of marketing techniques employed by producers and distributors.

The development of the licensed character was not, however, a new strategy. Gaines (1990), in discussing the development of the TV broadcasting industry, notes the increased corporate preferences for trademark over copyright as a legal remedy throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s. The development of the licensed character in this earlier period was essential to the toy tie-in marketing strategies of the 1980s.

Kline (1993) emphasizes the de facto effects of the Reagan-era deregulation of children's TV as crucial in creating the animated toy tie-in programs, such as Smurfs. The strong trend towards character marketing through animated programs was the "dominant means of strengthening the sales of children's goods" in the 1980s (p.174). The strategy reinforced both the popularity of TV programs, and created a situation wherein: "Children's toy merchandisers enhanced their role in children's culture by renovating their use of television's story-telling potential and making their advertisements have ever greater peer appeal" (p.317). This has important implications for the circuit of cultural production, since the representational features of programs are developed as a means of enhancing the relationship between the spheres of production and consumption, ie. to generate consumerism around toy products among child audiences.

Similarly, Engelhardt (1986) describes the overall effect of the deregulation of US children's TV in the 1980s as having allowed the development of the licensed character in toy tie-in animated programs, including the early example of Smurfs. He identifies the early history of the licensed character, which came strictly from the realm of children's TV. In the 1950s, examples included characters such as Howdy Doody and Hopalong Cassidy. The first program-length commercial on US TV was Mattels' Hot Wheels, broadcast in 1969 by ABC. A competitor toy company, Topper, filed a complaint with the FCC, arguing that the program was a 30-minute commercial, and constituted unfair competitive advantage. The FCC responded by

agreeing with Topper, and issued the following statement: "there can be no doubt that in this program, Mattel receives commercial advertising... We find this pattern disturbing... for [it] subordinates programming in the interest of the public to programming in the interest of saleability" (p.75). Although the only sanctioning authority of the FCC at that point was to revoke a license to broadcast, and this sanction had rarely been evoked, Hot Wheels was taken off the air by ABC.

Furthermore, following this move by the FCC, the ACT (Americans for Children's Television) and other pressure groups began lobbying the FCC to intervene more decisively in children's TV. In 1974, the FCC responded to these pressures, and adopted a policy statement that noted, "broadcasters have a special obligation to serve children", and began pressuring the industry to regulate the "worst excesses" of children's advertising, lessen violent content, and develop more age-specific programming within the existing 2 to 11 year-old age groups. However, producers of Saturday morning animated children's TV eventually placed counter-pressures on the FCC; they testified at the 1979 Federal Communication Commission's Second Notice of Inquiry into Children's Programming and Advertising Practices that program production costs had risen sharply in the years prior to 1979. NBC reported a 140% increase in production costs between the 1971-72 and 1977-78 seasons, while the rate of inflation between 1971 and 1977 was only 50%. This, they claimed, had led to net decline in NBC profits for the 1977-78 season. ABC reported that the network spent about 5 times more on children's programming in 1979 than it did in 1974 (Goldrich,

1979). Moreover, while arguing against the regulation of children's TV as financially unviable, producers, following Turow's (1984) framework, also tended to attack regulation of their practices as un-American. For instance, in 1980, *Variety* reported on negative industry responses to pending FCC rulings; ABC wrote: "Additional Federal regulation of children's television programming would be government paternalism... that is unnecessary, unrealistic and would gravely threaten First Amendment guarantees" (Goldsmith, 1980, p.42).

By 1980, these arguments were beginning to have an effect. *Variety* reported in that year that the US senate had killed an FTC proposal for a crackdown on "false and deceptive" children's TV advertising in a 67-30 vote (*Variety*, 1980c). In 1981, with the appointment of Mark Fowler as the new head of the FCC by Ronald Reagan, the FCC reversed its policies restricting commercial practices on children's TV. Fowler announced: "it was time to move away from thinking about broadcasters as trustees. It was time to treat them the way almost everyone else in society does -- that is, as businesses". On another occasion, Fowler described the TV as just another appliance -- a "toaster with pictures" (Engelhardt, 1989, p.76). Some supporters of this change emphasized the need for consumer education as a feature of childhood in market society -- children at this point were given more discretionary spending money from parents than at any other point in history (Kline, 1989, p.302). In 1983, the FCC went even further, lifting the commercial content regulation, allowing as many minutes of advertising during children's programming as broadcasters chose, and rejecting another

appeal by the ACT. The reaction of networks to the FCC's changes in policy was to begin dropping children's programs; a study by the FCC showed that between 1979 and 1983, the average broadcast time given to children's programs fell from 11.3 to 4.4 hours per week. As well, after-school educational programs for children were eliminated altogether.

The most significant change in network programming at this point, however, was the rise to dominance of intensive animated program toy tie-in marketing: the simultaneous development of a program with toy and accessory marketing. Strawberry Shortcake, developed by General Mills' Kenner toys, was the first such attempt, and became an immediate success, reaching "ubiquitous stardom and desirability", and eventually bringing in \$1 billion in total sales. Some producers defended the rise of the toy tie-in strategy as normal practice. For instance, in 1981, Sandra Salman of the *New York Times* quotes Jack Chojnacki, head of licensing for American Greetings, defending the Strawberry Shortcake marketing strategy. Noting Kenner's success with its Star Wars toys and action figures, Chojnacki asked, "Is Empire Strikes Back a commercial for Kenner? I don't know how you can separate them" (Salman, 1981, p.27).

While Smurfs in 1981 (marketed by US licensing firm Wallace-Berrie) and Pac-Man in 1982 quickly confirmed the success of the toy tie-in strategy, it was the success of He-Man in 1983 that most significantly contributed to the proliferation of the toy-tie in

animated programs that eventually dominated childrens' TV programming. He-Man was developed by Mattel (14% of the toy market), while Filmation Associates (producers of Fat Albert and the Cosby Kids) produced the program. He-Man was first aired during the after-school schedule in 1983, the same year that networks dropped children's programming from this part of the schedule, and became the first syndicated animated toy tie-in program. Syndication refers to the selling of a ready-made program to a local station, usually in exchange for cash and an allotment of advertising time that the program's producer can in turn sell to advertisers, as opposed to a network-commissioned program that is sold exclusively by producers to network broadcasters, who are the sole sellers of advertising time. The success of He-Man led to the barter-syndication system, in which programs were given to local broadcasters in exchange for advertising time to be sold by producers.

Following the early successes of Strawberry Shortcake, Smurfs and He-Man, the proliferation of toy tie-in programs was significant. Program-length commercials on Saturday morning jumped from 2.5 hours in 1981-82 to 6.5 hours in 1984-85. In 1983, there were 14 licensed character programs, and by 1985 there were over 40 (Engelhardt, 1986). The subsequent gap in educational programs was criticized repeatedly by pressure groups throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. And, in 1988, the *New York Times* reported that the regulatory tide was turning against toy-driven animated programs, noting

...last year the tide began to turn against the open-marketplace trend regarding children's television. In June, the United States Court of Appeals in Washington

instructed the FCC to reconsider its deregulation of children's TV. Later, a bill reinstating the FCC's regulations was introduced in Congress" (Boyer, 1988, p.137).

Similarly, in 1988 *Variety* reported on pending legislation against toy/merchandise driven animated programs, as well as quotas placed on educational programming. The National Association of Broadcasters reacted against the legislation, arguing that it was not necessary, since children no longer relied on commercial broadcasting for TV, and that home video and cable had become significant alternatives over the past 14 years. They also argued that commercial broadcasts during children's programs were well below the established 9.5 minute limit (*Variety*, 1988c, p.508).

The influence of alternate formats on commercial deregulation was evidenced in other parts of the world. For instance, in 1988, *Variety* reported that the development of alternate formats (home video, satellite, cable) in western Europe had the effect of "shaking loose the reins of control" from government regulators, who, seeing the writing on the wall, began to deregulate broadcasting and allow the development of private, commercial systems (Adelson, 1988). Moreover, legislation against toy-driven programs did not materialize in the US In 1991, *Variety* described a major victory for animated program producers, when the FCC failed to rule against animated toy tie-ins, allowing the strategy so long as programs were not aired with advertisement placements for the featured products (Harris, 1991, p.46).

In 1994, *Broadcasting and Cable* reported on the deliberations of an FCC commission

that was considering regulation of children's TV. Proposals were being considered to either enforce more specific and stringent guidelines for children's TV or remove the requirement of commercial broadcasters to produce children's programs, and levy a fee to be redistributed to public broadcasters for better quality children's programs.

Advocates were also asking for a requirement of seven hours per week of educational programming for commercial broadcasters (they asked for advice on how to define educational content, while the FCC was considering adopting a narrow definition of educational content later in 1994) (McAvoy, 1994). However, these regulatory efforts also failed to seriously limit the commercialization of children's TV, which, though mitigated to some extent by the development of home video markets among child viewers in the late 1980s, continued to extend throughout the world.

The Globalization of Deregulation

Some researchers have noted that the trend towards deregulation that occurred on a global level throughout the 1980s had evolved historically from changes in broader international relations. For instance, Mahoney (1989) situates the origin of international policy-making bodies in communication industries in (almost exclusively) the early post-World War II period, at a time when the US was challenging other nations for "military, industrial, financial, and political control" (p.38). An international political regime was beginning to form during the war and had consolidated its power at the end of World War II (p.39). At that point, the US had adopted a free flow of

information doctrine in order to break British monopolies over the media. Until the 1970s, the fact of US commercial expansionism, especially within the third world, was viewed by development political economists as "national development" (p.41), so much so that, according to Mahoney, UNESCO "became like a marketing mechanism for Western communication and cultural products" (p.39). Throughout the 1970s, however, sovereignty issues dominated international communication relations, and nations such as France and Canada sought international agreements to allow domestic cultural industries to grow to a level of competition with international business in both domestic and international markets (p.45). By the 1980s, scholars noted that deregulation trends tended to work against these protectionist policies.

Hamelink (1995), for instance, notes that the key policy orientation of the 1980s worldwide was towards deregulation. The trend was away from a regulated, public-service orientation, and towards a market-driven environment for the commercial trade of these services. This trend, furthermore, worked to create global tensions between the perceptions of children's programs as a public good and their use as a means of commodifying child audiences, and between the views that TV was a mechanism for developing citizenship and political community and a mechanism for developing consumerism and economic community. Mellancamp (1990) reflecting on changes in consumer culture in the 1980s, sees these changes as part of a broader "post-modern will to power". He discusses the rise in local centralization (eg. department stores), and the shift to a national dispersion of local franchises like McDonalds and Midas. In the

TV industry, he notes that the previous commercial network system was being replaced by syndication and national specialized cable channels: what used to be weather or prayer segments on one channel have become the entire programming content of a single channel. Mellancamp observes that the new global arrangements allowed large media operators such as Rupert Murdoch to avoid federal courts and US FCC regulations to function without regulation internationally. However, evidence suggests that adaptations made by children's animated TV producers took different forms and were made around new global arrangements that followed differential national regulatory responses and contexts.

In fact, it is clear that the new TV-toy marketing strategies were unique in most ways. Kline (1993), for example, identifies the development of Jem in 1986 (the first serious rival for Barbie) as a new, and specifically globalized TV marketing scheme. Hasbro Toys created the character around a comprehensive marketing plan, which included a Japanese-produced animation TV series, linking toy products and accessories to the narrative content of the program. As Kline observes: "Deregulation of television allowed Hasbro to portray Jem/Jerrica as a dynamic modern woman of the 1980s -- a manager by day and a rock star by night" (p.198). On the other hand, the heightened international trade of TV programs created a need for new responses by judicial bodies to settle newly arising forms of trade disputes. For instance, during the international success of Dallas in 1982, *Variety* reported that Worldvision (the dominant international distributor of TV programs, including Dallas and Smurfs) was

withholding the next season of Dallas from the BBC, demanding \$40,000 per two runs of each episode, representing an increase of \$5,000 over the previous year. The BBC filed a suit in London courts, arguing that they had a verbal contract with Worldvision's UK representative for \$35,000. The courts ruled in favour of Worldvision's jurisdiction for trading Dallas, but would not rule on the substance of the rate itself, which created the basis for further dispute. While Worldvision settled for one more year at \$35,000/program, the BBC responded derisively in the July 23 *Variety*: "ha-ha Worldvision, we got Dallas again for \$35,000". Worldvision then reversed its decision and again insisted on the new rate. Eventually, it was rumoured that Dallas's producer, Lorimar, pressured Worldvision into finally accepting the lower rate, something that may have been anticipated by the BBC at the outset (*Variety*, 1982a, p.54).

Furthermore, it is evident throughout the international TV trade literature that in the 1980s producers and distributors continued to harbour animosity towards state legislators, advocacy groups and public TV systems, especially in making national comparisons to the largely more deregulated situation in the US. In particular, US producers betrayed little tolerance for systems that included strong public broadcasters. *Variety* reported in 1985 on the Nippon Hoso Kyokai (Japan Broadcasting Corporation), a non-commercial, semi-governmental broadcasting network, noting derisively that, "its revenues are three times those of the most successful commercial networks - although, naturally, it considers itself strapped..." (*Variety*, 1985c, p.103).

Variety also noted that in Japan: "the commercial stations are indeed aggressively commercial, although they voluntarily accept an ad limit of 18% of the total broadcast week" (p.126). In 1988, after the folding of one of five major animation production studios in France, the president of IDDH complained of serious restrictions on the animation industry in France: "The whole problem of the French industry is the attitude of the public-owned networks. When they do coproduce, they want to control the subject matter, the authors, the music, etc. But unfortunately, their choices are too narrowly tailored for the French market. That makes the series unsalable outside of France." (*Variety*, 1988d, p.48). The regulation of broadcast systems allowing for a mix of public and private networks, though presented by US industry sources as a common barrier to business, had taken diverse forms worldwide.

The global trend towards deregulation was occurring in varying degrees, and had varying results in different national settings, but it also had differential impacts on different types of programming. In reporting on the effects of deregulation in 1988, *Variety* described that countries had, prior to that point, tended to regulate access to US children's programs, and had given heavy support to local productions (ie. more so than for adult programs). In the late 1980s, however, the trend toward the global deregulation of commercial TV worldwide had resulted in expanded broadcast hours, expanded hours of broadcast for commercial programming, and an increased demand for children's programming that had often to be filled by importing. In 1988 England's TV-AM, for instance, a day-time broadcaster that had not existed in 1983, purchased

146 segments of Hanna-Barbera animation and a Christmas special. As Bert Cohen CEO for Worldvision noted, the new opportunities were tending to open up in day-time scheduling, and children were a large market for daytime programs (*Variety*, 1988e, p.115).

By the late 1980s, the deregulation of the international marketplace had taken on a new importance for US TV animation producers: "as deregulation expands the overseas opportunities for distributors of American programs, children's television will change to reflect the new realities. That process is already underway" (*Variety*, 1988e, p.115). Marin Keltz, president of Scholastic Productions noted: "American producers and broadcasters have to look toward more international coproduction arrangements. This calls for innovative approaches which would appeal to an international audience" (p.115). Moreover expanded cable services meant that US broadcasters were also looking elsewhere for product to fill the demand for children's programming. *Variety* noted that Nickelodeon, as a basic cable service had to keep its costs down, and thus sought international coproduction agreements as a source of alternate production funding (for example, *Count Duckula* and *Dangermouse* were coproduced with Thames Television). Joe Barbera's attendance at his first MIP conference suggests that the international market had become increasingly important -- even though Hanna-Barbera had a 3000 hour library, and had sold TV animation to 115 countries since 1978, the company was looking for international coproduction deals at MIP in 1988 (p.115).

On the other hand, deregulation did not always imply directly that markets opened up for all foreign producers. For instance, the prospect of the deregulation of national borders in the European Community in 1992 presented serious barriers to US producers and distributors. Briller (1990) reporting on *Television Without Frontiers*, the proposed broadcast policy of the European Community, described it as a vaguely-worded quota requiring that 60% of European TV programming be of continental origin. He quoted Carla Hills, Special Trade Representative of the US, who argued that the quotas were a violation of GATT, and that they represented protectionism and handcuffs on consumer choice. Briller observed, however, that while the pending European Community was to represent a unified entity, "there are a great many differences country by country, and each may implement the directive differently" (p.71). Furthermore, some European organizations opposed the proposals of *Television Without Frontiers*. For instance, Europe's Association of Commercial Telecasters were against the EC's proposed broadcast quotas, since they tended to favour public broadcasters, and were working to provide structures for international coproductions and sale rights between producers (p.74). These differential local responses to globalization suggest that the overall process did not occur in a homogeneous fashion, but rather worked through a series of contingent regulatory negotiations that took different forms worldwide. Local practices or resistance to globalization were varied and contingent on local conditions; however, they often took the form of production quotas that required the broadcast of local productions.

The Regulation of Cultural Homogeneity

Clearly, the trend towards deregulation had by the late 1980s created more commercial venues for children's programs, and led producers to seek new ways of producing children's programs for foreign markets, largely in the form of international coproduction arrangements. The industry trend towards international coproductions that had begun in the early 1980s was, in part, a response to regulatory efforts in the form of quotas that were created as a means of protecting local, national cultures from the threat of homogenization through the importation of foreign TV programs - ie. foreign producers were able to meet these quotas on local production through coproduction partnerships. However, while generalized efforts to regulate the commercial practices of children's TV took varying forms in different national settings, so too did efforts to protect local cultures against foreign TV programs.

In some instances, state censorship organizations treated foreign TV programs differently from those of indigenous producers. For instance, in 1982, *Variety* reported that the state Australian TV censorship system had divided up its functions along the lines of locally produced and imported programming. While the state Censorship Board had acted as watchdog over imported programs, which represented about 50% of all programs, broadcasters screened locally-produced programs themselves, using state classifications (Grover, 1982). On the other hand, a more prominent mechanism of state regulations came in the form of legislated production quotas, which typically,

and in a more pronounced way in the beginning of the 1980s, involved protection of the activities of local producers against the distribution of US or Japanese-produced animated children's programs. Again, however, quotas worked in alternate ways to deal with the perceived threat of homogenization. For instance, in reporting on the pending changes with the creation of the European Community, Briller (1990) noted that some critics of the European Community's Television Without Frontiers proposal argued that it would lead to cultural homogenization within Europe, ultimately weakening the national heritages of the EC's member states. He quoted a British commentator in the *New York Times* who argued that the directive would result in a "move from a Europe of discrete and highly varied cultures to a frontierless cultural splodge" (p.77). The creation of the European Community, while in part a protectionist stance against US cultural homogenization, was thus perceived by some as holding out the threat of homogenization.

The underlying assumption of the threat of cultural homogenization is also a prominent theme in academic debates around the globalization of the mass media. The development of the European Community generated much debate among scholars in the 1980s and 1990s with respect to transnational media. For instance, Briller (1990) has noted that a major effect of privatizing TV broadcasters in Europe in the 1980s was the opening up of European TV to US programming, since the objective switched from a perception of what the public should be exposed to, to one of increasing audience size (p.74). Some proponents aligned with the homogenization thesis have

argued that an essential role of the media is to provide the necessary cultural materials for effective participation in democracy. By excluding local realities and experiences, transnational media products fail to provide these materials, and thereby undermine national culture and citizenship. Quester (1990) following this argument, concludes, "There is a sort of cultural war underway between Hollywood and any state authority that wishes to protect its viewers from Hollywood, any state that wishes to protect indigenous entertainment industries (or local language and culture or the sanctity of the family hour)" (p.278). In 1993, *TV World* reported on the impact of the British government's decision to grant a broadcast license to Turner's Cartoon Network in Scotland. The Cartoon forum's Secretary General, Marc Vandeweyer, noted: "It is ironic that the British government has opened its doors to Ted Turner with 100 percent American content at the same time that Scotland opens its doors to the Cartoon Forum" (Swain, 1993b, p.11).

Scholars have also supported regulatory defenses against homogenization as a means of protecting the bases of national citizenship. For instance, Jhally (1989a) links the needs of democracy to a: "vigorous and diverse debate underway concerning social policy over a whole range of subject areas" (p.65). He supports this claim by emphasizing that the early First Amendments of the US constitution guaranteed freedom of belief, expression and assembly as a vital defense against centralized control of the cultural realm (ibid). Similarly, Garnham (1990) argues that the primary challenge in the face of globalizing media is to maintain the principles of citizenship

against the consumerist motives of an already well-advanced system of global capital: "If this battle is lost, the dispersed corporation will create a dispersed culture in its own image... within it a certain local autonomy may be tolerated, but the centres of strategic intelligence and cultural power will be elsewhere" (p.134). Diversity is marginalized in this new environment because it is expensive to maintain and nets low returns (p.92). For Garnham, the merchandising of TV programs has the effect of singularizing rather than diversifying content. For instance, major corporations who sponsor television programs are concerned primarily with public relations, and hence favour neutral content: historical rather than contemporary subject matter, arts rather than political controversy.

In a similar argument, Murdock (1990) observes that British television producers were not resisting the transnationalization of television production in the 1980s, but were themselves aiming for a place in the new global market. He argues that the transnationalization of production had narrowed the range of experiences, arguments and aspirations of contemporary Britain to one of a globally saleable version of national culture (pp.95-96), and diverted the function of TV away from the needs of British citizenship. In Murdock's view, television should provide information, arguments and insights through which people can assess the changes, and courses of action available to them as members of a political community, which overall shapes the cultural resources for involvement in political participation. "The difficulty" in Britain he noted, "is that we are moving towards an American style programming

which does little to promote diversity... American style programming is about promoting mass consumerism, not about providing the resources for citizenship" (p.99).

This anxiety among scholars centres on a perceived relationship between transnational cultural products (especially television) and crises in cultural and political national identity. However, it should be noted that some scholars do not share this anxiety. Most notably, Ang (1985) argues that the idea of a cultural identity threatened by imported TV is highly misleading, and works more to conceal rather than clarify the important issues:

It can, for example, lead to a misguided form of protectionism, based on a static, exclusively territorial definition of 'cultural identity', such as the setting of a quota system on imported films... Moreover, a stubborn fixation on the threat of 'American cultural imperialism' can lead one to lose sight of the fact that since the 1950s the mass consumption of American popular culture has been integrated to a greater degree into the national 'cultural identity' itself, especially in Western Europe (p.3).

Nonetheless, the threat of cultural homogeneity is a pervasive notion within scholarly accounts of the globalization of media, and is similarly evident in the pronouncements and judgements of legislators and judiciaries through the 1980s and early 1990s.

Evidence suggests that a variety of strategies were employed by a different regulatory bodies as responses to the perceived potential homogenization of local culture through imported programming. For instance, *TV World* reported that in 1979, "US cartoons films are becoming very rare, perhaps because there is an ever-growing awareness in

France of the influence of TV on children together with a constant effort to protect French culture" (Hodgetts, 1979, p.31). The rare exception to the existing domestic production of largely variety formats, a version of Sesame Street, as well as how-to and puppet sequences, was a dubbed production of the US *Battle of the Planets* (p.31).

Similarly, tight regulations had been placed on children's TV in Korea in 1979:

"According to MBC's assistant manager of international affairs, Kim U-Ryong, both the programming and telecasting patterns of the two private channels are extremely similar, mainly because of strong guidance of the Korean Ministry of Culture and Information which stresses the need of building up a strong Korean national identity" (p.30-31). Kim U-Ryong argues: "The need to expand educational programming is evident of course and I believe that all channels should establish 2-3 hours per day for children's programming, let us say in the early afternoon hours". However, he indicates several barriers: government authorization; shrinking of overall broadcast time in recent years; and lack of trained production staff. Notably, however, a barrier did not exist in terms of finding commercial advertisers (Constant, 1979, p.31). Restrictions in the form of broadcast quotas continued to influence the globalization of animated TV throughout the 1980s and early 1990s.

Anxiety over the threat of cultural homogenization was evident in many of the attempts to regulate. In 1983, *Variety* led with a cover story titled: "Will US Product Control Italian TV?" The Italian Minister of Post Office and Telecommunications had pressured parliament to accept a bill to increase TV broadcast and production

regulations to include a 'hefty' quota on inhouse production, a limitation of import licensing, regrouping of independent producers under a consortium, etc. in order to defend: "the outstanding characteristics of our culture, our traditions, our way of life to avoid cultural colonization prevalent in massive programming of product from other countries so different in social structure and outlook from ours" (Werba, 1983, p.107). Similarly, in 1984, Canadian broadcaster CBC reported that it was 5 years from its goal of all-Canadian programming, even though, as *Variety* notes, the Corporation faced an uncertain funding future. Denis Harvey, English CBC TV's Vice-President defended the strict quota policy, noting: "I just don't think we realized how tired we were of seeing New York streets, US social issues, and not hearing jokes about our own Prime Minister" (Adilman, 1984). British production quotas were also questioned by *Variety* in 1984, when it was reported that British TV audiences were watching the maximum regulated (30 hours of 'peaktime', making up the allowable 14% of total programming allocated to foreign markets, excluding other European Economic Community nations) amount of US programs. *Variety* noted that British viewers had a strong taste for US programs, and on another occasion quoted one British commentator who, though defending the quota policy, noted that US programs provided a contrast to local productions, and therefore provided an important element of variety in British TV programming (Wyver, 1986).³²

³² The Head of acquisitions for the BBC-TV suggested: "[US programming] provides variation in the pacing of entertainment..." and noted that British and US audiences do not have identical tastes: "The success of American TV series lies in the tension generated between invention and convention, and whenever the latter dominates over the former, the series has usually exhausted itself" (Wyver, 1986, p.0). Dukes of

Regardless of the persistent taste for US and Japanese programs worldwide, there is evidence that production quotas did work in this instance to support local TV animation production. For instance, *Variety* reported in 1985 on the success of Australian animation producer Yoram Gross Filmstudios, which was waiting to sell its feature films as a package to Australian distributors, while having sold them abroad on an individual basis. "When we began our productions, it was the beginning of the Australian film industry's rebirth, so we thought we'd only get peanuts for them", reported the company's associate producer. *Variety* added that "much credit is also due to the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal deciding to introduce a quota of childrens' drama for TV (eight hours a week per station). Filmstudios associate producer says, "its allowed us to get where we are" (*Variety*, 1985d, p.155). The effectiveness of quotas in protecting local, national productions was evident to varying degrees in different national contexts. Evidence suggests that legislation in the form of coproduction treaties between nations, though in place from the early 1980s, were not necessary by the early 1990s to motivate coproduction projects. For instance, in 1993, *TV World* produced a special section on international coproductions, the overall thrust being the question of whether or not government-regulated coproduction pacts were necessary to motivate producers; the section banner reads: "*TV World* examined the state of co-production in five countries, and asks if formal co-production treaties are necessary" (Swain, 1993a, p.65).

Hazzard for instance, lost half of audience between 1979 and 1983 (Wyver, 1986).

However, legislation in the form of treaties and quotas were not the only means of protecting against cultural homogenization, as some countries worked to develop non-commercial, national public broadcasting systems, and the provision of financial incentives for locating of international production facilities within national borders. In some cases quotas were not even legislated, but were followed by broadcasters in an informal manner. For instance, in 1988, *Variety* reported that while there were no strict quotas placed on children's programming in Scandinavian countries, the "rule of thumb" was to broadcast 50% foreign and 50% locally-produced children's programs. Polls showed that US animated programs tended to rate the highest among Scandinavian children (Keller, 1988, p.190). Similarly, support of local production of children's TV occurred directly or indirectly through state funding. For instance, in 1988, *Variety* reported on the strength of children's program production in Germany, due in part to the fact that well-funded school boards, government agencies, state-subsidized religious groups and other special interest groups were able to pay twice to three times more for programs than could similar agencies in the US (ie, \$18,000 as opposed to \$6000 for presentation rights) (Gill, 1988, p.121). As a result, the head of Igelfilm Productions, Christian Lehman, warned US producers against competing in his portion of the German market (p.121). In reporting on the success of the animation industry in Ireland in 1991, *Variety* reported that Don Bluth had been developing theatrical releases there, building on the 1986 success of *An American Tail*, while Murakami-Wolf had been successfully producing TV animation, particularly *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles*, which had been rated number one in syndication since 1989, and

had done \$1 billion including merchandising by 1991. Wolf of Murakami-Wolf indicated the main reasons for locating in Dublin were that his partner, Jimmy Murakami, was married to an Irish woman, and had lived in Ireland for 18 years, that Ireland was in close proximity to the European markets, and that it possessed a good work force. Most importantly, however, financial incentives from the Irish Industrial Development Authority included 100% first-year depreciation grants for equipment and \$13,000 for every job filled by an Irish citizen (Tierney, 1991, p.51). As a result, Bluth Studios employed 400 animators, 90% of whom were Irish, while Murakami-Wolf had employed 130 animators, 96% of them Irish (p.51).

Although legislation was the primary mechanism whereby governments could regulate international TV production and distribution, judicial regulation was also developed to protect local cultural production. For instance, in 1984 the commercial courts of Brussels placed a sequestration order to protect the assets of the Dupuis family, including the proprietorship of SEPP, which coproduced Smurfs with Hanna-Barbera. This followed a takeover war between two large French multimedia conglomerates, Hachette and Les Mondiales. The court froze the Dupuis assets, and ordered that they re-enter negotiations with Hachette, which was set to purchase 80% of families' holdings, when Les Editions Mondiales swayed the family with a \$20,000,000 counter-offer. *Variety* speculates that the freeze was the result of the presence of US buyer 3M, which had previously entered into an investment arrangement with SEPP to market Snorks. It was well known that 3M was interested in developing ownership ties

with SEPP (Clark, 1984).

Conclusion

The above review clarifies some of the issues and influences around regulation and deregulation in the process of the globalization of animated TV in the 1980s and early 1990s. While sources and changes in regulation had varied effects on globalization, a detailed consideration of individual cases helps to understand the specificities of these processes. While independent attempts to regulate came from pressure groups, industry self-regulation, labour groups, and state legislative and judicial bodies, these efforts were conditioned by interactions with other spheres of cultural production such as industry production practices that centred around the creation of a commodity audience, and the requirements of citizenship vs. consumerism, etc. Regulatory efforts moreover took different forms worldwide, depending on the unique cultural contingencies that existed in each national/local context.

US pressure groups focused in the 1980s largely on the commercial content of programming, and had some influence in reducing the prevalence of toy tie-in strategies through their impact on public and parental awareness. However, they were largely ineffective in influencing government regulators, at least until the late 1980s, and this influence was only felt after the decline of toy tie-in programs, the dwindling of commercial network audiences, and the rise of alternate TV formats (see detailed

discussion below). On the other hand, changes in consumer preferences likely played a more significant role in the decline of animated toy tie-in programs. Since producers were not prepared for the dramatic declines in viewership of these types of programs, it is reasonable to assume that child consumers made independent, 'sovereign' choices.

On the other hand, while pressure groups had little effect in removing the commercial content of programming, producers did respond, for instance, through the placement of separators between programs and advertisements, as well as through the addition of public service announcements. The regulation of children's animated TV through industry self-regulation came notably in the form of the addition of pro-social content - eg. anti-drug or anti-violence messages directed at children. The response to pro-social content was mixed. Industry reviewers routinely criticized the content of children's animated TV, sometimes identifying pro-social content as banal or boring and sometimes criticizing programs for the lack of such content. More significantly, producers often incorporated internal regulatory panels that provided consultative advice on program content. These changes, however, were only conditional responses that did not significantly affect standard commercial practices and the requirements of consumerism.

The rise of pressure groups internationally in the 1980s, moreover, involved differential efforts according to local cultural conditions and practices of childhood socialization. Britain's BACTV was concerned mostly with the prevalence of imported

programs (largely toy tie-in animation), which they felt were overly commercialized. Other advocacy groups were concerned with the prevalence of imported children's programming because it did not reflect local cultural experiences. On the other hand, Hong Kong's WHO organization was concerned centrally with the presentation of age-appropriate content, violent content, and the lack of local programming.

The development of international production strategies for children's animated TV was a significant response by producers to various national regulatory practices, for instance those that imposed quotas requiring that TV broadcasts be of local, national productions. The imposition of quotas was linked with the rise of international coproductions, which arose as a means of accessing foreign markets. The consequent intensification of the international division of labour around children's animated TV was met with responses from labour groups in the US, who charged producers with violations of national labour legislations. However, labour groups could not limit the practice of sending work abroad when rising demand led to labour shortages, and the effects of their action proved short lived.

A more significant regulatory event occurred in the early 1980s, when US authorities deregulated the commercial broadcast of children's programs, allowing the development of full-length commercials: animated programs with toy and accessory tie-ins jumped from 2.5 hours in the 1981-82 season to 6.5 hours in the 1984-85 season, and education-oriented programs such as Captain Kangaroo were cancelled

altogether. This process of deregulation occurred in different ways worldwide throughout the 1980s, but was characterized largely by a global trend away from support of public broadcasting and towards the development of commercial broadcasting. These changes required the development of new strategies by governments to regulate international trade disputes, as well as by producers to access newly developed commercial markets. Importantly, these processes were conditioned by different levels and forms of deregulation. For instance, the creation of the European Community in 1992, and the development of a Europe-wide policy of broadcast quotas initially presented significant barriers to US producers.

This imposition of quotas by state regulators was motivated largely by perceptions of a threat of homogenization of local cultures in the face of the importation of foreign TV programs. However, regulatory resistance to global programs also took other forms including: the formation of state censorship organizations which reviewed foreign programs; judicial regulation of program trade; the provision of financial incentives for local production; as well as, in some instances, voluntary broadcast quotas. The resistance to perceived homogenization through the importation of foreign programs was consistently defended by state authorities and academicians as a means of protecting local citizenship and national identity, as well as a way of maintaining the breadth of local experiences. Again, the debates were thematically oriented around the struggle between the provisions of citizenship vs. consumerism, and in accord with local cultural standards.

Chapter Four: The International Production of Animated TV

The production of TV animation underwent significant changes during the 1980s and early 1990s, most notably involving an intensification of the international division of labour. Animation production is particularly well-suited to an international division of labour -- moreso than, for example, live action drama -- since the various stages of production can more easily be carried out in different international locales.³³ This flexibility allowed producers to develop international production strategies earlier and more extensively than producers of other types of TV programs. Moreover, the 1980s and early 1990s was marked by the significant development of new production strategies for TV animation, such as international coproduction -- ie. the cooperation of two or more partners from different nations. These coproductions tended to take advantage of the potential in animation production for flexible specialization, and often

³³ In 1979, *TV World* described 15 stages of animation production, which are relatively distinct, and can be carried out in different locales: story development, wherein a story is written and storyboards are created; sound recording, wherein a script of characters lines is created and voice stars are recorded; track reader, wherein a visual record of the recorded voices is transferred to exposure sheets, providing a guide to synchronize voice recordings with motion; layout, wherein backgrounds, costumes and stage scenes are placed in key positions; animation direction, wherein a director plans and times movement; animation, wherein animators follow recordings and exposure sheets to draw characters and scenes, creating movement; animation checking, wherein animation work is reviewed to ensure that drawings are ready for inking, copying and painting; background, where artists reproduce colour backgrounds from drawings; inking, wherein original animator drawings are traced onto cellulose sheets; painting of colour frames; paint checking, wherein painter's work is reviewed; camera, wherein cells are recorded onto film, following exposure sheets; film editing, wherein dialogue is synchronized with pictures, music and sound effects; dubbing, wherein all sounds are mixed onto a single track; and lab, wherein negatives are cut to create a final track (*TV World*, 1979f).

involved the production of different versions of programs for different international markets (examples of these versions are described at length in chapter six).³⁴ As a newly developed set of institutional and production arrangements, coproductions therefore represent an important mechanism whereby producers are better able to articulate the production process with the various international consumer markets for TV animation - ie. the linking of the spheres of production and consumption.

Therefore, the chapter provides an important context for the globalization of children's culture around TV animation, by detailing the specific processes and conditions around the internationalization of the animation industry. While the homogenization thesis assumes that an external culture imposes itself through TV, replacing the features of local culture with its own dominant features, and creating a global sameness, the following chapter attempts to demonstrate that the production process has oriented itself to accommodating local consumer markets and cultures. While globalization does involve the expansion of global products, and the compression of experiences worldwide, the development of program coproduction and versioning (ie. through the intersection of state regulations and the development of state and industry-driven conferences to facilitate and mediate international coproduction partnerships) has involved an important reflexive attention to the needs of local cultures in the production of global programs.

³⁴ This is opposed to a form of 'hybridization', in which the product takes a singular form that involves various features combined from different sources (eg. 'world beat' music).

In this respect, the chapter also demonstrates that the process of globalization around TV animation has not operated in a limited fashion within the spheres of production, consumption, regulation or representation, but rather has involved an articulation of these moments of cultural production. For instance, the development of a distinctive set of globalized production practices around TV animation, particularly coproduction schemes has involved centrally an attention to the requirements of imagined consumers, as well as their presumed responses to the product. This production process has been mediated by such factors as international industry conferences, and regulations by governments. Chapter six describes how the representational features of animated TV work to improve or mediate the articulation between production and consumption. This is particularly salient with the animation genre, since animation production is significantly more adaptable to international post-production and versioning than other types of TV programs. Evidence suggests that these types of production strategies, incorporated with coproduction partnerships, better accommodate local consumer expectations. The process of improving the fit between production and consumption on a global level demonstrates that attention to and maintenance of local differences is paramount to the process. A reflexive awareness of local and global consumption patterns is evidenced, for instance, in the search by international producers to find local features that may be globalized and global features that may be localized. This theme is further developed in chapter five where the efforts of producers and distributors to expand adult audiences for children's programs (through rescheduling, etc.) as well as to redistribute or redevelop successful programs from one

market for distribution in others are examined.

In attempting to account for these developments in the globalization of TV animation, the following chapter begins by describing the context of national and international corporate mergers and acquisitions. As was the case with other industries in the 1980s and early 1990s, animation production experienced rapid changes in corporate ownership, especially shifts in national and international ownership and consolidation of production facilities and distribution rights. The description focuses on the primary examples of Smurfs coproducers SEPP and Hanna-Barbera, as they were affected by such processes in the 1980s and early 1990s. This includes the interventions of government regulators, and the diversifications of corporate activities into alternate entertainment businesses such as publishing, toys and theme parks, etc., as well as the role played by international coproduction partnerships. This diversification, especially in the form of toy production and distribution, is described in chapter five as an important means by which producers enhanced the global marketing of TV animation, especially in the 1980s, and represents another mechanism to improve the articulation of product and consumer. The development of alternate broadcast media such as cable represented similar innovations that both challenged existing broadcast monopolies and in some ways created new ones.

The next section deals with the boom of animation production in the 1980s, and describes some related developments in the industry in the US. These developments

involved increasing consumer demand for higher quality TV animation, which included cross-competition between theatrical and TV animation producers, developments of alternate TV distribution methods such as cable, satellite and home video, as well expansions of TV animation into what were previously 'fringe' timeslots. These developments led ultimately to labour shortages, and the rise in producers' attempts to develop international sources of labour (as described in the context of union actions in chapter three). It is also important to contextualize the TV animation industry as one that is not isolated, but involved in a dynamic interplay with other genres such as live-action. Moreover, though many analysts have focused on the dominance of the US in the production and distribution of TV programming (eg. the cultural imperialism thesis), the section also relates important developments in animation production in other nations, as they too were affected by the boom in animation in the 1980s. Most notably, DIC of France during this time was successful in marketing programs in the lucrative US Saturday morning network schedule, which had previously been seen as an impenetrable market.

The next section focuses on the most significant development in the international division of labour around animation production in the 1980s and early 1990s -- the rising use of labour sources in Asia. The use of Asian labour was, however, not an entirely new phenomenon in the 1980s. It is important to note that US TV animation producers had used foreign labour since the 1950s. For example, Smurfs coproducer Hanna-Barbera had been the dominant producer of TV animation in the US until the

early 1980s, and had successfully produced portions of, and entire programs in Asia since the 1950s. The use of Asian labour sources from the 1950s to the early 1990s, was motivated primarily by considerations of cost. The desire to lower the cost of labour was further reflected in the shift of production from Taiwan to mainland China in the late 1980s, following increases in Taiwanese labour costs. It is important to note, however, that the use of Asian labour was limited by such factors as, for example, the lower quality of Asian product, and the specialization of Asian animators in certain styles such as action.

The development of international coproduction schemes was also motivated primarily by considerations of cost, although secondary reasons included the development of culturally relevant programs. Evidence provided in the next section demonstrates that producers sought coproduction partnerships as a means of enhancing the marketability of their programs abroad. Similarly, coproduction partnerships with Japanese firms allowed access to a larger pool of labour, and sped up the production process. As well, increases in local production costs, declines in local advertising revenues, competition with newly developed, alternate broadcasters such as cable and satellite, the presence of subsidies, and the desire for higher quality programs motivated producers to seek coproduction partnerships in the 1980s and early 1990s. Moreover, gaining access to popular characters without paying high licensing fees was an important motive during this time. Notably, however, the motives for seeking coproduction partnerships were conditioned by the desire to incorporate a greater measure of creative control that

would allow for the development of programs that met consumer expectations in international markets.

The final section deals with the mediation of international TV animation coproductions through the development of industry conferences and the interventions of state regulators. International industry conferences and organizations were established initially to provide a forum and meeting place for the international trade of TV programs. However, they evolved in the 1980s and early 1990s to formally include the *facilitation of coproduction partnerships, once conference organizers noted that producers who attended were increasingly using them for developing coproduction ties.* In the early 1980s, these conferences became well-known as events where coproduction partnerships could be developed, and thus where producers could enhance their means of producing market-appropriate programs for international consumers. Increasingly through the 1980s, the conferences developed as information forums wherein producers were advised on the expectations of consumers in various global markets. As well, the conferences guided producers in the determining the types of programs that were most suitable and were in greatest demand in international markets.

The regulatory efforts of governments also mediated the development of coproduction partnerships, and contributed significantly to the rise in popularity among producers for this type of production arrangement. State regulators in the 1980s in many

instances placed importation quotas on TV programs that could be circumvented by coproduction projects. Broadcast quotas, as well as restrictions on types of content in children's programs (eg. educational) also motivated coproduction partnerships. In other instances, regulations on corporate financial activities also affected a rise in coproduction partnerships.

Corporate Mergers/Acquisitions and the Cases of Hanna-Barbera and SEPP

Observers of the mass media industries in the 1980s and early 1990s have noted predominant changes in corporate ownership, especially the expansion of holdings and interests, monopolization and the concentration of various media interests in single conglomerate corporations. This has included the expansion of international operations and holdings across various types of media, as well as mergers and take-overs of entire corporations. These types of processes were not unique to the early 1980s and 1990s. However, they increased significantly during this time, and tended to be more international in scope.³⁵ Furthermore, mergers and acquisitions have not always involved significant changes in corporate operations. For instance, while Hanna-Barbera was acquired by Taft Broadcasting (a US firm) in 1967, both original partners of Hanna-Barbera remained by 1988 in charge of production as President (Hanna) and Senior Vice President (Barbera) (Silden, 1988). On the other hand mergers and

³⁵ While the current discussion provides a case focus of these processes, appendix two provides an important overview of historical trends in industry structure leading up to the 1980s and 1990s.

acquisitions have broadly involved an alignment of interest in ventures, and have in many cases involved innovations in production strategies, especially around the international division of labour.

In reporting the addition of the Smurfs coproduction to the Saturday morning US TV schedule, *Variety* commented on the entry of SEPP of Belgium to the corporate competition over this market. Describing SEPP as a 'powerhouse', *Variety* noted in 1983:

SEPP is a private firm, four members of the Dupuis family each holding 25% of the shares... tied into Metromedia through Ice Capades, which it will turn into a vidspec (broadcast TV special) soon. SEPP has its monetary tentacles going in many directions, all family-oriented, mostly kiddie fare - publishing, the key to it all at the start; production, distribution, of... TV and films, with kidfare live and in animation as well as music division, merchandising, creation and design and telecommunications and the new technologies (*Variety*, 1983a, p.115).

SEPP had for some time been interested in accessing the US market. In 1985, *Variety* reported on the Franco-Belgian takeover of Dupuis involving the creation of a Brussels holding company in which Dupuis would be split into 4 divisions -- magazines, book and album publishing, printing and audio-visual (ie. SEPP). It was reported that the Dupuis family was planning a major expansion into US markets, which would be initiated by SEPP (Clark, 1985). Before the Smurfs TV coproduction, SEPP had been highly successful in marketing Smurf toy figurines in the US, which provided much of the impetus for developing a TV program around the characters. Since the toys had already been incorporated into the every-day lives of US children, the marketability of the program was enhanced prior to the development of the program.

This struggle for international market expansion and corporate control, on the other hand, also went in the other direction. For instance, in 1984, *Variety* reported on a Belgian judicial freeze of SEPP assets, reporting that: "The Belgian authorities are concerned about any possible suppression of jobs at the Dupuis printing plant, and will seek assurances from any company that takes over the publishing side of the business" (Clark, 1984, p.68). *Variety* also speculated that the regulatory freeze may have been the result of a fear of takeover by foreign buyer 3M (of the US), who had entered into an investment arrangement with SEPP to market Snorks that year, and was known to have designs on ownership ties.³⁶

Following the success of Smurfs, *Variety* reported in 1985 that SEPP was planning a major expansion, especially into North America, following a takeover by Dupuis Media Group. The expansion would involve a major campaign of acquisition of author's rights, and development of contracting of writers for publishing and TV programs. With 73 writers, authors and cartoonists under contract in western Europe, SEPP panned an expansion to become the "most important producer of children's programming for TV" (Clark, 1985, p.51). *TV World* in 1988 reported on the booming animation business in Belgium, noting that the strong financial restrictions on producing in Belgium were being overcome by international coproduction arrangements. They noted that SEPP "considering that the adequate structures are

³⁶ SEPP head Fred Monnickendam reported in 1987 that he devised the Snorks in 1986 as a replacement for Smurfs, because he did not expect that the Smurfs would be running on network broadcasts for five years with high ratings (Clark, 1985, p.51).

insufficient in Belgium and in order to gain easier access to the American networks" (Erneux, 1988, p.35) had constructed its partnership with Hanna-Barbera and had become successful with Smurfs and other TV series only after moving to produce the programs abroad. The expansion of SEPP's operations was therefore facilitated in large part by the development of international coproduction ties, especially the Smurfs project.

By the time Hanna-Barbera entered into a coproduction agreement with SEPP to produce Smurfs in 1981, the American company had undergone significant changes with respect to acquisitions and mergers. In 1967, ten years after shifting production from theatrical animated shorts to TV programs, Hanna-Barbera was acquired by Taft Broadcasting Company of Cincinnati (later to be acquired by Great American Entertainment, which was a division of Great American Financial Corporation). Soon after this acquisition, Taft had expanded Hanna-Barbera operations into 5 amusement parks, and began to expand its merchandising operations. In 1981, "More than 1500 licensed manufacturers world-wide turn out 4500 different products bearing likenesses of Hanna-Barbera characters, for example, Flintstone window shades, Scooby-Doo pajamas" (Canemaker, 1981, p.84). In 1971, Taft partnered with the large Australian communications firm James Hardie Industries, and built a large production studio division in Australia (Hanna-Barbera-Australia). This was done, *Variety* noted, in order to "ease the increasing workload of Hanna-Barbera's US studios and tap into the bountiful supply of skilled animators, a rare and vanishing breed in most countries"

(p.155). The studio began producing TV series and specials for the US, Europe, Australia and Southeast Asia (*Variety*, 1983c, p.61). By 1983, the Taft-Hardie partnership was expanded globally, included a partnership with Australian Broadcast Investments Pty Ltd, and was reformed into a new corporation named the Taft-Hardie Group. *TV World* in 1988 noted that Hanna-Barbera-Australia Pty, though sharing a common parent company (Taft Broadcasting) with Hanna Barbera Inc. of the US, was autonomous and operated independently from the US sister company. It was noted that while Bill Hanna had established the Australian subsidiary in 1972 as a response to rising labour costs in the US, it had, in the 1980s, begun to compete with other Asian production houses for Hanna-Barbera business to be distributed in the US. (Welford, 1988).

Variety in 1988 reported that Hanna-Barbera had decided to consolidate its US operations in Los Angeles after creating their own in-house home video distribution arm, in effect taking distribution operations control back from Worldvision; Worldvision Home Vid VP and General Manager Tom Devlin relinquished his duties at Hanna-Barbera Home Video and Wendy Moss, Media Home Entertainment marketing-merchandising VP, was to replace him at Hanna-Barbera (MHE had worked with Worldvision in the past). Joseph Barbera and William Hanna explained that a merger between Worldvision and Aaron Spelling Co. would retain the Hanna-Barbera-Worldvision affiliation, but that the two companies would no longer both be owned by Great American Entertainment; otherwise, the relationship between Hanna-Barbera and

Worldvision would remain the same (*Variety*, 1988f, p.33).

In 1990, *Variety* reported that Disney had acquired assets and a lease purchase of Hanna-Barbera-Australia's Sydney operations, following a management buyout of the Taft-Hardie Group in 1989 (which was now known as Southern Star Productions). Disney made the acquisition as part of their move to establish an all-TV animation production operation. The head of Hanna-Barbera studio setup, Keith Amor, who moved over to Disney during the takeover of assets, reported that Disney chose the Australia location because of: "the high reputation of animators here; a stable economic and political environment; and cost savings, although the strengthening Oz dollar does affect those cost advantages" (Murdoch, 1989, p.10). This was counter to other international moves, such as that of Burbank Films (another large US TV animation producer) which had in 1988 moved its operations to the Philippines. Tom Stacey, head of Burbank films noted that move was motivated by rising costs in Australia, which reflected wound-back tax concessions and the strengthening of the Australian dollar (p.19).

However, this takeover of assets was only the beginning of major changes in ownership of the assets of Hanna-Barbera at the time. In Oct. 1, 1991, the *New York Times* reported on the potential purchase of Hanna-Barbera by Turner Broadcasting, noting that Hanna-Barbera owned about 30-40% of the animated cartoons ever produced. Turner had already purchased the rights to Warner Brothers animation

produced before 1948, and was believed at that time to be planning to capitalize on these assets by developing an all-animation pay TV network (Variety, 1991a). On November 4, 1991, *Variety* reported that Turner Broadcasting Systems had signed a deal with Great American Communications Co. to purchase Hanna-Barbera for \$320 million. This included acquisition of the entire Hanna-Barbera library (in a 50% joint ownership with former Drexel Burnham Lambert investment banker Leon Black's Cayman Islands investment firm Apollo Investment Fund):

The library represents the animation studio's most valuable asset and would form the backbone of a new international cable animation net planned by TBS, which is also in the running for Viacom Enterprises' Kidvid library.

...Additionally, Turner alone gets GACC's animated entertainment production business and domestic and international distribution rights to the Hanna-Barbera library, which is held by Worldvision Entertainment Enterprises (owned by GACC affiliate Spelling Entertainment). Worldvision will receive \$24 million cash, the GACC live-action program library, and GACC's Hamilton Projects licensing/merchandising units (Benson, 1991a, p.23).

With profits generated by the more than 3000 half-hours of animated programs in the Hanna-Barbera library, as well as the distribution rights, which had been held by Worldvision Enterprises, a division of Spelling Entertainment, Turner planned to eventually buy out Leon Black and become sole owner of the library (*New York Times*, 1991, p.141). However, the acquisition would not be final until government regulators approved the deal: " ...The Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice will examine the deal, and, if no irregularities are found, could close before the end of the year" (Benson, 1991a, p.23).

In November of 1991, *Variety* noted a slump in Hanna-Barbera production, largely a

result of strong competition from Disney and other newcomers to TV animation:

"Although Hanna-Barbera has lost the dominance it once held in the Saturday morning cartoon field because of market changes, it still has almost 50 half-hours in production" (*Variety*, 1991b, p.24). However, the takeover of Hanna-Barbera assets, combined with slumping business, led to numerous lay-offs. On December 9, 1991, *Variety* reported on the 'axing' of Hanna-Barbera staff one day after the finalization of the purchase of Hanna-Barbera by Turner Broadcasting System (ie. immediately after the US government approved the purchase), including,

92 of 430 employees on the domestic side and 23 of the 27 in the international division. TBS last week stripped Hanna-Barbera of all its ancillary businesses, including homevid, licensing, marketing and retail, accounting and business affairs departments. Turner will take over those functions, with Hanna-Barbera focused on TV and movie animation. The TBS spokesman said that all of the eliminated positions "duplicated functions" of the Turner organization. No other personnel cuts are planned, but the rep noted that the company "is always evaluating positions" (Benson, 1991b, p.30).

On December 16, 1991, *Variety* added to reports on position changes at Hanna-Barbera during the takeover by TBS, noting that Pamela McSweeney was reassigned to Lois Sloane in New York, to oversee licensing and merchandising for the Hanna-Barbera library, including some of the MGM library and CNN, as well the upcoming Tom and Jerry Movie (Berman, 1991, p.23). *Variety* also reported that, following the takeover of Hanna-Barbera by TBS, Turner intended to focus on licensing and merchandising. Turner emphasized that he would honour all existing agreements with Hanna-Barbera Home Video, with the exception of the international market, where licensing agreements would be reevaluated by territory (p.23).

While these changes in ownership and control of TV animation and ancillary operations around SEPP and Hanna-Barbera involved global corporate expansion, the mergers and acquisitions were not a straightforward monopolization or unification, but rather a complex restructuring and modification of production and distribution operations. Though the 1980s and early 1990s were marked by an overall boom in TV animation, the balance of competition shifted considerably as new corporations such as Disney challenged the traditional dominance of Hanna-Barbera in TV animation production (as discussed in more detail in chapter five). Similarly, broadcasters and distributors such as Turner gained significant monopolies, but operations such as the Turner Cartoon Network did not entirely replace or take over, but made important challenges to traditional broadcasters worldwide. These changes had significant effects on the ways in which TV animation was produced at the time, especially in the development of international production strategies.

The Global Boom in Animation Production

Pressures to develop international labour sources for TV animation production stemmed in part from the heightened trend towards corporate mergers and acquisitions in the 1980s, but also from other developments in the animation industry on national levels. Although the first use of foreign labour in US animation production came very early in the history of TV animation (led by Herb Klynn, who went to Korea to produce *The Gerald McBoing-Boing Show* and *Mr. Magoo* in 1956, and was soon

followed by Hanna-Barbera) the 1980s marked a much heightened trend towards the use of labour from outside the US. The primary motives were financial, given that foreign labour was typically much cheaper than US labour. However, other factors, such as overall increases in animation production, changes in production schedules, and shifts between live-action and theatrical production put strains on domestic US labour supplies. In addition, developments in TV animation coproduction partnerships on the national level in the US tended to involve partners with varied corporate interests, bringing specialties that complimented animation with different marketing tie-ins, such as toy production and distribution.

The experience of Hanna-Barbera is instructive in this regard. In describing the fall of theatrical animation and the subsequent rise of TV animation in the US in the late 1950s, Joseph Barbera pointed to rising labour costs as the root cause:

The old Hollywood animator just priced himself out of the market. Every year the union rate went up, which made it harder to earn profits. We used to make Tom and Jerry for \$45,000 per five minutes. Then, when the market collapsed and we went out on our own, we had to produce TV cartoons at \$2,700 per five minutes... We did it by creating a system known as limited animation, but even that meant plenty of work (Trachtenburg, 1985, p.182).

Emmy Magazine described Hanna-Barbera's invention of limited animation for TV:

They drew one character with his right foot extended; a second drawing with the left foot in front. The cartoons were filmed so that the feet blurred, and the character looked as though he were running. A cartoon that used to take 15,000 drawings to produce could thus be done with only 750 (Silden, 1988, p.20).

Emmy observed that since their first use of limited animation for TV in 1957, the name Hanna-Barbera had come to "symbolize TV animation" (p.20). In 1960,

Huckleberry Hound became the first animated TV program to win an emmy; Yogi Bear spun off from Huckleberry Hound in his own show in 1961, which was still on the air in 1988. The first prime-time animated program, the Flintstones, also began in 1960 and ran for 6 years, with 166 episodes which have been aired continually since. All of these successes in TV programs for Hanna-Barbera stemmed from the development of limited animation, which was in turn a response to increased labour costs following animation unionization in the 1950s.

Increases in quality and production costs led US producers like Hanna-Barbera to seek cheaper labour sources within the domestic market as well as outside it. In 1982, Hanna and Barbera described the importance of developing trained labour for animation production, and their intent to begin developing theatrical animation production: "...Television has allowed us to develop the new talent for tomorrow. Our future is limited only by the lack of trained animators. The years ahead are dim without talent" (Hanna and Barbera, 1982, p.160). But in 1983, *Variety* was reporting on a union dispute during the production of Hanna-Barbera's *Going Bananas*, which resulted in the program being placed on hiatus. The dispute began, according to 'inside sources', when "Hanna-Barbera tried to get the best of both worlds by hiring both non-signatory Local 33 workers and craftsmen from signatory locals such as Camera Local 659 and Sound Local 695" (*Variety*, 1983d, p.29).

The entry of Disney into the TV market in the 1980s, with such high-quality programs

as Duck Tales, contributed to consumer demands for higher quality animation, and had significant implications for the marketability of Hanna-Barbera's limited animation style. Art Scott, VP in charge of specials at Hanna-Barbera noted,

We're always short of what we'd really like to do because you'd always like to do the most, which is traditionally animation that many of us were trained in. You never thought about eliminating drawings. You put as many drawings in as you could because you wanted to go beyond what live-action could do. Now because every frame costs money, and there's only so much money, it's the economics of it more than anything else that limits you (Stevenson, 1991, p.97).

In referring to the market in 1985, Barbera complained that labour costs made TV animation production unprofitable (Trachtenburg, 1985, p.182). Moreover, this trend of rising labour costs in the US continued into the 1990s. For instance, in 1991, *Variety* reported on the current increases in the amount of TV animation in production, and noted that smaller producers were being squeezed out by higher costs and demands for higher quality. Audience demand for higher quality had been generated by larger studios. For example, while in 1978 Fat Albert cost around \$120,000 per half hour to produce, by 1991 Disney was spending, on average, over \$400,000 per animated TV episode. Similarly, Universal Animation was producing the animated series Back to Future for over \$500,000 per episode in 1991, making it one of the most expensive Saturday morning TV programs at that point (Stevenson, 1991). Hanna-Barbera was forced to respond by improving the quality of its product:

Even Hanna-Barbera, the company that pioneered limited animation, has taken deliberate steps to improve its product. For the company's primetime projects, overseas work is tested at the pencil-drawing stage to make sure the characters and timing are right. Several years ago, a 22-minute cartoon would have 11,000 to 12,000 cels, now it can contain as many as 17,000. As a result, Hanna-Barbera's costs have risen every year, as they have at rival studios" (Stevenson,

1991, p.51).

By 1991, however, despite the company's attempts to increase the quality of programs, Hanna-Barbera, had lost its dominance in Saturday morning programs

However, while increases in demand for higher quality animation put strains on labour sources, the problem was also compounded in the 1980s by shifts towards theatrical animation and changes in TV production scheduling. For instance, Hanna-Barbera began a shift back to theatrical animation in 1981, with their plans to release *Heidi's Song*. At this point, *Millimeter* described Hanna-Barbera as the world's largest producer of animated TV series and specials, and identified *Heidi's Song* as an historical turn-around for Hanna and Barbera, who had produced fully animated Tom and Jerry cartoons for 20 years at MGM studios. Having created Tom and Jerry in 1937, Hanna-Barbera moved into TV animation with a six minute cartoon for NBC in 1957, after TV had slowed down the box office draw (Silden, 1988). They had been producing limited animation programs for TV for 23 years prior to 1981 by, according to an Hanna-Barbera press release, "ignor[ing] the time-consuming and expensive detail that would not be visible on the dimly lit video screen" (p.84).

Barbera noted that he hoped *Heidi's Song* would be like a Disney theatrical release, and could be re-released to the theatres every seven years:

Films that keep the Disney empire well-oiled with money derived from box office returns (pure profit, since there are no production costs on re-releases), and from lucrative merchandising spin-offs, like comic strips and dolls for themed amusement park rides. This money-making machine depends on the

public's continuing affection for the cartoon characters and their 'classic' stories found in the Disney features. Hanna-Barbera have not yet fully entered this profit arena, but they have been working on it (Canemaker, 1981, p.88).

However, the production of *Heidi's Song* represented a significant change in animation production schedules for Hanna-Barbera. *Heidi's Song* was in production year-round, while other studios were "generally looking to [theatrical production] activity after Saturday TV work tails off in October and November" (*Variety*, 1978a, p.16).

Similarly, in 1988, *Variety* reported that Cine Group of Canada, largely successful to that point in TV animation, had begun to turn to feature animation (Devins, 1988). As well, in 1990, *Variety* reported that German animators, in addition to their existing TV production, were also beginning to produce full-length animated features (Kindred, 1990). Thus the global boom in TV animation, and consequent shortages in labour were due in part to competition from what were traditionally theatrical animation producers, as well as challenges from what were traditionally TV animation producers to theatrical markets.

Changes in TV production scheduling also affected labour supplies. For instance, in 1978, *Millimeter* blamed the low quality of animation on Saturday morning TV on the "network's hesitancy to give the production go-ahead on new shows until the last possible moment" (Schaeter, 1978, p.76). This short lead-time had a significant effect on animation production, which typically takes much longer than live-action programming. In addition to this, the development of fringe-time programming (Sunday mornings, after school, and prime-time) increased the need for more

animation labour. For instance, In 1984, Hanna-Barbera announced plans to begin producing a new 90-minute animated program, *The Funtastic World of Hanna Barbera*, composed of three separate half-hour programs for Sunday mornings. *Variety* reported that Hanna-Barbera was going after the Sunday morning market, since it was "wide open" for animated, character-driven programs. This represented a large increase in production for Hanna-Barbera, and required new programs for training of production personnel (eg. layout): Barbera noted: "no one has been training anyone for 20 years" (Kaufman, 1984). Similarly, the first 13 episodes of the successful prime-time animated program *Simpsons* had been into three reruns on Fox in 1989 and 1990, and the new 1990 programs were not released until October. This late scheduling was unique to prime-time at that point (Kissinger, 1990, p.124). These types of scheduling problems were created both by the relatively long lead time required for animation production, as well as the relative shortage of animation labour in the US.

In other ways, changes in the differences between animation and live-action production costs affected the animation industry in the US. Firstly, it should be noted that producers of animation were seldom dedicated exclusively to animation. For instance Hanna-Barbera's Saturday morning animated programs had long been popular among children, and the company was largely dedicated to this type of program. They were also, however, involved marginally in live-action TV production, and had even won an emmy in 1978 for a live-action TV movie (Canemaker, 1981). Similarly, Sunbow Productions was a highly successful children's program producer in the 1980s. The

corporation was created in 1978 by two partners of an advertising agency in New York, who believed that a market existed for new childrens' programs; they observed that prior to 1978 there was very little new children's programming. Their first project, in 1980, was a highly successful childrens program: a combined puppet and live-action, educational, public broadcasting series, *The Great Space Coaster* (Gelman, 1986, p.81). This initial success was followed up by a number of highly successful animated toy tie-in programs in coproduction with Marvel Productions Inc. of the US: *GI Joe*, *Transformers*, *My Little Pony n' Friends*, *Inhumanoids*, *Jem*; and theatrical films such as *My Little Pony*, *Transformer* and *GI Joe* (Friedman, 1988a). In 1988, however, *TV World* reported on Sunbow's move into live-action production. Using their profits from animation production to finance the ventures, the company had five new live-action projects in production.

Similarly, BRB, formerly known as BRB Merchandising (which had represented firms such as Nippon Animation and Hanna-Barbera) moved into TV distribution and worked largely out of Spanish-speaking countries to dub and distribute such series' as *Dallas*, *Little House on The Prairie*, as well as Hanna-Barbera films such as *Heidi's Song* for TV distribution. In 1981, BRB began coproducing TV animation. At this time about 60% of BRB income was from merchandising, and the rest was from TV production and distribution (Variety, 1981, p.44). *TV World* in 1988 noted that Hanna-Barbera-Australia Pty, in a move to become less dependent on animation production, had begun to produce live-action programs (Welford, 1988). This suggests that

animation is not an isolated form of TV program production, since animators have often attempted live-action production.

Moreover, broader industry shifts in production costs created a dynamic relationship between live-action and animation production. For instance, the rising cost of live-action production in the 1980s had contributed to increases in the overall volume of animation production. In 1982, *Variety* reported that the rising costs of live-action film production, relative to animation production, had made a greater number of feature animation productions more viable. Jerry Beck of MGM-UA suggested, "In the 1980s, the budgets of the majors' live-action films have outstripped the big animation costs of doing a full-length feature; Ralph Bakshi's *Fritz the Cat* cost only about \$1,000,000 to make in 1971, but since then labour costs for animation skyrocketed and producers were reluctant to commit the funds. Now animation is competitive or cheaper than a comparable live feature." (*Variety*, 1982b, p.34). The most notable characteristic of the new animated productions was the development of alternate techniques, including the combination of live action and animated sequences, as well as puppet animation and live-action puppet production (p.34). Assisted by developments in computer technologies, these new formats developed in the 1980s had the effect, among others, of blurring the distinction between TV live-action and animation.

Overall, it should be noted that, while these processes and changes in animation production in the US characterized a general boom in TV animation production, there

were also highly significant developments on an international level. While the US had dominated the international trade of TV animation until the 1980s, significant changes in other nations created a partial reversal of this domination. In 1983, for instance, DIC Enterprises, a division of Audiovisuel Enterprises of France, became the first overseas company to sell an animated series directly to a US network. *The Littles*, based on a Scholastic books line, was in production for distribution on ABC's Saturday morning schedule. DIC also produced the syndicated *Inspector Gadget*, which had landed Kellogg sponsorship in the US, and represented Kellogg's largest media buy for the year. DIC, according to *Variety*, was beginning to play a significant role in US TV, driving a wedge into the control exercised by the major US Saturday morning animation TV producers: Hanna-Barbera, Marvel and Filmation. DIC had created its own merchandising division and had closed 10 licensing deals on *Inspector Gadget* (Hollinger, 1983, p.61). The competitive addition of SEPP to the US Saturday morning field through the *Smurfs* coproduction was, thus, not the only international inroad into the US market.

The capacity of non-US animation producers to penetrate the US market was due in part to various booms in national animation production worldwide. For instance, *Variety* reported in 1990 that the Spanish animation production business was booming due to the growing market for TV animation in Spain, rather than foreign markets (Variety, 1990, p.58). Earlier on, in June of 1980, *Variety* similarly reported on the booming animation business in Japan - they reported that national animation

production would cost investors \$350,000,000, and with merchandising, would trade well over \$500,000,000 in 1980. With anticipated coproductions and international marketing, the figure would nearly double in the coming years (Werba, 1980, pp.5,38).

Variety also noted that the strength of animation production in Japan was nationally-based:

the television networks are the heaviest investors, followed by the publishing companies, the major film companies, music record companies and a growing number of foreign outfits seeking coproduction, territorial distribution and ancillary ties with a medium in full momentum. ...The core of the animation community is made up of artisan groups - some too small to be classed as companies - but all totally dedicated to an entertainment form heavily conditioning compartment, moral values and consumer reflexes of Nippon children and young people, probably beyond anything experienced in other parts of the world (p.5).

This strength in national marketing contributed to the potential of Japanese producers to access foreign markets later in the 1980s and early 1990s. They found, however, as described in more detail in chapter five, that features of what was culturally appropriate programming in Japan were not appropriate elsewhere, and required significant alterations in content before they would be marketed successfully abroad.

The success of the theatrical animated feature, *Who Framed Roger Rabbit*, had also led to increases in production volume at German animation studios in 1990. *Variety* reported that German animation studios were working at full capacity; the new animation feature *The Adventures of Pico Columbus* was being produced by a team that included several *Who Framed Roger Rabbit* animators (Williams, 1990). *Variety* also reported generally that the European animation industry was in its largest boom in

decades, following the world-wide success of *Who Framed Roger Rabbit*. European animators had in 1987 produced 60 hours of animation, in 1988 over 200 hours, and in 1989 over 350 hours (Hardy, 1990, p.55). The Canadian animation industry was also very active in 1986, with Nelvana's (distribution right owned by Global) *Care Bears* series and highly successful theatrical features; Evergreen's *Racoons* (coproduced by the CBC and Disney) series and specials; Atkins' *Babar* and other specials (Variety, 1986b).

Wales also experienced a boom in animation production according to a *Variety* report of 1991 that was due in part to the "explosion in ancillary outlets such as cable, homevideo and satellite TV". These formats had begun to make animation production ventures relatively safe because the time involved in production was less onerous; thus, for example, smaller firms did not have to commit to producing 65 half-hours for syndication in order to produce saleable animated products (*Variety*, 1991c, p.74).

However, the boom in Welsh animation production provided inroads for other types of international production and distribution, similar to transitions attempted by Sunbow in 1988. S4C's chief executive Stanley Jones comments: "Animation is very important because it gives us a profile in the world outside. It was an act of faith for us at the beginning. Now its coming to fruition" (p.74). In this sense, animation worked as a vanguard for other types of production for international distribution. Since animation was more easily marketed abroad, it formed the first type of successful marketing for Welsh producers.

Overall, the global development of animation production in the 1980s and early 1990s involved complex inter-relationships between a variety of market and cultural factors. The processes that characterized the boom in animation worldwide were neither straightforward nor uniform, and had significant consequences for the broader TV industry, as well as other related fields such as film. Similarly, the boom was not isolated to one or another national context, and did not involve a singular growth of, for example US production, nor a uni-directional expansion of US control into international markets.

Asia and the International Division of Animation Labour

The global boom in animation production in the 1980s created labour shortages for many national producers, who began in large numbers to seek labour sources internationally. By far the most commonly used sources were in Asia. For instance, in 1983, *Emmy* reported on the "runaway labour" trend in US TV animation, noting that 75% of programs were at that time produced overseas -- almost exclusively in Asia. While the use of foreign labour was not new in TV animation, in the past it tended to be the smaller, independent producers who used foreign labour. In 1983, however, it was a novel situation that the large 'old-guard Hollywood cartooneries' were now sending the more labour-intensive parts of production overseas (Howell, 1983, p.34). *Emmy* quoted academic sources, describing the new trend in animation as part of a larger industrial trend towards the 'international division of labour'. While this practice

continues today, in the 1980s it had increased significantly. *Emmy* noted in 1983 that clauses dealing with runaway labour in the new animation union-industry labour contract had failed, since the larger studios (Hanna-Barbera and Disney) had refused to agree (Howell, 1983). Thus, while labour groups had attempted to restrict the use of Asian labour, their attempts had failed by the early 1980s. However, it should also be noted that the use of Asian labour sources worldwide, though a dominant factor in the globalization of animation production, was conditioned in many instances, by such factors as production quality, and the desire to maintain creative control.

Again, it should be noted that the practice of using foreign labour in animation production was not entirely new in the 1980s. In 1992, *Emmy* reporting on the boom in TV animation, noted a sharp rise in prime-time animated programs, following the success of Simpsons, which was known for its heavy use of Korean labour. Herb Klynn, a fifty-year animation veteran, who first went to Korea for cheap animation labour in 1956 to produce *The Gerald McBoing-Boing Show* and *Mr. Magoo* reminded readers that the practice had historical roots: "We had to teach the Koreans and send supervisors to oversee their inking and painting -- doing only the key cels and storyboards here -- but we saved millions of dollars. Disney followed suit, and so has nearly everyone else. Now 90% of the work goes overseas, and we still have full employment here" (Davidson, 1992, p.80). While the use of Asian labour continued into the 1990s, the continued boom in animation was enough to maintain high employment levels among animators in the US.

Moreover, it should be noted that the use of Asian labour sources was common outside of the US as well. For instance, in 1981, *Variety* reported on increases in Spain's animation production business, especially those productions slated for English-dubbing, including a *Don Quixote* TV series, produced by Cruz Delgado, which also produced *Gulliver*, a feature film. Delgado reported that *Gulliver* would cost about \$1,000,000 US: "We could do the film for half that price, if it were geared to the TV market, but then it would be with very limited animation." (*Variety*, 1981b, p.6). The rise in activity in Spain was in 1981 due largely to international coproduction arrangements, especially at Madrid's Filman, where, according to Juan Ramon Pina and Carlos Alfonso, "About 85% of our production since 1971 has been dedicated to Hanna-Barbera films [including 13 episodes of *The Flintstones*]. We do about half an hour a month, but our quality is higher." (p.6). Specifically, however, Spanish producers complained about 'runaway' work done in Japan: "Some films had been sent to Taipei, but the work ... was so bad they had to return it to us; The prices in Spain are lower than the US, and the quality is better than in the Orient. A series like *El Cid*, which BRB did in Japan, could just as well have been made in Spain. Once you get things organized, Spain too could deliver a half hour a week." (p.42). The use of Asian labour in Spanish productions, perceived to be a lower quality than what could be produced domestically, was thus limited to spill-over work, and was the result of the boom in national production at the time.

In a similar situation, French animation producers used Asian labour in the 1980s. In

1982, *Variety* reported that DIC Audiovisuel of France had opened a new subsidiary production operation in Japan, and was in the process of opening a studio in Canton. Andrew Heyward was hired from Hanna-Barbera to direct the US subsidiary of DIC, noting that all creative work (writing, storyboards and voice recording) would be done in the US, while painting, shooting and printing might be done by affiliate companies in Japan and China. Heyward noted that DIC Enterprises would also: "interface in the US market for its sister companies in the group", the members of which, under multinational entertainment conglomerate Radio Television Luxembourg, included RTL Productions in Luxembourg, Paris-based Hamster Productions, Rome-based Vides Films, and London-based Consolidated Productions (Hollinger, 1982, p.6). The largest French production-distribution multi-media international conglomerate, Gaumont, was also reported in 1982 to be extending its international operations into Japan (Clark, 1982a). Therefore, while the creative and design stages of animation production were carried out in France, the labour-intensive stages such as inking were to be completed in Asia.

The trend towards the use of Asian labour sources increased throughout the 1980s. In 1987, the *New York Times* reported on the shift in animation production to Asia. In order to keep production costs down, producers were turning to Asian labour sources for drawing and painting the approximately 20,000 cells that make up a 22 minute-length animated program. Ross Bagdasarian, producer of *Alvin and the Chipmunks* noted: "They work cheaper and they work up to 16 hours a day. It would be hard to

get an American worker to do that" (New York Times, 1987, p.17). The low cost of Asian labour had become especially important for syndicated animated TV production, since syndicated orders were typically for 65 episodes, while networks tended to order a standard 13 episodes (p.17).³⁷ The *New York Times* reported that not all forms of animation were suitable for overseas production. For example, while Filmation had still kept all production in-house in order to maintain 'creative control', Disney Network TV president Gary Krisel noted that Japanese animation houses were especially good at action-adventure animation, since "so much of them had been done for Japanese television" (p.17). The use of Asian labour was thus not unlimited, but was restricted in this case by the desire to maintain creative control over output, as well as by stylistic specializations of Asian animators.

Moreover, the use of Asian labour was not uniform throughout the region, but rather involved shifts within Asia according to differences in labour costs. For instance, in 1989, *Emmy* reported on the first US-owned (Pacific Rim Media) animation studio in mainland China. Up until that point, a great deal of animation work had been done by Hanna-Barbera and Disney in Taiwan. The move to the mainland studio occurred as Taiwan costs were on the rise (Krampner, 1989). *Variety* also reported in 1991 that 10 episodes of Disney's *Darkwing Duck* had been slated for production out of Jade's

³⁷ The *New York Times* also reported that in 1985, the agreement struck between Local 839 and animation producers following the 1982 strike had not been renewed; Bud Hester, the union business representative reported that: "It would have been futile to go out on strike again. The studios were already set up overseas, and we would have been killed permanently" (*New York Times*, 1987, p.17).

mainland China production facilities (Palmer, 1991).

While the international division of animation labour in the 1980s and early 1990s continued to include the heavy use of Asian labour, the process had not been straightforward or uniform, but rather dynamic and contingent on a variety of international factors. Among these was the maximization of inexpensive labour sources, combined with the desire to maintain creative control. This had been achieved in large part by the 1990s through an international division of design and production, which was also partially achieved through the establishment of subsidiary production facilities. For instance, in 1991, *Variety* announced that Asia had become the predominant international supplier of animation production services: "In the last decade, national pride and producers of animated product around the world have abandoned production in their homelands to flock to the Asian region" (Palmer, 1991, p.41). However, while some animation companies such as Wang of Taiwan, and Sun Woo of South Korea provided services for offshore companies, larger producers had created subsidiary facilities. For instance, Hanna-Barbera had built a wholly-owned Philippine-based studio, Fil-cartoon, which produced the TV series *Young Robin Hood* and *Fish Police*, specials such as *Yo Yogi* and feature releases of *Tom and Jerry* (p.66).

The Economic Benefits of Coproduction

The type of centralized control of animation design described in the previous section was not the exclusive method of producing TV animation in the 1980s and 1990s. In contrast, international coproductions were developed as a means of enhancing the profitability of TV animation by lowering costs, and by providing access to foreign markets in instances where state production and broadcast quotas tended to limit it (as discussed in chapter three). Coproductions were also developed, however, as a means of enhancing the marketability of programs by incorporating, through shared creative control, an improved fit between product and consumers from different global markets. The following section describes the financial motives for international coproduction partnerships, which often, but not exclusively involved access to US financing and markets. Motives for coproductions often included the collaborative cross-marketing of animation and toy products, and the potential to access popular characters. Importantly, however, the sharing of creative control was also a secondary motive related to financial concerns, since access to international markets requires specific attention to different cultural factors.

Variety reported that the 1983 MIP was marked by the increase of development contacts for coproductions among smaller independent producers (Loftus, 1983c, p.509). Later, in 1986 *Variety* reported on the success of a series of coproduction projects between US Sunbow Productions and Marvel Productions Ltd (GI Joe, My

Little Pony, Transformers, Inhumanoids and Jem - all highly successful) (Gelman, 1986). The success of Sunbow and Marvel productions was extensive in the 1980s: "Sunbow's shows are currently on the air in almost every European territory and are also transmitted on Pan European channels including Sky Channel, Superchannel, The Children's Channel and Tele-5" (Friedman, 1988a, p.60). After only 3 years of operation, Sunbow's international distribution arm had sold programs in over 80 territories (p.60). Speculating on the reasons for these successes, *Variety* noted: "The strength of the relationship has been such that they've been able to talk well with and to each other, and each brings a lot of expertise to the table" (Gelman, 1986, p.81). The motive for the partnership was collaborative interests in cross-marketing animation and toy products. It is also notable, however, that Sunbow and Marvel brought collaborative interests in the cross-marketing of TV animation and toy products.³⁸

³⁸ Another significant coproduction partnership was a public-service, anti-drug program developed by the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences production of *Cartoon All-Stars to the Rescue*. While the ATAS holds right to the program, as well as unlimited rebroadcast rights, the production included contributions by several industry characters. The program was funded by Ronald McDonald Children's Charity (the first \$600,000); tape stock was donated by Eastman Kodak, and approximately 50,000 video stores agreed to rent it for free; McDonald's Corporation donated \$471,000; McDonald's public relations department donated another \$200,000 to cover an estimated \$600,000-\$700,000 production costs for the 30 minute program. McDonald's Corporation also contributed promotion in restaurants 10 days prior to airing - tray liners and counter cards, reaching approximately 6,000,000 customers in the US in 1990. National networks and independents in the US and Canada agreed to 'roadblock' the program, airing it at the same time on April 21, 1990; it was estimated that 60-75% of the child population would watch the program (no commercials would be included). Though not a commercial venture, *Cartoon All-Stars to the Rescue* involved an intensive partnership between the producers of most of the popular animation characters on US TV at the time, as well as other media corporations (Wax and Bennet, 1990).

This collaborative fit of coproducers was also important in the case of international partnerships, and some linkages were influenced by the presence of an existing relationship. For instance, in 1987, *Variety* reported that attempts to increase coproduction ties between CBS and Australia's Nine Network had followed from an already close relationship between the two broadcasters (Murdoch, 1987). Similarly, in 1988, according to Rome's RA-1 Scaffa, while "some US producers [had] gone to Korea, and their presence there [had] already increased the cost of production beyond [RA-1's] possibilities", RA-1 had avoided rising costs by cementing long-term relationships with NTV and Tokyo Movie (Variety, 1988g, p.120).

Internationally, the rise of coproduction partnerships in the 1980s and early 1990s was due in large part to cost benefits and increased profit returns. For instance, in 1987, *Variety* reported on increases in international TV coproduction arrangements: "In the English-speaking world, new alliances are being forged that were unthinkable five, even two years ago" (p.1). They noted that the increases were due to shrinkages in field operations of the three US networks, the increases in numbers of private broadcasters in Europe and dramatic increases in production costs worldwide. Smaller producers were taking advantage of the deals for financial reasons, as well as in order to increase their prestige worldwide (Guider, 1987a, p.547). Similarly, in 1988, *TV World* noted that Canada's Cine Group had been kept viable almost exclusively through animated TV coproductions with France (Sharky and George), Belgium (Ovide and the Gang) and Yugoslavia (The Little Flying Bears) (Lavers, 1988).

From early in the 1980s, the financial incentives for coproduction partnerships were complex, but often stemmed from differences in labour supplies. For instance, in 1981, *Variety* reported on BRB International's coproduction agreement with Nippon Animation of Japan to produce *The Three Musketeers* - BRB would hold world distribution rights, excluding the far east. Noted manager Claudio Biern Boyd:

At first, we considered doing the series in Spain, but Spanish animators are simply not equipped for this kind of large-scale project. You need art directors, animators, a whole professional team. It took another company two and a half years to produce *Don Quixote* and that's just too long. On *The Three Musketeers*, budgeted at \$3,000,000, the Japanese will deliver one segment a week. If you did it in Spain, the series would take four years to produce. There are good animators in Spain, but they are lacking the infrastructure for doing big jobs (*Variety*, 1981a, p.42).

Different financial conditions contributed to the tendencies of national producers to seek international coproduction partnerships. For instance, in 1991, *Variety* predicted that the tendency towards coproduction deals would increase as Welsh TV advertising sales declined (*Variety*, 1991c, p.71). On the other hand, the rise of alternate TV broadcasting systems in the US, which initially had smaller budgets than network producers, provided motivation for seeking coproduction partners. For example, in 1988, *Variety* noted that basic cable service Nickelodeon, had to keep its costs down, and sought international coproduction for alternate sources of production funding (eg. *Count Duckula* and *Dangermouse* were coproduced with Thames Television) (*Variety*, 1991c).

Similarly, a lack of nationally-based investment funds was a common motivation for

developing international coproductions. In 1990, *Variety* reported that the animation industry in France was booming -- three times more animation was produced in 1989 than in 1988.³⁹ However, the greatest problem in animation production in France in 1990 was identified as production costs. While Disney had opened an animation studio in 1989, Walt Disney France animation president Pierre Sissman estimated that production costs were 150% of those in the US in 1990. As a result, French animation producers tended to use foreign subcontractors. Jacques Peyrache, head of Pixbox and president of the Producteurs for Film d'Animation (a group with 19 French producers as members, aiming to promote French animation) estimated that only 5% of French animation had been produced entirely within French borders (Kindred, 1990, p.58). Moreover, increasing costs were leading French producers in 1990 to turn in increasing numbers to consider international coproductions (with largely European partners).

Therefore, while the desire to access the US market was an important motivation for coproduction partnerships with the US, this desire was not universal. For instance, Nelvana head Michael Hirsch noted that international TV coproductions were "more expensive than productions done for the US" (Ayscough, 1990, p.64). For example, the Nelvana/Cinar coproduction of *Babar* cost between \$C350,000 and \$C400,000 per episode, while each episode of *Beetlejuice* cost about \$C300,000. On the other hand,

³⁹ This was reported as a surprise to observers. *Variety* noted that, contrary to the belief that the opening of a Disney animation studio in France would damage the domestic animation industry, French independent studios were experiencing a revitalization. The greatest problem was a shortage of animation labour in France, and the resultant increased costs (Williams, 1990).

coproductions tended to sell better in Europe, and, *Variety* concluded, "while the production price tag is significantly higher for coproductions, the long term profits can be greater too" (p.64). As a result, Nelvana had several programs in development, and intended to "stick to its European coproduction structure for up-coming series Rupert Bear (YTC in Canada, TVS in the United Kingdom, and Ellipse in France) with no US presale. Both series are due for fall 1991" (p.64). Montreal-based Crayon, a subsidiary of Cinar Group of France, had been engaged in several coproduction projects with French producers, had also largely avoided US sales, and had used European pre-sale monies to finance production (p.64).

In another instance, The Children's Television Workshop (producer of Sesame Street) engaged in a series of international coproduction partnerships in the 1980s and early 1990s, as a means of developing exclusively non-US markets, but included an exchange of program segments between all national partners that worked to improve the overall quality of the programs. Alfred Hyslop, VP for production at Children's Television Workshop noted in 1986: "We at CTW believe that we should work more closely on international coproductions, which are more economical for all of us and need not result in cultural imperialism on anyone's part. We're working in that direction with [3-2-1 contact] with FR-3 and we're also exploring co-productions with Britain and other countries" (Woodman, 1986, p.19). The new trend towards coproductions was described by Children's Television Workshop as not strictly a means of keeping costs down, but also as a means of improving the quality of the

programs. This was more important by the early 1990s, as consumer demands for quality animation created greater competition and improved overall program quality (as discussed in greater detail in chapter five).

While lower production costs and co-financing were an important motivation for seeking international coproduction partnerships, an interest in increasing profits by gaining rights to use popular animation characters was also evident from early in the 1980s.⁴⁰ For example, in 1980, *Variety* described the continued prestige of Disney characters in feature distributorship internationally, as well as increases in coproduction arrangements to access popular characters. In 1980, Toei of Japan was in negotiation with Marvel Comics for an equal coproduction partnership in developing TV and feature animation around Spider-Man, The Incredible Hulk, and Captain America. Toei was willing to make an unprecedented initial investment of \$5,000,000 for the lead-in coproduction (Werba, 1980, p.38).

Similarly, *Variety* described in 1982, following quickly on the success of Smurfs, and looking to develop franchises around new characters, that Hanna-Barbera and Gaumont (French multimedia company with many international production and trade ties) were

⁴⁰ This motive was not limited to animated programming. For instance, in 1984, *Variety* noted that a strong demand for music features in Japan, combined with the high cost of well-known US pop stars, was leading some of the smaller Japanese broadcasters to seek coproduction partnerships with western producers. This was a unique situation in Japan, since a robust domestic interest in investing production money had previously limited the need for international production funding (Segers, 1984).

developing a large coproduction agreement to produce an animated Asterix feature and Lucky Luke TV series. William Hanna was in Paris to confer with Nicholas Seydoux, and noted: "This is the first time that we have been involved in a company as big as Gaumont and with such a dollar volume of product. [and added] This is a new adventure for Hanna-Barbera. We have been trying to get our hands on Asterix and we have great liking for the Lucky Luke personality." (Clark, 1982b, p.5). *Variety* reported that the pact was created by Gaumont Teleproduction (Gaumont's TV sector-centred operation in Paris) commercial director Philippe De Chaise-Martin and his boss Daisy de Galard (Clark, 1982b). The Asterix/Lucky Luke coproduction was the largest of its kind for Gaumont, which President Seydoux described as: "the beginning of a new and important relationship with Hanna-Barbera, which will go on to further projects" (Clark, 1982b, p.5). Gaumont Teleproduction President, de Galard, cast the deal in the light of Gaumont's early history: "This is a glorious comeback for Gaumont. which was the first company in the world to make animated films during the first years of the century with Emile Cohl."(p.28).

Asterix had already sold 170,000,000 cartoon books worldwide, in 22 language when the feature film, Asterix the Gladiator, began production. The agreement was between Gaumont and Hanna-Barbera Australia, who provided 30% of the funding:

the feature is being scripted by Hanna-Barbera in Los Angeles, with creative graphics. Storyboards and part of the animation is being done in France. Main animation is being done in Australia, where 100 hours of US commercial network TV have been turned out over the past ten years by the Hanna-Barbera subsidiary, under managing director Douglas Patterson, who was also at the Paris conclave (p.28).

Lucky Luke was invented by Belgian and French cartoonists Morris and Goscinny while they were working in New York City for *Mad* magazine in the 1950s (p.28). Hanna-Barbera purchased a 40% minority shareholding in the Filman animation studios in Madrid in November of 1982 (after a working relationship of nine years) and began production immediately on the Lucky Luke TV series. The 26 half-hour TV series, which would be produced mostly in Spain, and would be finished in France, was already slated for sale to German TV (p.28). Since sales outside the US had already netted large revenues worldwide, the coproduction firm established a US affiliate to develop the US market for Asterix and Lucky Luke. Gaumont President Seydoux noted: "Hanna-Barbera wanted the two characters, and needed a European partnership. Dargaud wanted a way to the US market. Gaumont needed an American partner to help capture a world audience for the two properties. Animation is one of the areas of motion picture production best suited for international cooperation. Already we have Paris, Los Angeles, Madrid and Sydney involved." Hanna added that the Filman team in Madrid was being reinforced with animator administration and production staff from Korea, Canada and the US. (p.28).

The desire to gain access to and use popular characters in animated productions remained throughout the 1980s and 1990s. In 1989, *Variety* reported on the Babar the Elephant feature and TV series, a coproduction between Nelvana, the CBC and Canal Plus. While France's Canal Plus covered half of the \$10.4 million cost for 26 half-hour \$400,000 episodes, the CBC and Telefilm covered the other half (Busby, 1991, p.408-

420). Clifford Ross, a New-York based producer who owned the rights to the classic children's book series noted: "We're looking to create in Babar a Walt Disney-type character" (p.420). *Variety* noted:

It will become a home run for Ross and Nelvana if the first 26 harvest a big enough mass audience to induce the CBC, Ellipse and Hanna-Barbera to commission an additional 39 first run half-hours. Sixty-five episodes is the magic number for rerun strip syndication in the US, and that number of well-produced Babar series could be worth \$200,000-\$400,000 a half-hour from the sale of barter to national advertisers (p.420).

Similarly, in 1991, *Variety* reported that "The number one animated series worldwide continues to be the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles, produced by Murakami Wolf Swenson." (p.41) According to Westinghouse Broadcasting's Director of International Sales and Marketing: "There's not one country in which it does not air", including Japan, which is considered among the most difficult markets for foreign programs (on NHJ-TV).

The desire to create coproduction partnerships based on the enhanced marketability created through access to already popular characters was dominant in the 1980s and early 1990s. Characters that had a strong proven appeal for consumers were attractive to national producers who had greater chances of success with programs based on them. However, it is important to note that the most appealing characters internationally have tended to be fantasy-based -- ie. animal characters such as Disney's Mickey Mouse and Hanna-Barbera's Yogi Bear. This tendency also continued into the 1980s and 1990s with the popularity of fantasy-based characters such as Smurfs and Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles. (This is opposed to such personality-based

characters as Punky Brewster or Mr. T, and less fantasy-based characters such as Barbie or G.I. Joe.) As argued in more detail in chapter six, the representational feature of fantasy-orientation has a greater international appeal, since it allows a broader identification that is not based in a specific ethnicity or national culture. Fantasy-based characters can also more easily be given (as discussed in the case of Yogi Bear in chapter six) variations in personality that may better suit local markets, etc. This is not to say that characters such as Mr. T and G.I. Joe have not been successful internationally (although they have tended to have a lesser and shorter-lived appeal), but that characters sought after in coproduction partnerships have tended to be fantasy-based, and that this is a measure of their greater universal, and less culturally particular, appeal.

However, while better financing and greater access to markets, as well as the enhanced marketability of programs that relied on already proven characters provided primary motives for coproduction partnerships, a related, secondary motive was the desire to include a cultural collaborator in the creative process to help create a product with which consumers in other markets could better identify. International coproductions rose in popularity in the 1980s as a means of increasing the capacity of animated TV to better articulate the expectations of a variety of global consumers. For example, in 1987, *Variety* reported on new attempts by British producers to develop coproduction ties with US producers. A shift in attitude had occurred among British producers: previously they had preferred to develop programs locally and then, after the fact,

attempt to sell them to US broadcasters, who would often "shoot down their ideas or pitch them back with requests for a more international approach" (Variety, 1987a, p.99). The willingness to coproduce came after program costs continued to soar, and domestic markets in Britain continued to shrink. While the financial concerns were an important initiating factor, the problem of producing programs with cultural relevance remained, and were perceived to be resolvable through coproduction partnerships.

Moreover, some nations were perceived to be better at achieving the cultural relevance sought after through coproductions. Sometimes this was because of commonalities between the two cultures represented in the partnership. For example, in 1987, *Variety* reported that Turkish broadcaster TRT was developing international coproduction ventures for the first time. The project, titled Heritage, was an Islamic culture project initiated with Jordan TV (Variety, 1987b, p.326). Conditions in Canada that allowed for a variety of cultural links with other countries contributed to its success as a coproduction partner. In 1989, *TV World* reported on increases in the volume of international coproduction deals, identifying Canada as 'the world's greatest coproducer'. The reasons for the prevalence of coproductions in Canada was *TV World* ascribed to the presence of government subsidies and internal pressures: "The small size of the Canadian domestic market is often cited as a reason for Canadian companies to look outside the country for necessary financing, but coproductions are also increasingly a mark of Canada's heterogeneous and multi-cultural national character" (Lavers, 1989a, p.67). Again, in 1990, *Variety* reported that Canada was

experiencing the world-wide boom in animation production. Coproduction agreements with US partners were being developed - eg. Lacewood and Warner's production of *The Nutcracker Prince* (Ayscough, 1990).

Therefore, while coproduction ventures increased in the 1980s, the cultural 'fit' between the producers was an important factor, suggesting that local cultural differences represented a mediating factor in the development of coproductions as intercultural encounters. The attention to cultural relevance, though a secondary motive closely related to financial concerns, seems to have been an important factor in the international rise of coproduction partnerships. This factor is also evidenced in the processes around industry conferences and state regulations, which worked to mediate and facilitate coproduction ties in the 1980s and early 1990s.

The Mediation of Coproduction

While the practice of international post-production versioning (ie. the alteration of different programs after initial production for distribution in international markets) was heightened in the 1980s and early 1990s (as discussed in more detail in chapter five), a significant development in the process of tailoring programs to different consumer markets was the international coproduction partnership. This involved the cooperation of two or more partners, and a combination of attention to characters and situations appropriate to international markets, as well as the integration of versioning and the

production of multiple programs for different markets throughout the production process. In reporting on the animation production boom in Europe in 1990, *Variety* emphasized the rise in coproduction projects, terming the situation "coproduction fever" (Hardy, 1990, p.55). "The atmosphere, further intensified by the proliferation of TV stations in Europe and their seemingly insatiable appetite for programs, has led to a welter of European coproductions. Animation is well-suited to this purpose because of the ease with which foreign-language versions can be made; at present, less than 20% of all European productions are screened outside their country of origin; animation, however, is exported at a rate of about 50%" (p.55).

Therefore, animation was seen to be better suited to the process of international coproduction and distribution than other genres, due to the relative ease of language dubbing. As a result, coproductions of TV animation developed as a popular means of producing animated TV programs internationally in the 1980s and early 1990s. These partnerships were mediated and facilitated through the development of industry conferences in the 1980s to promote and coordinate international coproduction projects. Another significant form of mediation also came in the form of state regulations, in particular production and broadcast quotas that restricted the importation of programs produced abroad. As a means of circumventing these quotas, and improving access to foreign markets, producers increasingly sought international coproduction partnerships with domestic producers.

Increases in the volume of coproduction partnerships throughout the 1980s suggest that they tended to be a successful means of penetrating various consumer markets and increasing profits. Moreover, evidence suggests that each partnership required varied arrangements to accommodate different conditions and requirements of each local production partner. Furthermore, each partnership involved different international divisions of labour, breaking up the animation production process into specialized components, and requiring new types of production management. For example, in 1990, *Variety* reported that differences in production processes were becoming more apparent in international coproductions. Producers were experiencing greater problems as productions began to expand from smaller projects, such as one-off productions or miniseries, into long-form series. The success of smaller productions had encouraged producers to enter into larger projects, and in turn required longer-term enthusiasm and dedication to cooperation and resolving difficulties that arose from differences in production strategies (614). These differences were mediated in part by the development of industry conferences that provided, among other things, an exchange of information about consumer expectations in different global markets. In this way, the globalization of program production and distribution through coproductions was facilitated by a reflexivity, or interactive comparison of global products and local markets.

Industry Conferences

The development of conferences, to support coproduction partnerships and assist in solving problems that developed in these international encounters, was a significant mediating factor in the development of coproduction strategies throughout the 1980s. Prior to the 1980s, these conferences were devised both by governments and industry actors⁴¹ as forums for the trade of TV programs between different national markets.⁴² Annual conferences such as The National Association of Television Program Executives (NATPE), the Market for International Programs (MIP) and the Eunuch International Animation Festival had been attended prior to the 1980s primarily by buyers and sellers of programs. They developed, however, throughout the 1980s into forums for the international exchange of information and the conception of international coproduction projects. Other irregularly scheduled conferences, and the biannual Animated Film Market (Annecy) -- first held in 1985 -- were also developed primarily as a means of bringing producers from different nations together to discuss

⁴¹ In some instances, there were conflicts between public and private interests. For instance, when Annecy organizers signed a deal with private French TV broadcaster Ellipse to produce and distribute a home video collection of Annecy festival winners in 1989, the International Film Association demanded a reversal of the decision, and filed a complaint with French Minister of Culture Jack Lang. They claimed that the publicly-funded festival could not make such an arrangement with a private firm, because it created an unfair disadvantage for competitors (Borger, 1989, p.6).

⁴² In a few instances these conferences were developed by external organizations. For instance, in 1979, *TV World* described the Association Internationale Du Film D'Animation (ASIFA), an organization chartered by the UN to encourage the exchange of ideas and coproduction (TV World, 1979c).

production partnerships. The importance and popularity of this aspect of industry conferences was initially unexpected, but through the 1980s they became popular among producers, especially among those of childrens' animated programs.

For instance, in 1983, *TV World* (Friedman, 1983, p.58) reported on the unexpected success of a conference of US telecommunications executives, who hosted foreign producers and broadcasters representing 28 countries and 281 companies. The conference was held one year prior to the first official American Market for International Programs conference. *TV World* noted that: "according to many of the panelists, one of the best ways to sell programming to America is to co-produce it with an American company" (p.58). A key purpose of the conference was to communicate US program needs to international producers. The array of advice suggests the complexity involved in international production and marketing of TV programs, as well as the need to mediate between local producers when producing for other national markets. Peggy Green, President of Program Syndication for advertising agency Dancer Fitzgerald Sample, encouraged coproduction partnerships: "We want the US broadcast rights and can supply the advertisers" (p.58). However, she suggested that international producers establish relationships with US advertising agencies early in the program development stage, in order to ensure the development of "market-appropriate" programs. She also emphasized that her firm was interested in marketing wholesome entertainment, indicating that there was a need to develop international standards specifically for children's programs. Alan Perris, President of Post-News-

Week Video, confirmed the importance and strength of the market for children's programming: "This is a perfect time for consortium co-productions, especially for cartoons, nature shows, and specials" (p.58).

Addressing the popularity of program development for US markets, Dick Colbert, President of TV Sales for Embassy Home Entertainment worked to develop an awareness of US TV consumer market needs at the 1983 conference. He advised: "Americans expect to see commercials. Your programs need commercial breaks" (Friedman, 1983, p.58). Paul Talbot of Fremantle cautioned: "US audiences demand fast involvement. Europe must alter its theatrical traditions of slow openings" (p.58). Regarding dubbing, US buyers emphasized the need for US English dubbing (rather than subtitling, which was accepted more readily by audiences elsewhere). Dick Harper, President of Harper Associates, defended the US audience preference for US English dubbing (as opposed to British or Australian English), indicating that particular dubbing needs were in place in other markets as well: "France does not accept shows dubbed in Montreal; Mexico does not take shows dubbed in Spain" (p.58).⁴³ This suggests that appropriate language dubbing is a central consideration in the global distribution of TV programs. In fact, consumer expectations for the local vernacular extend beyond the need for appropriate language, to include the need for

⁴³ *TV World* noted that the most pragmatic advice to foreign producers was to find an honest US attorney (Friedman, 1983, p.58), suggesting that the commercial competition in the US required protection for foreign producers. This became apparent in the case of *Smurfs*, when creator Peyo charged Hanna-Barbera with overtaking his creative control once the series was in production.

locally-appropriate dialect and accent.

TV World also reported on the rise of international co-production deal-making at the 1984 NATPE convention in San Francisco. They quoted Stan Marinoff, past president of NATPE and Director of Program Operations at WISN, Milwaukee:

once a rare phenomenon, the exchange of programs between countries has progressed without pause over the past five years into a billion dollar enrichment process. Put a US advertiser together with foreign TV producers? Unthinkable, until Proctor and Gamble joined RAI of Italy and Dentsu of Japan for the mini-series Marco Polo. Today, three years later, such partnerships are almost commonplace. 'Will it play in Peoria?' The answer at every NATPE panel session was no, but the innovators went right on with their daring plans, and sure enough, some of those imports are indeed playing in Peoria (*TV World*, 1984, pp.26-27).

Marinoff also commented on the importance of children's programs for international trade: "Monty Python and Godzilla were among the first, followed by The Muppets and The Smurfs and Fraggle Rock. Do you get the idea that children are a more advanced audience? That they are more open to the product of other nations? I think we are breeding a generation which welcomes and encourages cultural exchange." (p.26-27). Marinoff continued to describe the development of coproduction partnerships in extending the international trade of TV programs:

The initial inroads were made by other English-speaking broadcasters, of course, and we've a lot of BBC and CBC, and Australian shows lately. With the help of co-production as an entry tool, the flood-gates are now opening for France and Italy and Japan and other sophisticated sources of television. We have quickly moved from Benny Hill to Scenes from a Marriage, and the very competitive Metromedia station group bravely schedules European opera performances in prime time. It's a safe prediction this is a sure trend. Hopefully it will encourage American producers to reach for a higher standard of excellence (p.27).

This suggests two things: 1) that children's animated programs are more readily globalized than other adult genres, and that they formed a vanguard of international program production and distribution in the 1980s and early 1990s; and 2) that the development of international coproductions was seen by the early 1980s as an important facilitator for the globalization of TV.

The 1987 Eunuch Festival was described by *Variety* as an important event for developing coproduction arrangements; the representative for Telefilm Canada reported 10-15 projects being discussed, which he believed would yield 3-4 viable projects (p.64). However, producers noted a shortage of children's programs at the 1987 festival, and complained that what was being sold as children's programming was not generally suitable for children (*Variety*, 1987c). This demand for international sources of children's programs was addressed by the Annecy animation trade conferences (which were first held in 1985). In 1989, *Variety* described the strong success of Annecy, quoting director Pierre Chevalier, who reported that the conference had attracted 70% of the "decision-makers in youth and animation TV programs" worldwide, had hosted 3000 professional participants, and counted over 52,000 overall admissions. *Variety* also reported the rise of a new marketing concept called 'project zones', which "exposed preproduction designs in an attempt to attract coproduction partners and potential buyers" (Borger, p.6). *Variety* noted that while the MIP was mostly for buyers and sellers of these types of TV programs, Annecy (which was dedicated to animation) was more often treated by investors and producers as a

springboard for international coproduction agreements.

By 1991, the importance of Annecy as an international market for TV animation was even more pronounced. *Variety* described a 50% increase in the number of professional stands over 1989.⁴⁴ In 1991, the market was expanded to include book publishers that specialized in cartoon strips and children's books (Williams, 1991a). Therefore, as TV animation developed in the 1980s to involve more programs, greater profits, and the intensification of product tie-ins, so too did international industry conferences. Moreover, the conferences expanded in the 1990s as forums for generating international production as opposed to trade agreements. For example, in 1991, *Variety* reported that production staff were more in demand than was product at the Eunuch International Animation Festival, indicating an unexpected interest in developing production partnerships rather than purchasing existing programs. Though it was largely buyers who had attended Eunuch, they described the Animated Film Market (run concurrently) to *Variety* reporters as more interesting, since the Animated Film Market was largely attended by animators and writers, rather than distributors. Also, much interest at the Annecy was expressed in developing coproduction partnerships. It was noted that six coproduction deals were created at past Annecy conferences. Producer La Fabrique, noted: "The advantages of this kind of alliance is that together we have better production-funding abilities and access to markets which

⁴⁴ However, by this point, they noted that, "Japanese presence will be virtually non-existent, as Annecy has gone out of its way to support European and Yank production" (Williams, 1991a, p.66).

might otherwise be difficult for us" (Williams, 1991b).

International conferences therefore performed an importance function of mediating and facilitating the development of international production strategies. Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, the conferences developed from their initial purposes of providing trade forums, and, driven by the needs of international producers and distributors, expanded to include the functions of facilitating the exchange of information about the cultural expectations of different consumers worldwide, and as meeting places for the formation of international production partnerships. These partnerships tended towards the development of children's and animated programming, which were seen as genres more easily developed for international markets. The exchanges of information provided an important avenue for cultural collaboration and a reflexivity among producers about the needs of consumer groups, which worked to facilitate the global articulation of TV production and consumption.

Regulation of Coproduction

Coproduction partnerships through the 1980s and early 1990s were also affected by regulatory efforts in the form of government production and content quotas, government regulation of corporate finances, as well as by the activities of government-created and public advocacy organizations that took part in assisting in the creation of coproduction partnerships. These sources of regulation also tended to

overlap. For instance, the demand for children's programming was addressed in 1988 by the Australian Foundation for Children's TV, a public-oriented organization that worked to improve children's programs by developing international coproduction as well as marketing partnerships for existing programs. The organization also operated in response to government regulations in the form of tax incentives. Director, Dr. Patricia Edgar, noted: "I don't believe we can raise a presale of 70% (needed under current government tax subsidies for production investment) so we're looking at international ways of co-financing with people with common interests. [Children's program producers] are disadvantaged in the market. The foundation has been able to make up the difference with overseas sales, but prices are down, so we've got to look for partners that are compatible to help defray costs" (*Variety*, 1988h, p.118).

Similarly, increases in coproduction projects were also affected indirectly by other industry changes that were in turn affected by regulation. For instance, coproduction partnerships sometimes increased or decreased in competition with other program sources such as importation, which tended to be regulated. For example, in 1991, Spanish private, regional and public program buyers turned to coproduction arrangements after spending over \$1 billion US in 1990 on several years' supply of mostly US programs. However, it was coproduction arrangements with European countries that were on the increase specifically, as non-European Community nations, especially the US, worked to protect their European Community sales once quotas were put in place in 1992 (*Variety*, 1991d). In some cases, state-run broadcasters

imposed content restrictions that influenced the use of coproduction partnerships. For instance, in 1988, *Variety* reported on dramatic changes in international purchases of children's programs by Rome broadcaster RA-1, following a rigid network policy banning all violence; "As a result, RA-1 has walked away from Star Wars [animation] violence in computerized Japanese animation and is settling on coproduction with only two Nippon animation companies for series reflecting broadcaster policy" (*Variety*, 1988g, p.120).

As well, government quotas contributed directly to the rise of coproduction partnerships by placing restrictions on program production for broadcast - ie. programs that must be produced within a given nation. For instance, according to Westinghouse Broadcasting's Director of International Sales and Marketing, the international marketing of Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles in 1991 was affected strongly by quota regulations. As a result, he noted: "We really look at it in terms of co-productions... we definitely spend a lot of time thinking about it. You can't move a show otherwise. We really quiz them on what they need before we produce" (Busby, 1991, p.70). Production quotas also changed as a response to the rise of coproduction partnerships. For instance, in 1989, *TV World* reported on the globalization trend for TV animation, and the effects on the Canadian animation industry: "The animation market - as other markets - is changing substantially with rationalisation taking place on a global level" (Lavers, 1989b, p.27). In response, the CRTC had devised a point system to evaluate qualifications for Canadian content following the trend towards the international

division of labour around TV animation: eg. one point each for Canadian direction, scriptwriting, first or second voice, design supervision, layout and background, key animation, camera operator, music composer and editor - a total of six points, as well as the key animation being done in Canada would qualify a program as Canadian (Lavers, 1989b).

Regulations on the specific types of content for children's TV in some instances also affected rises in coproduction partnerships. For instance, in 1993, *TV World* reported on a sharp rise in international coproduction deals, with a new focus on finding European partners, following advances in the formation of the European Community. However, the increased interest was also influenced by new content rules placed on US broadcasts of children's TV. Peter Orton, managing director of HIT Entertainment (a London animation distributor) noted: "there's now a major influence with the Federal Communications Commission ruling in the States that stations have to carry children's programs with an educational content. So everyone is now sniffing around and looking for educational content. That will have an enormous impact on our business in Europe because a lot of our programs have an important educational message" (Swain, 1993a, p.29).

Governments also contributed to the rise of coproduction partnerships by regulating corporate financial activities. For instance, in 1983, the major US networks (NBC, CBS and ABC) were not selling original programming abroad, aside from news.

Variety noted: "they are gearing up for the moment when the Federal Communications Commission votes to take the wraps off the financial interest and syndication rules", when they would begin the several-year process of building an international program inventory (Loftus, 1983b, p.508). Similarly, CBS reportedly approved of the new Spanish governments' attitude toward independent TV, and *Variety* speculated that this would improve the likelihood of coproduction deals with Globo, since CBS product could then be dubbed for distribution in Spain, as well as for distribution with US Latin American markets. However, this would only occur once financial interest and syndication rules were lifted by the Federal Communications Commission (Loftus, 1983c). Indirect influences on financing through government regulations also affected coproductions. For instance, in 1990, *Variety* reported on the heightened volume of coproduction partnerships in Canada, noting that it was more expensive for Canadian animation producers to enter into production agreements with non-US partners and clients. The higher costs, according to Nelvana head Michael Hirsch were due to the fact that the US: "doesn't have content regulations, [nor] must [it] spend a certain amount of the budget in each country" (Ayscough, 1990, p.64).

Other forms of regulation of coproduction partnerships came from government-created and public interest groups that involved themselves directly in the process of creating coproduction partnerships. For instance, in 1994, *TV World* reported on the formation of the European Children's Television Centre, an international organization focused on the increasingly commercial environment of children's TV that worked to develop a

less commercial, international coproduction series *Teensat*, a teen magazine program (Akyuz, 1994). Government organizations also worked to develop coproduction partnerships as a form of economic stimulation. For instance, in 1991, *Variety* reported on the TV animation boom in Wales, describing the positive influence of the EVA: "An animation development and production venture with partners in Belgium, Germany and France. It was set up under the auspices of the European Community's Media 92 project" (Variety, 1991c, p.71).

Variety attributed much of the boom in the European international trade in animation to Cartoon, part of the Media 92 program launched by the European Commission in 1989. Cartoon was dedicated to creating a European producer-buyer forum to enhance financing of animation production, and, as *Variety* noted: "it has also established a comprehensive pan-European animation data-base, and encourages animation studios to form multinational European Economic Interest Groups to undertake substantial projects" (Hardy, 1990, p.55). Cartoon's greatest success was in TV animation, having secured financing for 27 projects (135 program hours) from European broadcasters (p.55). Again, in 1991, *Variety* quoted BBC Enterprises executive Michael Shields, who commented on Cartoon: "This is good for the producers. Its teaching them how to present themselves to their international partners, and that is really needed" (Williams, 1991c, p.66). *Variety* described the situation that Cartoon was created as a means to remedy: "Throughout the 1980s, European animation was largely a cottage industry of artisan-run companies unfamiliar with the requirements of producers and programs

outside their own territory" (p.63). Cartoon supported small and medium-sized producers to form European Studio Groupings that would make cross-border activity easier to conduct. One Spanish producer commented on the success of the ESGs: "All you need is for the BBC to know your British partner in a grouping, and you find yourself involved in work for the main British network... work that otherwise you might not have had access to" (p.66). The Cartoon forum also provided links between publishers and merchandisers, eg. Per Grubert, of the Danish-based international media company Gutenbergs Group approached La Frabrique regarding *Souris Souris*, suggesting that the concept might transfer to publishing. "Apparently," he noted, "they hadn't thought of that" (p.66).

Therefore, state regulators, who attempted to protect local production, culture and child consumers through import, broadcast and content quotas for TV, worked in many ways to encourage the establishment of international coproduction partnerships. Quotas could be met by local broadcasters through the scheduling of animated programs that were produced with an international partner. Coproductions, at the same time, worked to place important conditions on producers before and during the development of a program. The development of regulations was also in some cases reflexively conditioned by developments in international coproductions -- for example, the development of the Canadian CRTC's 'point system' recognized that Canadian producers were increasingly involved in complex international divisions of labour around coproductions. Similarly, public interest and industry groups worked to

facilitate coproductions as part of cultural and economic development programs, often emphasizing the participation of smaller, locally-based production firms.

Conclusion

The developments in animation production in the 1980s and early 1990s took place within a broader historical context of global mergers and acquisitions, including the diversification and consolidation of operations around animation production and ancillary businesses such as character licensing and toy manufacturing and distribution. The global boom in TV animation during this time was characterized by overall increases in program production, heightened competition, interactions between animation and other types of production, increases in consumer demand for higher quality programs, and expansion into new broadcast schedules and TV distribution formats. These factors affected the process of production by creating pressures and changes in production scheduling, which put significant strains on traditional, more localized labour sources. The boom was most notably experienced on the global level, and contributed to global competition around animation production and consumption. The intensification of an international division of labour meant increasing use of Asian labour sources, and was characterized by a significant division of creative and labour-intensive stages of animation production. The motives for mergers and acquisitions, international division of labour and coproduction ventures were largely financial, aligned with attempts to reduce costs and increase profits, and contributed to a broader

condition of globalization of the industry.

Thus, the global expansion of animation firms through mergers and acquisitions, and the international division of animation labour involved a division of creative and labour-intensive stages of animation production, and was largely driven by a desire to reduce production costs. On the other hand, coproductions were an important development, since they involved the sharing of creative control. The economic benefits of coproductions included accessing alternate financing, the collaboration of different operational interests of partners, as well as market expansion for TV animated programs, sometimes in light of reduced or increasingly competitive domestic markets. Coproductions were also often sought as a means of accessing animation characters that had a global appeal and a proven marketability, while avoiding expensive licensing fees. In most cases, however, international coproductions of TV animation took advantage of the flexibility of animation for post-production and versioning to meet diverse, global consumer requirements (as described in more detail chapter six).

As such, an important motive for seeking coproduction partnerships was the creative cooperation with a cultural collaborator, who was better able to produce a program with which consumers from alternate global markets could better identify. This involved the important marketing task of improving the fit between the product and the expectations of the consumer, which in this case operated on a global level. The function of achieving greater cultural relevance of programs through international

coproductions was facilitated significantly in the 1980s and early 1990s through the evolution of international trade conferences into production forums that provided an exchange of information on international consumer expectations and a place for negotiating and forming coproduction partnerships. These conferences emphasized the significance of children's TV forms such as animation, as those which were highly suitable for coproduction, and as a genre that represented a vanguard for the globalization of other TV genres. TV trade and production conferences also emphasized the need for such features as appropriate language dubbing, pacing and format, and were expanded in the 1980s to include ancillary businesses such as publishing and toy marketing tie-ins.

State regulators also acted as an important mediating influence on international coproductions, by placing quotas on production, importation, broadcast and content of childrens' programs, as well as through the restriction of financial activities. Overall, these regulations tended to increase the likelihood of international coproduction partnerships. As well, public and industry advocacy groups sometimes worked to increase international coproduction ties.

The previous chapter described changes in production practices in the 1980s and early 1990s that were oriented to create a better fit between production and consumption of animated TV, which, in the case of global activities of producers, involved an articulation between the universal animated TV product and local consumer

expectations. These practices did not involve a straightforward expansion of existing practices into a world system, but rather a reflexive awareness of the different expectations of local consumers. Especially in the case of coproduction, industry conferences worked to develop this reflexivity, by facilitating coproductions as intercultural encounters between global producers and local consumers. State regulators also worked to mediate the efforts of producers according to the perceived needs of citizens. These factors represent the development of new sets of institutional and production arrangements around coproduction, that work to maintain and mediate the features of local cultural differences through the process of globalization.

This articulation of universal and local, and of production and consumption is a theme carried forward into the next chapter, which covers at greater length the development of international consumer markets for TV animation, especially the attention to and accommodation of variations in cultural contexts and the requirements of everyday life. In the same sense, chapter six focuses on how the new production practices described above worked to create representational features in TV animation that were also oriented to establish a closer fit between production and consumption - this was done through, among other features, an intensification of program versioning.

Chapter Five: Globalization and Local Consumer Markets

While the international production of TV animation was heightened in the 1980s and early 1990s, so too was the international trade of these types of programs, representing a significant rise in global consumption. However, the global distribution of animated TV programs during this time did not involve a single process of marketing that operated in homogeneous fashion worldwide. The homogenization thesis suggests that globalization involves the singular expansion and imposition of foreign consumer culture, and that broadcasters have ultimate power in determining the form of consumption and maintaining it according to their own needs and purposes. In order to achieve global successes, however, producers and distributors of animated TV programs have had to attend in many ways to the different expectations of consumers in different international markets. This has involved not a unification or centralization of consumer marketing, but rather the development of different strategies that worked to mediate the fit between global products and local differences in consumer culture and expectation. Local consumers are, thus, not bounded by a singular operation of globalization, but rather require producers and distributors to engage in a reflexive mediation of global and local processes -- one that works to advance the marketability of globally distributed products by accommodating local differences in the process of consumption. These reflexive processes have been uneven and differentiated depending on local cultural contingencies. Though globalization in this sense does involve the global distribution of programs, the process does not operate strictly through a

worldwide cultural sameness of marketing, since local differences are accommodated through local modes of distribution and marketing strategies, and consumers often reject what are otherwise globally popular programs.

The notion of consumer sovereignty implies that the practice of consumption is not a simple reflex of production, but rather operates to mediate the control of producers. A focus on the assertion of consumer sovereignty, reflected in differences in consumer tastes, can better account for the fact that local cultural differences have remained salient through the overall process of globalization around animated TV. One indication of this mediation of producer control by consumers is the increasing development throughout the 1980s and 1990s of international versions of animated programs (as described in detail in chapter six) that involved language (and accent) appropriate dubbing, alterations in story and character features, as well as the use of wrap-around live-action hosting of programs by personalities with local consumer identifications. Differences in consumer preferences and versions of programming suggest the importance of mediating or syncretizing global and local consumer cultures. This has involved more than the mere extension of a global system of production and distribution, but rather a reflexive conditioning of global programming and local consumer expectations through differentiated local marketing. For instance, producers and distributors have sought to measure consumer preference through monitoring of ratings, often adjusting scheduling to accommodate consumer preferences for viewing times, and have attempted in this way to include different

consumer groups in their audience or to appeal to fragments of it -- eg. children vs. adults. These types of adjustments are more or less continual in the practice of managing consumer markets for TV programs, as consumer groups and preferences constantly rise, diminish and shift.

The linking of globally distributed programs with local consumers, while involving differentiated modes of articulation unique to each locale, has also involved an articulation of the various spheres of cultural production. The present chapter continues the theme developed in chapter four around the articulation of global production and the local consumer, and extends to include the features of global distribution and marketing strategies, which work to accommodate local consumer differences and expectations. Attention to the expectations of local consumer cultures has been important to the production of globally distributed TV programs with which local consumers can better identify. The circuit of culture model understands this as an important articulation of production and consumption, and implies that local consumers are not strictly bounded by global processes of production, since their active role in mobilizing taste requires different accommodations by producers and distributors in order to create some fit between production and consumption. Moreover, other spheres of culture, such as regulation, in this case notably in the form of consumer advocacy and industry pressure groups, have played a role in mediating between global products and local consumers. Similarly, as discussed in chapter six, the representational features of animated TV programs work to improve the articulation of global programs

and local consumers.

The first section of the following chapter describes international variations in the scheduling, or 'flow' of children's animated programming in the 1980s and early 1990s. The practice of establishing program flow is significant, since it works to create a sense of immediacy in TV broadcasts, and provides the means whereby programming is integrated with the everyday experiences and routines of viewers in their local contexts. In other words, the routinization of flow through scheduling is an important mechanism by which centralized TV broadcasts articulate with local, domestic modes of consuming. Since the various international markets for TV animation require different adjustments in scheduling, differences in program flow represent a series of differential identifications with 'territories of transmission', that is, at the regional, national or global levels (see Giddens, 1991). The section begins by describing the boom in US Saturday morning ratings, generated largely by the success of Smurfs in 1982. Broadcasters and producers responded quickly by scheduling programs around Smurfs in order to take advantage of their popularity, creating an extended flow of programs and maintaining continued consumption throughout the Saturday morning schedule. By the mid-1980s, Saturday morning viewing had become a routine in US households, as TV commonly kept children occupied for sleeping parents. As fringe-time, after-school viewing developed in the late 1980s, broadcasters worked to maintain audiences by scheduling programming for family viewing into the early evening (children were known to largely control the choices during these times) before

child viewing dropped off altogether. However, this pattern varied throughout international markets, and broadcasters often required different strategies to accommodate different domestic routines, childhood socialization practices, and child-adult control over program choices. Therefore, though the global distribution of animated TV involved similar programming, accommodations of differential cultural contexts was achieved in many ways through alternate scheduling practices.

The next section focuses on the operation of consumer taste and choice in the process of marketing animated TV. Though the globalization of distribution of these programs was perceived by many observers to be a straightforward global expansion in the 1980s and early 1990s, and animation is known to be a relatively more globalized genre, there were notable differences in the marketing successes of animated TV programs. Several consumer markets strictly rejected what were popular programs in other markets, for a range of culturally-specific reasons. Moreover, evidence suggests that consumers in a range of local markets had preferences for local products and specific features of programs. In some cases, the initial success of globally distributed programs such as *Smurfs* provided the primary audience development upon which local productions were also successfully marketed. In other cases, the successes of international programs provided a contrast with local programs, and program features such as violent content, story genres and series conventions were reinforced or developed according to global-local comparisons by consumers and producers. Overall, it is argued that the distinctions between global and local modes of consumption and

programming were heightened through the globalization of TV animation in the 1980s and early 1990s.

The next section examines the operation of consumer sovereignty using the example of the global rise and decline of the market domination of animated TV toy tie-in marketing schemes in the 1980s and early 1990s. This was significant, since the development of these types of schemes was central to the overall boom in TV animation at the time, and had far-reaching effects on, for example, international production strategies, and the maintenance of international consumer markets. The consumer shift away from toy tie-in programs, on the other hand, demonstrated the limits of producer control and the importance of consumer-initiated changes in programming such as the development of alternate genres for children's TV, the dissolution of traditional children's schedules such as Saturday morning, and the rise in quality of TV animation.

The operation of these changes on the global level was moreover significantly affected by the development of alternate TV distribution formats such as all-children cable services and home video. As described in the next section, producers and distributors of children's programs attempted to regain control over consumer markets in the 1980s through attempts at interactive programming. However, these efforts largely failed, and significant numbers of consumers turned to alternate TV formats (eg. cable and home video). These formats had important implications for the development of consumer

markets for animated TV, since they increased the abilities of global distributors to circumvent state broadcast regulations, and provided a greater flexibility in meeting the expectations of consumers. This flexibility included an unanticipated feature of children's consumption of home video -- the preference among children for repeat viewing of home video programming. Home video, moreover, had significant implications for the production and distribution of animated TV, as the format required higher production values (especially for repeat viewing) and worked to allow a greater variation in domestic viewing habits. As a result, home video was a highly successful format in the global distribution of programs.

The next section deals with regulations on consumption attempted by different state agencies and advocacy groups worldwide. Following the circuit of culture model, it is understood that these efforts represented an important mediation of the effects of program distributors efforts to create a better fit between global products and local child consumers. The regulations of marketing and consumption practices included attempts to restrict and modify scheduling practices, as well as the marketing strategies around toy tie-in programs. Pressure groups also advocated improvements in the quality of internationally distributed programs, as well as less violent content. Both industry and consumer advocacy groups responded to changes in distribution technologies, which in the first instance had implications for state regulation of industry, and in the second, for the perceived abilities of parents to regulate child TV consumption. Overall, the regulatory influences on practices of consumption

represented an important mediation between the globalization of programs and local consumption practices.

Consumer Sovereignty and Programming Flow

Continual changes in scheduling were central to the marketing of children's animated TV in the US in the 1970s and early 1980s, particularly for creating and maintaining audiences for these programs. For instance, in 1978, *Variety* reported changes in the Saturday morning schedules of the three broadcast networks, who used a mix of scheduling strategies: they could eliminate programs; make timeslot changes; or change the lengths of programs, a strategy most commonly used in the case of 'umbrella programs' wherein popular characters were showcased around less popular characters (*Variety*, 1978b, p.46). This practice of modifying schedules to manage consumer preferences around character and program popularity became particularly important when toy-driven programs began to build large audiences in the early 1980s. For instance, the *New York Times* reported in 1982 that Smurfs had earned \$600 million in licensing sales by that point (Salmans, 1982, p.29). They noted that Pac-Man had been developed by ABC to compete with Smurfs on Saturday morning, and had made strong inroads in taking over Smurfs' audience: "In its first week, Pac-Man gobbled up the Smurfs' audience, and is still well ahead in the ratings" (p.29). However, Pac-Man's success was short-lived, and the program was not renewed for the 1984 season. The 9:00-10:00 am timeslot was subsequently important in establishing

audiences that remained tuned in to NBC for the following timeslots, creating a sustained popular program flow for the remainder of the morning. Largely as a result of the audiences built by Smurfs in the early 1980s, NBC's children's animated programs dominated the Saturday morning schedule for most of the decade.⁴⁵

While the creation and maintenance of program flow as a means of building consumer audiences centred on the scheduling of popular characters and programs around those that were new, or less popular, the success of these practices was largely contingent on consumer freedom or sovereignty to choose between alternate broadcasts, or not participate at all. For example, while the overall strength of Smurf popularity continued throughout the 1980s, scheduling at different points during the season netted significantly varying audiences and advertising revenues. For instance, the *New York Times* reported in 1985: "For a 30 second spot on the Saturday morning in the Autumn - the peak pre-Christmas season for toy companies - advertisers pay an average of \$40,000 (\$60,000 for the highly popular Smurfs); according to an NBC advertising executive, the average drops to \$25,000 in Spring" (Salmans, 1985, p.21). Similarly, the varying success of animation programming in traditional, 'fringe' timeslots also had differing impacts on the production and scheduling of animation in

⁴⁵ In 1984, *TV World* reported on the success of NBC network programming: "This is the third consecutive year the NBC Saturday morning line-up itself has been rated number one. At the end of March it had a 33 percent rating average over CBS and 36 percent over ABC in the Saturday cartoon derby. NBC's returning shows include, beside Alvin, Snorks, Smurfs, Mr. T and Spiderman and His Amazing Friends - and Kidd Video, which has become the top-rated new Saturday morning show of the season on any network" (Friedman, 1985, p.28).

prime-time throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. For instance, in 1987, *Variety* suggested that a slump in the annual ratings of prime-time holiday cartoon specials was due to recent increases in children's after-school and Saturday morning viewing of animated programs (Knight, 1986). Therefore, the anticipated audience for evening specials had been diverted: Animated program viewing had become part of the daily schedule, and had led to diminished preferences for these types of programs at other points in the schedule.

Moreover, the operation of consumer sovereignty in influencing the scheduling of animation in evening timeslots was contingent on the ways in which program flow articulated with the activities of families in the domestic setting. In 1979, the prime target age range for large advertisers on children's Saturday morning TV was 2 to 11 years (Goldrich, 1979). This target for Saturday morning audiences remained more or less intact throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. For instance, in 1986, *Emmy* noted that children's programs had become the "staple for Saturday morning, as youngsters gathered around their TV sets and watched the derring-do of their cartoon heroes. Such programs often served as a baby sitter for late-sleeping moms and pops" (Finnigan, 1986, p.98). The prevalence of Saturday morning scheduling of animated programs for children on the networks until the 1980s was conditioned by the division of child and adult audiences, and the activities of these groups in the home.

However, the management of scheduling flow of animated TV in the 1980s and early

1990s, especially in the development of programs for broadcast in later timeslots, began to include a mixture of child and adult audiences. For instance, in 1989, *Variety* reported on a new trend in the expanding children's TV animation market -- the appeal to adults of programs that were produced for children. "[Tiny Toon's] adult appeal -- like Duck Tales will lead to it being slotted in late-afternoon time periods that will attract adults and thus increase ratings and revenue" (Lowry, 1989, p.84). In 1989, *Emmy* described the success of Disney's animated TV program, Ducktales: "Ducktales, which made its debut in September 1987, has become the number-one animated series in syndication, according to Nielsen Syndication service, placing 59 percent higher than its nearest competitor." (Finnigan, 1989, p.58) LaRhe Vestal, program manager at WTFX in Philadelphia noted: "For us, Duck Tales is a big winner. I think it's because Disney cartoons always have strong, recognizable characters that kids like. So do teenagers and adults, apparently, because one-third of our DuckTales audience is over twelve and 19 percent is over eighteen" (p.58). Similarly, in 1988, *TV World* reported on the trend towards adult animated TV, noting that it was a return to the situation of TV animation in the 1950s: ie. that adults watched animation while children preferred live-action (Friedman, 1988b). As well, *Emmy* noted in 1992 that the gap between adult and children's animated TV programs was narrowing (Davidson, 1992).

This trend toward increased preferences for animation by both adults and children had a differing effect on independent (as opposed to network) broadcasters in the late 1980s, who overall moved to eliminate children's programs following a loss of viewers

to largely cable broadcasters. This elimination had subsequent effects on early-evening prime-time viewerships, since children continued their control of the television set into these time schedules. In 1989, Television VP Steve Leblang noted a sharp decline in audiences for early evening (ie. family) programs: "Independents have to be in kids [programming]. Our audience flow into early evening comes from kids, who control the set in the afternoon. If you program too narrowly to adults, you destroy that flow" (Haley, 1989, p.26). This focus on the importance of maintaining program flow in the creation and maintenance of audiences, while significant in the after school schedule periods dominated by child audiences, was also significant in terms of the weekday transition to early evening family viewing, which included a mixture of child and adult audiences.

In terms of the global consumption of programs, however, it is important to note that these features of program flow and their articulation with domestic routines varied across international markets. Broadcasters in different markets created distinct program flows according to the contingencies of local cultural practices around childhood socialization and family domestic routines. For instance, He-Man was not scheduled in the same way in foreign markets as it was in the US. In 1983, Group W Promotions (the full owner of Filmation in 1983) reported that Britain's ITV bought the entire inventory of He-Man programs, making the sale the largest importation of TV animation to date in the United Kingdom: "a rare bulk purchase for any foreign network" (*Variety*, 1983e, p.40). However, they reported that: "ITV won't strip He-

Man the way American stations that have taken it into syndication will... because stripping is alien to the British way of programming... so while American stations have agreed to take eight runs of each of the 65 half-hours over two years (on a barter arrangement; no cash will change hands), ITV has purchased eight runs of each episode over five years" (p.40). This difference in scheduling represented significant differences in the way in which British children consumed He-Man; though this involved regular scheduling, viewing was far less frequent. ⁴⁶

Since the early 1980s, trade sources have reported on significant variations in international scheduling of children's TV programs prior to the 1980s and into the 1990s, which presented significant difficulties for the creation of US-style consumer markets. For instance, in 1979, *TV World* noted: "In Holland, as everywhere else, children are at everyone's mercy... However, the Dutch are conditioned to care for children, and coset them from the diaper to the disco. Ten per cent air-time for children, from 80 hours weekly..." (Smith, 1979, p.18). However, the difficulty with

⁴⁶ Similarly, in response to an increase in British ratings for US programs, the Broadcasting Research Unit, an independent unit partially funded by the BBC, described the relationship between US TV and United Kingdom audiences as "unique and peculiar to the United Kingdom". Head of acquisitions for the BBC-TV suggests: "it [US programming] provides variation in the pacing of entertainment... British producers have learned from this in the past 10 years, especially in acknowledging the high entertainment values and escapist values of such material" (Wyver, 1986, p.92). He also noted that British audiences do not have identical tastes: "The success of an American TV series lies in the tension generated between invention and convention, and whenever the latter dominates over the former, the series has usually exhausted itself" (p.92). *Dukes of Hazzard* for instance, lost half of its audience between 1979 and 1983 (Wyver, 1986).

children's scheduling in Holland in 1979 was that programs shifted too frequently to establish consistent viewership patterns: "Frequently changing schedules mean few programs hold the same time slot for long. This can be disturbing for both the children and those mothers who believe in a proper domestic routine. The air-time for children is normally during 6.30 and 7.30 in the evening, with a couple of hours on Wednesday and Saturday afternoon" (p.18). This suggests that the scheduling of program flow to articulate with the domestic activities of viewers includes meeting the expectations of viewers and enabling them to anticipate broadcasts. *TV World* similarly noted limitations in broadcast practices within the South Korean TV broadcasting industry in 1979, reporting very limited telecast hours - daily broadcasts began in the late afternoon, and a few hours earlier on Sundays and holidays; broadcasters provided only one hour of children's programs per day. The programs (variety, quiz shows, action serials) were locally produced by a single production team; broadcasts were supplemented with US or Japanese cartoons dubbed into Korean (Constant, 1979, p.30).

The importance of articulating program flow with the domestic activities of consumers according to distinctions between child and adult audiences required different strategies on the part of international broadcasters. In some nations, for instance, the fragmentation of child and adult audiences was less straightforward because domestic viewing habits included the entire family, or parents allowed children to stay up later than in US markets. For instance, In 1979, *TV World* reported on the problems with

scheduling for children's TV in Hong Kong, and described the findings of a local research group:

Separate childrens' programs are largely meaningless in Hong Kong, where half the primary school children are at school in the morning, and the other half in the afternoon... The half-hearted attempts to set up children's programs in Hong Kong are... an example of paying respect to an ideal imported from elsewhere. We all know good BBC children are in bed by eight o'clock as that adult viewing can safely begin... In Hong Kong children and young people do not live in a world separate from adults... [They] see their television right through prime time (ending 10:30-11 pm) every evening. (p.24).

As a result, during children's timeslots (ie. after-school - 4-6 pm) broadcasters scheduled cartoons, children's live action, and information programs (eg. Flintstones, Rocket Robin Hood, Brady Bunch, and Sesame Street); on Saturday and Sunday mornings, cartoons began at 9 am, and were followed by family programs such as The Waltons, The Hardy Boys Series and Man From Atlantis (Tillman, 1979, p.24).⁴⁷ Similarly, in 1979, *TV World* reported that, in West Germany, children's TV programs were increasingly broadcast at later times in the day -- of the top 20 programs for children, 13 were on at or after 7:30 pm. The Monday Painters quiz program, for instance was more successful at 9:00 pm than at 8:15 pm; music programs such as Hitparade and Disco were highly successful in the 7:15 pm to 8:15 pm timeslot (Kacher, 1979, p.28). This scheduling of children's programming differed from the US, where children by and large stopped watching TV by the mid-evening.

⁴⁷ Similarly, in 1985, *Variety* reported on difficulties accessing Asian TV markets by US producers, noting, for instance, that Thailand had invoked a TV broadcast blackout between 6:30 and 8 pm "in the interests of children and families" (p.46). Malaysian state restrictions affected some episodes of children's programs such as The Hardy Boys, The Andy Williams Show and cartoons because they included dancing (Murdoch, 1985, p.46).

This distinction between adult and child audience preferences for animation had differential implications for the scheduling of program flow in different international markets. For instance, in 1979, *TV World* noted that some distributors of United Kingdom programs for adults were finding international markets among child viewers:

The men who sell BBC programs abroad are finding a growing tendency for the buyers in other countries to consider for children's viewing programs which have been made in Britain with adult audiences mainly in mind. Roy Gibbs, head of programs sales in the BBC Enterprises department, explains that the reason is sometimes that different countries have slightly different attitudes towards scheduling (*TV World*, 1979b, p.15).

Sweden and Germany, for instance, aired adult plays produced in Britain during what would be considered children's TV timeslots.⁴⁸ Similarly, in 1988, *TV World* reported on the viewing habits of children in Thailand, noting that the programs most frequently watched by children were produced for adults. This was ascribed to a strong preference for family, as opposed to age-divided, viewing in Thailand -- unlike the situation in the US, adults and children watched TV together. Perhaps in consequence, programs that included children showing disrespect towards adults were not saleable in Thailand (Adair, 1988).

Variations in the scheduling of animation formats, to accommodate their rising popularity among adult audiences, and to accommodate differences in the requirements of international audiences represent important mediations of global processes.

⁴⁸ Roy Gibbs suggested a major factor, noting that the majority of broadcasters in non-English speaking countries have children's departments with no budgets for dubbing, and therefore tend to prefer British cartoons and puppet programs (eg. *Ivor the Engine* and *Camberwick Green*) (*TV World*, 1979b, p.15).

Variations in consumer preferences for viewing times involved a mediation of the relationship between consumption and production, as local differences required variations in the practices of broadcasters in creating program flow. Such accommodations indicate, above all, that the most important factor for broadcasters is the development of audiences for sale to advertisers -- in effect, the fact that broadcasters must 'chase' audiences through shifts in scheduling is one indication of the operation of consumer sovereignty within the process.

Global TV Animation and Local Consumer Sovereignty

While broadcasters of animated TV in the 1980s and early 1990s made local accommodations for differences in scheduling in order to create a better 'fit' between global programming and local variations in routines and domestic child-rearing (such as sleep schedules and family vs. child and adult viewing practices) significant attention also focused on local variations in taste, and radical shifts in consumer program preferences. International differences in tastes and changes in program preferences indicate that consumer sovereignty has played a significant role in the globalization of TV programs, both in terms of the global rise in appeal of certain programs as well as in terms of posing significant barriers to the successful international distribution of programs, into and out of certain national markets (most notably Japan). While some local producers complained that global products provided excessive competition, other local productions benefitted from the generation of

audiences by successful imports such as *Smurfs*. As well, specific production features, such as violent content, were modified through a reflexive contrast between global and local programs.

As stated in previous chapters, animation was a relatively successful genre for international distribution in the 1980s and early 1990s. Commenting on the international success of animated programming in 1979, *TV World* described animation as a universal language similar to music: "Hanna-Barbera reported back in '78 that 500 million people watched one or more of its series in more than 80 countries. While gently spoofing basic situations, cartoons continue to be as understandable in Moscow as they are in Hollywood" (*TV World*, 1979c, p.50). However, while there is much indication that animated TV programs for children had relative successes in international markets, it should also be noted that the particularities of many foreign consumer markets presented some difficulties, both for importing and exporting. Similarly, while US animated products tended to dominate international markets prior to the 1980s,⁴⁹ the one-way preference for US animated programs was not universal, as consumer markets for domestically produced animation programs did develop in some countries, such as the United Kingdom and Japan. It is also evident that, early on, US producers and distributors recognized the international

⁴⁹ For instance, in 1979, *TV World* noted that children in Finland tended to prefer US imported programs to those produced domestically: "...like the rest of Scandinavia, Finland continues to buy programs in the international markets and there is little prospect of this situation changing" (Tervo, Anna, 1979, p.20).

marketability of childrens' programs and worked to find programs abroad that would be successful in the US. For instance: in 1979, *TV World* described the efforts of US distributors and broadcasters to find children's TV programs for import: "As for overseas fare, the market is still limited. CBS is continuing its Film Festival series that includes many short foreign films that are geared for children. Program executives at the networks say that they continue to look at new shows from other countries and are open to ideas that may work in the US" (Abrahams, 1979, p.14). Subsequently, throughout the 1980s, animation from other locales gained access to consumer markets, both in the US and elsewhere.

These practices were reinforced in the 1980s by the relative volatility of markets for children's animation worldwide, indicating a strong consumer sovereignty among children. For example, the popularity of toy-driven animated programs in the early 1980s was an unanticipated, but significant boon to toy manufacturers and animated TV producers. Looking back in 1988, *Variety* noted: "It was, of course, He-Man and the Masters of the Universe that set the stage for a new generation of animated programming. A combination effort involving Mattel, Filmation and Group W, it became a bonanza for them all" (Knoll, 1988, p.112).⁵⁰ The unexpected success of

⁵⁰ However, it should be noted that, though less prevalent, the marketing of animated characters with toys and accessories was not entirely new in the 1980s. For instance, in 1981, *Millimeter* noted that the new owners of Hanna-Barbera, Taft Broadcasting Company had in 1967 developed the commercial success of Hanna-Barbera character tie-ins: "More than 1500 licensed manufacturers world-wide turn out 4500 different products bearing likenesses to Hanna-Barbera characters, for example, Flintstone window shades, Scooby-Doo pajamas" (p.84). While Hanna-Barbera's Saturday

He-Man, and the development of consumer markets for toy-driven animated programs occurred on an international level. In 1984, *TV World* reported the international success of He-Man and the Masters of the Universe in commercial broadcast markets in: United Kingdom, France, Australia, Luxembourg, Italy, Malta, Gibraltar, Netherland Antilles, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Bolivia, Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Peru, Guatemala, the Bahamas, Trinidad, St. Thomas, Puerto Rico, Panama, Hong Kong, Taiwan and the Philippines (TV World, 1984, p.26). *TV World* attributed part of the international success of He-Man to the program's emphasis on non-violence, quoting Alice Donenfeld, Executive VP at Filmation, who described He-Man as "an action-adventure series without violence" (p.26).⁵¹ They reasoned that non-violent content was less likely to offend the largest number of international audiences. However, as described in the following section, toy tie-in programs such as He-Man fell out of favour with international consumers in the late 1980s as sharply and as unexpectedly as they gained favour in the early 1980s.

Moreover, the global expansion of animation programs such as He-Man and Smurfs in the early 1980s created markets that enabled, in some instances, the development of local animation productions. For instance, in 1986, *Variety* reported on the increase in

morning animated programs had been popular among children prior to this point, tie-in marketing was new to the company in the 1960s (Canemaker, 1981).

⁵¹ Filmation used children program consultants to produce He-Man (Dr. Donald F. Roberts, associate professor of Communications at Stanford University) and Fat Albert (Dr. Gordon Berry, professor at the UCLA Graduate School of Education) to help distinguish between action-adventure and violence (TV World, 1984).

the importance of children's programming in Italy, especially in supporting the success of Reteitalia's Canale-5 in its competition with new network broadcasters. "The program that brought Canale-5 its best-attended young audience was *The Smurfs* - the Belgian-made continuing series that was a surprise hit in the US and did well in most markets". Reteitalia executive Valeri Manera observed, "This series helped establish a children's audience on both Canale-5 and Italia-1 and we switched from one to the other for that purpose" (*Variety*, 1986c, p.132). Following from the success of *Smurfs*, Italian broadcasters had grown their audiences with two Japanese series, *Kiss Me Alicia* and *Lady George*, and had introduced local Italian children's game shows, *Bim Bum Bam* (with the highest number of viewers in the Italian children's TV market) and *Ciao Ciao* (which had doubled its audience since it began its broadcast run) which were both highly successful (p.132-156).

Similarly, in 1990, *Variety* reported on the boom in animation production in Europe, noting that there was a major trend towards classic European animation, rather than towards US style or globally acceptable products: "It's unlikely that these new European products will supplant the likes of Mickey Mouse or the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles (on course to rake in 22 million United Kingdom pounds in paraphernalia sales throughout Europe this year, according to one industry analyst) in the hearts and minds of European children, but the hope is that some of them at least will be explicitly European" (Hardy, 1990, p.55). Despite a reported slump in children's programming in 1988, the TV animation industry in the United Kingdom

experienced a boom in 1991. *Variety* reported that the boom had resulted in part from increased funding from Channel 4, following the successes of Super Ted and Fireman Sam, and S4C (a Welsh language version of C4), which: "has backed mainstream kidvid series as a way of generating foreign TV sales and boosting its international profile" (Coopman, 1991, p.60). Therefore, in some cases, consumer markets for local animation programs, with particular local characteristics were supported by the global boom in TV animation. ⁵²

On the other hand, in some instances the global distribution of animated products did not greatly affect local markets, neither penetrating them nor leading to the development of local productions. In 1991, *Variety* reported on the "toughest markets to crack" for US animation producers and distributors, quoting Brian Lacey, marketing director for Zodiac Entertainment:

In Singapore, FBC is the only broadcaster, the only game in town; The German market, which is much bigger since reunification, has a very high standard for children's programming. They really take a critical look at everything - storyline, theme, colour; Scandinavia is very difficult for cultural reasons. They like story-driven kids programs. In their eyes, a lot of American product comes up short in pacing and content, or they feel the cartoon's humour is too fast-

⁵² Similar shifts in consumer preferences with respect to US programs in Asia occurred in the mid 1980s. In 1985, *Variety* reported that sales of US programs to Asia were softening, as local production was on the increase, and as local markets expanded to include preferences for local products. Australian MCA's Pal Cleary argued that since US programs were produced for US audiences, it was surprising that they had sold abroad in the first place. Paramount's George Mooratoff noted that US programs sold abroad at costs that were low relative to original production and had served as a platform for broadcasters to venture into local production: "With one or two exceptions, and excluding Japan, US product internationally does subsidize local production" (Murdoch, 1985, p.46).

paced for their children (*Variety*, 1991e).

Other sources suggest the importance of differences in program pacing. In 1979, *TV World* quoted Mary Alice Dwyer, director of daytime and children's programs for NBC-TV: "I'm not sure that foreign packagers understand our marketplace", and noted that foreign programs often lacked the pacing required for commercial broadcast in the US (*TV World*, 1979a, p.52). In 1979, *TV World* also noted that US and Latin American markets required faster pacing than France (*TV World*, 1979e). In 1988, *Variety* reported differences in the requirements of program pacing in Germany: "While the slow pacing of most Teutonic TV eliminates chances of sales to America, West Germany's largest purveyor children's programming, Hamburg-based Igelfilm Productions, managed to get a foot in the door with livelier offerings to Nickelodeon" (Gill, 1988, p.121). According to head of Igelfilm Productions, Christian Lehman: "All of the slow-paced animation or live-action pieces that Europeans seem to thrive on are rejected out of hand by all the US buyers I've ever encountered. Step up the pace and you've got a chance in the American market" (p.122). Consumer preferences for specific program features such as pacing were therefore an important factor in the international distribution of TV programs in the 1980s and early 1990s. Thus the persistent difficulties of developing markets for US products in some countries have been conditioned by the existence of a nationally competitive market (ie. multi-channel) as well as on differences in tastes and consumer preferences.

However, the most significantly difficult (and largest) market for international

distribution of TV has been Japan. As Brian Lacey noted:

[In Japan] it's a forgone conclusion. It's very difficult to sell anything over there. Culturally they look at things differently. They have their own tradition in animation. They're churning out a certain look, with tremendous amounts of action, violence, space robotic stuff. It all looks like it came out of the same inkwell (*Variety*, 1991e, p.75).

This pattern has been similar for live-action programming as well. For instance (in a much discussed example), *Variety* reported in 1985 that Japan remained a market in which *Dallas* (one of the most successful internationally marketed programs) was notably unsuccessful. The president of Viacom Japan Inc. noted in 1985: "I hope someday the Japanese get so bored with their own programs that they look for foreign shows, but they're much like the US audience" in that they prefer their own national productions; he noted, "we need 15% of the audience to be successful - *Dallas* got 4%" (*Variety*, 1985e). Similarly, *Variety* noted in 1983 that, although TV was very popular in Japan: "Japanese have little to no use for Yank programming", citing the spectacular failure of *Dallas*'s first broadcast year in 1982; by 1983 the program had been relegated to 11:40 pm on Sundays (Segers, 1983, p.139).

Conversely, local programming in Japan was very popular in the 1980s and early 1990s. As *Variety* reported in 1980, the majority of animation broadcast had been produced in Japan and was highly popular within the national markets, where it aired in half-hour programs during the lucrative 5-7 p.m. schedule of all five major TV networks. Similarly, domestic animation features contended with US films for top box-office draw in 1980; Nippon Herald head Hiro Furukawa noted that US live-action

features dominated the commercial film market in Japan, but that Japanese animation dominated both TV and theatrical markets "wiping out all competition, including the best America has to offer" (Werba, 1980, p.38). However, it should also be noted that Japanese animation producers had difficulty marketing their programs abroad in the early 1980s. Osamu Fukunaka, international director of sales and purchases for Toei (a major animation producer, using a network of artisan groups), noted that the company had, "a long string of successful animated TV series and feature films at home, but that sales results internationally were not nearly in proportion" (p.38). The reasons for the lack of international success of Japanese animation production in the early 1980s was the content of the programs -- audiences outside Japan thought they were too violent. *TV World* noted in 1980 that Japanese animation, which traditionally contained violence, had met with growing resistance in foreign markets. As Katsuhiko Kurata of NTV noted: "We have no success with samurai programs. There's too much killing in them for many countries these days" (Murray, 1980, p.27).

However, Japanese producers worked throughout the 1980s to develop programs that would be more acceptable to international consumers. In 1980, *TV World* reported, for instance Marco, a 36 part serial on Marco Polo, was seen by foreign buyers as an attractive alternative to the violent content that had characterized most Japanese animation to that point (Murray, 1980, p.27). Japanese animated TV programs gained popularity internationally throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, but they did not access all markets equally. For instance, in 1991, the CEO of Saban noted in 1991

that: "Southern Europe airs much more animation than Central and Northern Europe. They also seem to embrace Japanese animation more than American animation" (Busby, 1991, p.70). In 1986, *Variety* reported on the reasons for resistance within the US market to Japanese TV programs. They noted that while "the one genre of Japanese TV programming that is most marketable is animation", US buyers preferred to use US distributors who would pre-screen programs for purchase. This was described as a barrier by Japanese sellers, who felt that more information should be provided to potential buyers (Variety, 1986d). In 1989, *TV World* reported that the world-wide trend away from hard and towards soft TV animation had affected Japanese producers as well. Hirohumi Kojima of Ido International noted: "Robots are out. The nostalgia boom sweeping Japan has touched the animation industry as well" (March, 1989, p.18).

Variety also reported in 1980 on the booming domestic animation trade in Japan, pointing to new efforts to internationally market Japanese animation product: "In recent years, a stronger effort is being made to internationalize cartoon product and, according to Miyako Ejiri - Head of Arthur Davis Organization in Japan - even the young Japanese audiences are responding more and more to basic story values and characters from other lands, especially after the release of Star Wars" (Werba, 1980, p.38). Ejiri noted that animators subsequently were more interested in incorporating the features of animated programs particular to Japan with foreign animation characteristics. "The film introduced a fresh current of ideas, and many were adapted

in series and features subsequently. Now we are taking elements from all countries without sacrificing national traits" (p.38). Therefore, Japanese producers worked in the 1980s to develop local animation programs that could be marketed abroad through a reflexive comparison of global and local animation styles and content.

This is similar to the approach taken by Welsh TV producers, as described by *Variety* in 1991. They reported that the TV animation production boom in Wales was part of a "dramatic change in the Wales media ecology", and attributed it to the establishment in 1982 of a Welsh-language TV channel. *Variety* noted that the bilingual heritage of Wales separated it from the rest of the United Kingdom and gave it an affinity with continental Europe: "For example, there is less resistance to dubbing and subtitling of TV shows and movies, putting the region in line with mainland Europe and out of synch with the rest of the United Kingdom" (*Variety*, 1991c, p.71). S4C's chief executive Stanley Jones noted: "We buy far more product from Europe than any other British broadcaster. And its easier for us to sell Welsh drama, for instance, to the French, who are very sensitive about the domination of English-language programs" (p.71). Thus, some producers found that by focusing on local particularities, they were better able to access foreign consumer markets.

Overall, the global distribution of TV animation was not a process that involved a straightforward expansion of program sameness, but rather in many instances involved a recognition of consumer sovereignty and an attempt to accommodate tastes and

preferences specific to different local markets. This implies that producers and distributors did not hold ultimate power in determining the global successes of programs, and that the process of consumption often provided significant opposition to their attempts. A significant example of the operation of consumer sovereignty in the globalization of animated programs in the 1980s and early 1990s was the rise and fall of toy tie-in programs.

Consumer Sovereignty and the Global Rise and Decline of Toy Tie-Ins

Following He-man's unprecedented profits, TV producers began to expend significantly larger budgets on toy-driven programs. In 1988, *Variety* described the rise of toy-driven action-adventure programs following the success of He-Man, noting that each series would cost kidvid producers and their toy-maker partners about \$17 million for each 65 episode series. "Even Hanna-Barbera, whose half-century of animation was built on such characters as Yogi Bear and Huckleberry Hound, had to buckle to the imperatives of the market-place. The result, in their case, was 'The Gobots'" (Knoll, 1988, p.112).⁵³ Therefore, the success of toy-driven programs provided significant motivation to TV animation producers to increase production. For instance, in 1984, *Channels* noted that: "A toy makers involvement in a show makes it easier to clear,

⁵³ Similarly, in describing the rise of Sunbow productions, *Variety* noted that the company was only moderately successful until they established a licensing agreement with Hasbro Inc. to produce TV programs based on GI Joe and Transformers, two of Hasbro's toys. Subsequently, the programs were among the most popular in US syndication (*Variety*, 1986d).

because local stations know that manufacturers back their shows with ad buys and national promotion campaigns that boost ratings" (Bauer, 1987, p.51).

However, the financial returns of toy-driven programs, while motivating the production of other toy-driven programs, also worked significantly to motivate quality animation producers such as Disney to enter the TV animation market. In 1985, *TV World* reported on the addition of *The Gummi Bears* to the Saturday morning schedule in 1984: "It's Disney's first shot at Saturday morning television in its 60-plus year history" (Friedman, 1985, p.28). The unanticipated success of toy-driven programs such as *Smurfs* and *He-Man*, the result of a sudden shift in consumer preferences, provided the financial incentive for production of higher quality programs by the traditionally theatrical producer Disney.

Consumer preferences were to shift again, however, in the late 1980s, as child consumer audiences for Saturday morning began to decline sharply. In 1986, *Emmy* reported a slumping trend for Saturday morning children's TV programs, quoting a "veteran producer" of syndicated children's programs:

Four, five or six years ago, the networks probably had 85 to 90 percent of the audience watching on Saturday morning. Now they are lucky if they're getting 50 percent. I know from a standpoint of business, the networks are having difficulty. The advertisers no longer have to rely on Saturday morning for their message. For instance, there is a major toy advertiser who does over sixty million dollars in advertising a year who doesn't use Saturday morning anymore, or uses it so little as to make it insignificant (Finnigan, 1986, p.98).

ABC's VP for children's programming, Squire Rushnell, noted that Saturday morning

had been affected by changes in consumer preferences and viewing patterns:

"programs we put on the air in 1985-86...failed to reach a significant number of children under the age of eleven" (p.99). One factor was the influx of adult viewers into the Saturday morning audience; Rushnell observed: "We started to look at what was happening: at 8:00 a.m., 50% of the audience was kids under eleven. By 11:00 a.m., the kids represented only 32 percent. By noon, that was down to 24 percent" (p.99). The CBS VP for children's programs and daytime specials concluded: "I don't see networks getting completely out of Saturday morning", but predicted that networks would explore other types of programs for this part of the schedule (p.99). Eventually the Saturday morning schedule did develop to include infomercials and live sport broadcasts, programs that were in many cases directed at the new adult audiences.

Broadcasters were thus faced with radical changes in consumer preferences for children's animated programs -- changes over which they had little control. In 1987, *Broadcast* reported on a "surprising change" in children's TV that had taken place over the past 12 months, and had left producers and broadcasters unprepared: the market for animated programs had softened. Fred Cohen, executive VP of Sunbow Productions noted: "So far its too early to say whether this is a permanent trend or just part of the cyclical reality of the business". Programmers suspected that the 20% drop in after-school ratings for children's broadcast TV was a result of a "glut of too-similar product, which had caused children to turn off the TV set in boredom" (Woodman, 1987, p.18). *Broadcast* noted that the shift in tastes had been indicated somewhat by

the success of *Pee-Wee's Playhouse*, which was described as a highly innovative program. Nathaniel T. Kwit Jr., President of Palladium Entertainment, argued that a renewed demand for old live-action programs such as *Rin-Tin-Tin* and *The Lone Ranger* might be a result of a recent groundswell of public reaction against toy-driven animated programs: "Indeed, according to Kwit, demand for these old classics is still strong all over the country, and even as far afield as Europe, the Far East and Australia" (p.18). On the other hand, a Hanna-Barbera executive noted that the trend back to live-action production would be limited by higher production costs associated with on-location filming and stunts, etc. Michael Hirsch, Chairman of Nelvana, also noted: "The surge of interest in live-action today is a 'correction' to the recent bull market of animation" (p.19). This trend away from animation was largely constituted by a shift away from toy-driven animated programs, and created a space for alternate children's TV programming. The replacement of toy-driven animated programs led to the development of alternate, non-animated program formats for Saturday morning network broadcasters. In 1986, *Emmy* quoted the NBC VP for family programs, Winifred White who predicted: "You might start to see alternate programs on Saturday morning to distinguish it from syndicated programming. At the moment, most of Saturday morning is animation, and that seems to be working. But on NBC we have experiments with shows that are part live-action fairy-tales or something in that vein on Saturday morning" (Finnigan, 1986, p.99).

This shift was more or less complete by 1988, when *Broadcast* reported a return to the

fundamentals of TV animation for children, and a reversal of what they described as the toy merchandising phase of the 1980s. Peter Keefe, VP of production house World Events, noted that, "children have got good crap detectors", and that it was evident by the 1990s that 'animated toy catalogue' programs had a short shelf life (Brown and Friedman, 1988). Reporting in 1988 on the decline in viewership of children's network programs, *Variety* noted this was especially the case for the traditional 'bulwarks' of children's broadcast television: Saturday mornings and weekday afternoon blocks on independents. These children's timeslots had been "rocked by a nosedive in ratings more sweeping than anything that has hit the adult sector so far" (Knoll, 1988, p.112).

⁵⁴ The end of Saturday morning program successes were attributed largely to the glut of Saturday morning and afternoon toy-driven programs (ie. He-Man and predecessors), and a sudden change in the taste of child viewers: "It is the sudden burn-out of the fad in toy-based shows that precipitated the current crisis" (p.112).

Jack Fentress of Petry Television described the He-Man clones (eg. She-Ra, Thundercats, GI Joe, My Little Pony, The Gobots, The Transformers, Galaxy Rangers, Space Sheriff): "They all had basically the same plot: let's save mankind from the evil forces. They had a short life-span because there were so many" (p.112). ⁵⁵ One

⁵⁴ The argument that the new rating methodologies had a differential impact on children's participation was acknowledged. It was argued, however, that the more likely cause of the decline was the shift to alternate media formats such as home video and cable (Knoll, 1988).

⁵⁵ *Variety* also observed: "The toy-based shows also foundered because they were so gender-specific, each one with a narrow appeal to either boys or girls. Moreover, research indicates children were looking for a product with more humour in it" (Knoll, 1988, p.112).

observer noted, "The further down the line you get in copying the original, the worse it is" (p.112). Overall, the decline in popularity of toy-driven programs was blamed on the over-saturation of consumer markets with these types of programs, and the consequent changes in viewer preferences for alternate programs and formats for TV.

In January of 1989, *Variety* reported on the continued trend away from animated programs, and described a crisis looming in children's TV, since there had been a 35% decrease in advertising revenues for children's TV since 1987 (Gross, 1989). This decline also occurred on an international scale. For instance, *Variety* reported on the decline in ratings worldwide for animated children's programs driven by toys in 1988 (Variety, 1988i).⁵⁶ This global decline in the popularity of animated toy tie-in programs was, however, accompanied by an increase in consumer demand for higher quality animation, initiated in part by the development of better quality TV animation by Disney.

Disney's success in this respect involved what were largely character-driven animated programs, using characters that had a pre-existing international appeal, such as Donald Duck. In 1988, *Variety* in reporting on the decline of toy-driven programs, noted that

⁵⁶ *Variety* blamed in part the rising costs of production, and the declining value of the US dollar in foreign markets. For example, the US dollar had lost about 40% of its value against the Japanese Yen between 1986 and 1988 (*Variety*, 1988i, p.113). Similarly, in 1983, Australian broadcasters requested a price pause on 19 1982 prices of US imported TV programs, since the Australian dollar was at a serious low (80% of US) (*Variety*, 1983h).

the animation successes in children's TV in 1988 were among the high-quality Disney products: *Duck Tales* (1st season), and *The Real Ghostbusters* (which had a moderate showing in the ratings). Keith Samples, senior VP and general sales manager for Lorimar Syndication also noted the trend, describing child consumers of TV animation in 1988 as "more discriminating than they've ever been" (Knoll, 1988, p.113). In 1989, *TV World* attributed the fall in network ratings to the elimination of toy-driven programs and the replacement with 'Disney powerhouse' *Ducktales* and classic cartoons such as *Woody Woodpecker*, *Bugs Bunny* and *Popeye* (Haley, 1989). In 1988, *Variety* concluded that the result the result of the shakeup would be better quality programs:

With all the problems, the prevailing feeling in the kids business is one of optimism. The best creativity, its said, comes when things are at there worst because of necessity. Everything goes in cycles, its argued. The kid cycle has bottomed out. Now oversupply and economics are forcing producers and program suppliers to be creative again, exploring new concepts, placing new types of programs in circulation (*Variety*, 1988i, p.113).

By 1989, *Variety* was reporting on an increase in quality and numbers of animated TV programs for children. "Television animation, perhaps the most-maligned facet of the business prior to the advent of trash-talk and tabloid style magazines, suddenly is starting to look like a prestige program category" (Lowry, 1989, p.49). In recent years the trend had been to "try to keep down production costs down on animated shows in light of diluted revenue expectations from a crowded and fragmented marketplace. The result [was] more limited animation - with fewer frames and consequently less character movement and expression". *Variety* predicted that a major change in TV animation for the 1990 season would be an increase in production quality and costs (p.40).

Variety in 1991 pointed to Spielberg's *Tiny Toons*, and Disney's *Tale Spin* and *Gummi Bears* as continuations of this trend towards high-quality TV animation, nearing full animation. For example, *Tale Spin* became the most expensive animated program for TV in 1989, at more than \$460,000 per episode (Lowry, 1989, p.49). As well, Don Bluth's new TV animation studio stated plans to spend between \$300,00-\$350,000 on TV episodes (p.49). Executives for both Spielberg and Warner indicated that recent successes in box-office animation (eg. *Who Framed Roger Rabbit*, *An American Tale*, *Land Before Time*) were signs of a growing market for quality animation. Buena Vista president Bob Jacquemin noted: "The ad dollars are there, the distribution community and the stations just haven't bought the product that will attract the kids" (p.845). Success was also attributed to the fact that *Duck Tales* had become the highest rated US animated TV program of all time by 1989.

In 1991, the President of Film Roman, Phil Roman, noted: "Right now the demand for animation is probably the greatest I can remember. I keep thinking there has to be an end to it, but it hasn't happened yet. As long as good product is made, there will continue to be a demand" (Stevenson, 1991, p.45). The increases in demand came mostly from new cable broadcasters (eg. HBO, MTV, Showtime and Nickelodeon) who were commissioning new programs. As well, *Disney Afternoon* and *Fox Children's Network* were competing in a weekday afternoon battle for almost half of children's TV advertising monies (p.45). Disney had been marketing 26 half-hours of animation programming in 1985, but by 1991 was producing over 200 half-hours per

year. President of Buena Vista TV, Robert Jacquemin, noted that more growth was possible, given that: "The baby boom is adding four million kids a year to the industry. There's \$75 billion in disposable dollars that kids represent. They have an enormous influence on family purchases" (p.45).

At the same time, however, there were limitations on the demand for better quality animated programs. Margaret Loesch, president of Fox Children's Network, commenting on increased demands for quality in TV animation, noted, "there's not enough room for quality product" (p.51). As *Variety* observed: "Weekday afternoons are full, dominated by Disney and Fox blocks. Meanwhile, NBC plans to scale back its animated shows, perhaps even get out of the Saturday morning contest. If NBC or another network drops out, suppliers might have a hard time getting their shows on the air" (p.51). Phil Roman noted that a market contraction would increase competition: "one way to remain competitive is to have good quality - you have to be competitive with Warners and Disney. Being a small company, we're caught in the middle. We can't have a huge overhead" (p.51).

Overall, evidence suggests that the global rise in toy tie-in programs and the subsequent shift away from these types of programs was driven extensively by changes in consumer preferences, and the operation of consumer sovereignty, especially since the rise in toy tie-in programs was largely unanticipated, as was their decline. The subsequent shift towards higher quality animation was also due in large part to the

operation of consumer sovereignty, although the initial provision of higher quality animation was a competitive attempt by Disney to enter the market once toy tie-in programming had proven that large audiences could be generated by TV animation.

Globalization and The Rise of Alternate Distribution Formats

Another instance of consumer choice that created significant changes in global markets for children's animated programs was the rise of distribution formats that provided alternatives to broadcast TV. These alternate formats, in the form of cable services and home video created more flexibility in distributing programs abroad, allowing producers and distributors to overcome certain difficulties posed by broadcast formats in that they allowed for greater flexibility in accommodating the scheduling needs of consumers and provided a way around local regulation of broadcasting.

It is notable however, that producers and broadcasters did develop an alternate broadcast format -- interactive programming -- for toy tie-in product, in an attempt to regain audiences. In 1988, *TV World* reported on an interactive toy tie-in program that was developed in Japan, and was being considered for global marketing. Borgman, a robot-hero TV program, involved a robot toy, which when placed in front of the TV set during the program broadcast, would move. The toys movements, along with sounds and lights would be activated by specialized sounds embedded in the soundtrack of the program (1988). These features of the toy would operate only when

the program was being broadcast. Though Borgman was not developed for distribution abroad, another program, *Captain Power*, followed a similar principle. *TV World* in 1987 reported on the drop in children's animated program ratings, and the potential solution for programmers in new interactive TV shows for children. They described *Captain Power and the Soldiers of Fortune*, which used a special suction cup screen attachment to access broadcast light signals that triggered specially designed toy guns. When certain segments of the program were being broadcast, the guns would activate, and viewers were able to fire them (in effect taking part in the battles on the screen). The technology had not yet been picked up by foreign broadcasters in 1987, but was picked up in subsequent seasons. It was noted that if the program gained popularity in the US, foreign buyers might follow suit (Beck, 1987). In 1987, however, *Variety* reported that British program buyers were evincing strong objections to US toy-driven programs as mere promos for expensive toy products and predicted that this would be a potential barrier to the success of the upcoming interactive program, *Captain Power* (Guider, 1987b). Indeed, the new toy tie-in interactive programs were not successful, and the decline of toy tie-in programs continued unabated.

As child viewers turned away from animated toy tie-in programs in the late 1980s, they turned towards alternate distribution formats such as all-children cable services. In 1989, *TV World* reported on the overall trend towards children's cable: "While broadcast TV has seen its audience shares and advertising rates whittled down, children's programming on cable has seen exponential revenue increases and good

enough audience gains to establish kids' blocks on Nickelodeon and USA Network as genuine competitors on weekday afternoons" (Haley, 1989, p.26). Similarly, in 1989 *Variety* described the decline in network TV ratings for children's programs, and the rise in cable service ratings, noting that children had turned away from the toy-driven format and that the networks had had little else to offer. They reported that US child viewers were turning away from the abundance of hard-action, half-hour animated programs (ratings for afternoon network viewing was down 17% between November 1985 and November 1987), and were turning instead to home video and cable, showing a strong preference for live-action, especially gameshows. Cable broadcaster Nickelodeon's *Double Dare*, a game show, was particularly popular. Placed at the 5:00 afternoon timeslot in the US, it was scheduled as a transitional program between the animated programs that preceded it, and the early evening adult programs (Knoll, 1988). *Double Dare* was a version of *Beat the Clock*, noted Nickelodeon Executive VP and General Manager, Geraldine Laybourne: "*Double Dare* was a huge success at Nickelodeon. It started on Monday with a .6. By Thursday it had a 1.8. That means each .6 told 3 of their friends. By three weeks later, it hit a 3.8" (p.112). *Double Dare*, produced at a public broadcasting studio, was also a much less expensive risk than an animated program: toy-driven animated programs in 1988 cost approximately \$350,000 per half hour, and \$17 million for a standard 65 episode series, while the game show format cost a fraction of this.⁵⁷ *Variety* noted that the animated toy tie-in format was

⁵⁷ This shift to cable also included an appeal to parents, as evidenced by HBO newspaper ads declaring support for ACT. Similarly, HBO had invested \$5 million in a 24-part educational series *Encyclopedia* (one for each letter in the alphabet) (Knoll,

not likely gone altogether, and that the new game shows did have merchandising tie-ins. These, however, were not as strong as with animated programs.⁵⁸

The all-children cable services began to compete with network broadcasters in the US in the mid 1980s and by 1991 *Variety* noted the idea had already outlived its sceptics. Margaret Loesch, president of Fox Children's Network commented on the rise of all-children's cable services (responsible for much of the decline of Saturday morning advertising revenues for the networks): "How can you beat the idea of a six-day service to kids? We're building a business, whereas the other networks are maintaining or downsizing" (Stevenson, 1991, p.51). By November, 1991, *Variety* was reporting on a generalized boom in the TV animation industry, resulting from the rise in alternate services and formats: "Demand is up from syndicated, cable and video. Advertisers are particularly keen on animated shows since children increasingly influence family spending. And the competition for young viewers had led to higher-quality animation" (p.45). Moreover, this type of competition also developed in other national markets. For instance, in 1988, *Variety* reported on the competition between France's Canal J, an independent, all-children's channel, and the highly successful pay-tv network Canal

1988, p.116).

⁵⁸ Also, as Laybourne noted, while gameshows were cheaper to produce than animation (the cost was 10% of the cost of animation) the benefit to broadcasters came only in the short run, since "you don't get the evergreen library benefit that you get with animation" (Gelman, 1988, p.118). *Variety* similarly cautioned: "The stampede toward kid game-shows may be as big a mistake as the stampede towards action-adventure and toy-based shows of recent seasons" (Knoll, 1988, p.113).

Plus. Canal Plus' upcoming all-children's channel *Famille* would compete with Canal J, the only all-children channel at that point. Canal J president Pierre-Henri Chauveau argued that Canal Plus intended to use Canal J as a 'starting block' to win an early, firm grip on the market (Variety, 1988j, p.118). Once in operation, *Variety* noted that Canal Plus *Famille* would purchase US programs and films (p.118). However, in 1990, *TV World* reported that the trend towards children's cable that had occurred in the US had not yet taken hold in Europe: "Elsewhere children's channels have been founded on similar principles but the circumstances that have contributed to the success of Nickelodeon are not universal and each one has developed in its own way and at different rates" (Eardley, 1990, p.20). Therefore, while all-child cable services did take hold in Europe later in the 1990s, the rate and mode of development did not occur uniformly as with other global developments in the early 1990s.

However, the most significant development in children's programming in the 1980s and early 1990s was the development of home video. This development revealed significant evidence of the exercise of consumer sovereignty (especially in the unanticipated discovery of children's preference for repeat viewing) at the same time that it facilitated globalization of children's and animated TV programming. *Variety* reported in 1988 on the burgeoning home video market for children's programs: "Accurate statistics for the sell-through market are hard to come by, but most execs guesstimate kidvid comprises 30-50% of the video biz budget. That figure shoots up as high as 50% over the Christmas period" (*Variety*, 1988k, p.118). In Britain, 11-12

million units sold at 8-9 pound per unit, and netted 100 million pounds in 1987 -- the figures were estimated to be 30% higher for 1988. The primary sell-through home video programs were Transformers, Care Bears, My Little Pony, as well as British characters Postman Pat and Thomas the Tank Engine (p.118). In 1988, *TV World* reported that US broadcasters had experienced a loss of 28% of the child audience from the 1987 levels, attributing the change in large part to the use of VCRs and taped programs (Friedman, 1988c). Similarly, in 1989, *TV World* reported on the decline in network viewing by children: "Nielsen Media Research found this spring that the percentage of kids watching TV in the afternoon would be three points higher among two-to-five year olds if VCR usage was included, and three points higher among 6 to 11 year olds if video games (Nintendo is red hot) usage was included" (Haley, 1989, pp.26-27).

Moreover, the success of sell-through home video for children was largely unanticipated by producers in the early 1980s, who were surprised that children were interested in multiple repeat viewing of programs once they had access to them on video. This was in spite of the fact that a program might also be available through broadcast or theatrical release. For instance, in 1989, *Variety* reported that TV animation had begun to benefit from ancillary markets, especially home video and foreign distribution: eg. about one-half of all revenue from Ducktales was from foreign sales, and over 2 million home video cassettes had been sold "despite the fact that the show airs daily in syndication. Kidvid remains one of the hottest sell-through vehicles"

(Lowry, 1989, p.84). Similarly, *Variety* noted that the film market for feature-length animation was reinvigorated by the success of the Care Bears Movie in 1985, which had demonstrated that producers other than Disney could be profitable in the theatrical market. This motivated production of a range of animated features for theatrical release based on a successful TV series: Sunbow's My Little Pony, Transformers, and GI Joe (Lowry, 1989).

Consequently, the rise of sell-through home video represented a significant challenge to broadcasters in the 1980s and early 1990s. As early as 1984, Turner Program Services noted that cartoons (dubbed TV and theatrical features) when sold direct, with a stand-alone pay structure in the US and on First-Choice and Super-Channel pay networks in Canada, as well as through home video, would earn greater profits than they would in broadcast syndication (*Variety*, 1984a). In 1989, *Variety* explained the slump in broadcast ratings as a consequence of the rise in video marketing to children. They noted that Erol's 178 store video chain (claiming to be the largest retailer of sell-through home video) reported in 1989 that 43% of sales were motion pictures, 31% were child products, and 21% were exercise (*Variety*, 1989c). Similarly, in 1988, *Variety* reported on the development of Hanna-Barbera's home video marketing efforts, describing a new video collection line, Personal Favourite, which drew upon the company's library of over 3000 episodes of TV animation produced since 1957

(*Variety*, 1988, p.36).⁵⁹

In 1984, *TV World* reported on a change in children's TV and video marketing dynamics. Alice Donenfeld, Executive VP at Filmation (division of Group W Productions) recalled:

Originally, when I started selling video rights, people wanted television protection. And I couldn't afford them that protection, because in a lot of instances I had video rights to series we owned but which were distributed for TV by other people. As a result, I got a lot of resistance from the video buyers who wanted exclusivity. Then, all of a sudden, about a year ago, the tide started to turn. And now everyone asks me, 'Alice, what videos do you have that are on television?' The video people only want a show now if it is on television - a market reality that I think is unique to children's programming (*TV World*, 1984, p.26).

Speculating on children's propensity for repeat viewing, she believed: "Kids love the security of knowing what the ending is. The same dynamics come into play when a child asks you to read the same bedtime story over and over again. And the video community had realised this and is buying accordingly" (p.26). In 1984, *TV World* relied on conjecture to understand why children took more readily to familiar video material than did adults. The turn was particularly unexpected given the industry's assumptions about marketing, and the belief that under normal industry conditions, combined video, broadcast and theatrical releases of a product would diminish the success of each form of release. However, by 1998, even adult movie video releases were also being released along with theatrical and TV versions. Therefore, the

⁵⁹ Hanna-Barbera Home Video's top selling unit, *The Jetsons Meet the Flintstones*, was leading the theatrical-length Hanna-Barbera line, while Jack Nicklaus' *Golf My Way* was the all-time best selling tape at 125,000 units (*Variety*, 1988, p.36).

unanticipated rise in popularity of the video format required considerable adjustments in industry marketing practices.

In 1988, *TV World* was reporting similar reasons for Sunbow's expansion into the home video market for children's animation: "Children watch a tape an average of 10-12 times, and through mass marketing children's tapes do well on a sellthrough basis. When we work out distributor arrangements we keep approval on the way tapes will be marketed and can specify sellthrough - although we've allowed some licensees to make tapes available for rental" (Friedman, 1988a, p.60). In relating the experience of marketing video versions of programs internationally, *Variety* quoted Sunbow Productions' International sales VP, who reported problems convincing foreign distributors to take a movie when it would also be aired on TV: "They view the TV exposure as competition, when in fact its stimulation. Children want what they're familiar with"; and , citing sales of 500,000 Transformer videocassettes in the US, "Children like to see things again and again. They want to learn every line by heart. marketing for children must take this into consideration" (Lowry, 1989, p.95).

In 1988, *Variety* described differences in marketing animation programs to children through video: "the rules of the game for children's video market are different from the rest of the business. For a studio primarily engaged in marketing feature films to adults, the rental market works really well. They can keep prices high, needing to sell only two or three copies of a title to each video store to make their money back"

(Knoll, 1988, p.116). The children's market by contrast created greater opportunities for sell-through products. Home video, as a sole means of distribution, differed from original TV animation in that it was a medium suited to narrowcasting, requiring highly specific age-typing for programs, but also netting greater profits. There was also a stronger emphasis on animation quality with home video, since sell-through video had to bear multiple (perhaps dozens of) viewings (Knoll, 1988).

On the other hand, however, some industry sources noted that not all programs were suitable for the sell-through market and that production quality was not always the decisive factor. Deborak Forte, VP of merchandising and new business developments at Scholastic Productions noted:

There are many very high quality programs -- family films and after-school specials -- on broadcast TV. That doesn't make them great home video releases. [So far] programmers have made the mistake of thinking of home video programming like they think of programming for TV. In fact, it's completely different. TV programming is designed to get viewers to tune in at a certain time to a certain station. A home video program -- like a wonderful book -- should be something the child can return to again and again. The studios, which deliver feature films to the rental market and have that as their cash cow, are not likely conduits for made-for-video children's productions. It is companies like Scholastic -- long established as a leading children's publisher -- that have their sights on video publishing for children (Knoll, 1988, p.116).

Scholastic home video publishing was in 1988 predicting the positive effects of a new baby-boom and the emergence of more education-oriented and affluent parent consumers, who would be more likely to use the video format for their children (p.116).

Moreover, home video provided new access to some foreign markets for TV distributors. For instance, in 1984, *Variety* reported that *Dynasty* had become "one of the hottest selling US programs in the international market" (Segers, 1984, p.135). The distribution of *Dynasty* went directly to video in Norway, netting, according to a Metromedia Worldwide Sales vice president, eight times what broadcasters were willing to pay as a licensing fee. Similarly, in 1991, *Variety* described the boom in TV animation production in Wales, including the international success of *Super Ted* -- sold in 30 territories world-wide, and to the Disney channel in the US -- and *Fireman Sam*, which had sold 330,000 copies in the then-expanding sell-through video markets in the United Kingdom, France, Spain and Germany (*Variety*, 1991c, p.74). *Variety* commented again in 1991 on Wales' *Super Ted* and *Fireman Sam*, attributing their success to increases in international video marketing (Coopman, 1991). The success of Welsh animation products provides another indication that animation programs are more easily marketed internationally, and have served to spearhead development of other local productions. However, some important differences existed in the development of home video markets. For instance, in 1984, *Variety* discussing the structure of broadcast TV throughout the Arab states, where there were no private broadcasters, noted important variations between states. In Saudi Arabia, for example, the home video market had been saturated, whereas in Algeria, home video was largely unknown (*Variety*, 1984b).

An important example of the impact of home video on children's animated TV

programs, and the use of the format to access global markets is Hanna-Barbera's *Greatest Adventures: Stories from the Bible*, a series of stories involving two youthful US archaeologists and a young middle-eastern nomad, who discover a 'time warp' and travel to Biblical times (Bierbaum, 1985a, p.26). This was the first animated program launched exclusively on home video. Hanna-Barbera attempted aggressive sell-through marketing after regaining home video distribution rights from its distributor Worldvision in 1985 (*Variety*, 1989d). *Variety* described the project as the "biggest original programming venture in videocassette industry history" (Bierbaum, 1985a, p.26). In the newly developing home video market, distributors were concerned about promoting awareness about the series, since this was among the first projects that would receive no previous exposure on TV or in theatres. Barbera was touting the project as comparable to the breakthroughs made by Hanna-Barbera in marketing TV animation in the 1960s (using 'limited-animation', which, at the time cut costs for 5 minutes of programming from \$65,000 to \$2,700). The new 30 minute programs, at \$300,000 and up, cost more than the average Saturday morning budget of \$225,000-\$250,000. *Variety* estimated that, at \$6/tape for duplication, Hanna-Barbera would have to sell a large number of units (21,000 at direct, or 50,000 on conventional retail) to cover production costs alone, and anticipated additional costs for promotion.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Barbera reported on Hanna-Barbera's efforts to maintain accuracy of the original Biblical accounts: "The company has appointed a three-member board that includes a priest, a rabbi and a Presbyterian minister, who review the scripts and all stages of production." (Bierbaum, (1985a, p.26).

By 1988, *Emmy* was reporting that *The Greatest Adventure: Stories from the Bible* was a strong success on the home video market -- Hanna-Barbera had received over 1,000,000 orders for units, and was in the process of dubbing the series into Spanish for distribution in Latin American countries (Silden, 1988). In July 1989, *Variety* further reported on the success of the videos, following a move by Hanna-Barbera to reduce the price-point for rental and sell-through units from \$24.95-\$39.95 to \$19.95, which resulted in 1989 first-quarter sales that exceeded projections by 25%. The videos had sold over 1 million units, in 11 languages and 42 countries: "This success is a vindication for Joe Barbera. It took him 2 years to get the series produced. He believed that bringing to life the characters and stories from the Old Testament was not only an important project, but, given a chance, would find a wide and favourable audience of kids. He pitched it several times to network TV execs but was turned down. It took the VCR to turn the dream into reality" (*Variety*, 1989e, p.64).

Overall, the development of the home video format for children's animation represented an important innovation in TV programming, and a serious challenge to commercial broadcasting practices. As well, home video was an important way for producers to access some foreign markets for children's animation, including those with limited broadcasting facilities or government regulations on TV broadcasts.⁶¹

⁶¹ For instance, He-man was also successfully marketed on video in: United Kingdom, France, Spain, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Iceland and throughout the Middle East (TV World, 1984, p.26). The video format was useful in accessing national markets by avoiding broadcast regulations and scheduling restrictions.

Most importantly, however, the format involved an alternative to the structured flow of broadcasting, and the displacement of advertising from children's TV programming. As such, consumer advocacy groups regarded the format as an important development, especially in the struggle to remove the commercial content of children's TV programming and as a means for parents to maintain a greater degree of control over the viewing habits and content of children's TV.

Regulation by Consumer and Industry Advocacy

As described in chapter three, criticism from parents and consumer advocacy groups has been directed at the consumption of children's programming since the early history of TV. In 1988, *Variety* quoted Cy Schneider, an advertising agency executive, who noted that the highest number of complaint letters received by any given TV station would most likely be about a children's show: "Criticizing children's television is a popular topic" (*Variety*, 1988i, p.113) (997.3). Similarly, *Variety* noted: "The viewer base for children's shows is unique. Producers-distributors are dealing with households when they're trying to reach kids that sometimes have parental guidance and other times no parental guidance" (p.113). An important focus of advocacy groups in the 1970s and 1980s was the commercial content of children's programming, especially following the rise in toy-driven animated programs. In 1979, *TV World* reported on the effects of pressure groups on children's TV programming. They quoted Peggy Charren, president of ACT, who argued at an FTC commission meeting that children

under the age of 12 could not make reasonable consumer decisions, and that "all advertising will inevitably deceive" (p.13). Some positive industry response came from this type of pressure: ABC announced that it would unilaterally drop advertising content from 8 1/2 minutes/hour to 7 1/2 minutes in January 1980, and to 6 1/2 minutes in January of 1981; Squire Rushnell, VP of children's programming for ABC noted: "Our ideal is to get the levels comparable to primetime" (Abrahams, 1979, p.12). However, the deregulation of children's TV advertising in the early 1980s, and the subsequent rise of toy-driven animated programs, represented a retrenchment of commercial content in network broadcast of animated TV, and advocacy groups renewed their focus on commercialism in children's programming.

Moreover, following the decline in popularity among child audiences for toy-driven programs in the late 1980s, and the temporary shift in child consumer preferences toward game shows, consumer advocacy groups continued to focus on the commercial content of children's programs. For instance, in 1988, while *Variety* noted that the trend away from toy tie-in programs included variety, magazine and court shows aimed at children, Peggy Charren of ACT noted that the changes were made up largely of a trend towards game shows (ie. Nickelodeon's Double Dare), which was in fact a heightened form of commercialism, featuring consumer products and childrens' desire for them (Gelman, 1988). Therefore, while game shows represented a way for producers and broadcasters to replace toy-driven animation with alternate programs that also featured consumer products, advocacy groups remained critical of the

commercialization of children's programming.

The reaction against the US toy tie-in programs was not, however, limited to public pressure groups. For instance, the importance of toy marketing around animation programs in the United Kingdom became apparent in 1988 when *Variety* reported on British animators negative reaction to the BBC purchase of broadcast Fimation's *Bravestarr* for the 1989 season (*Variety*, 1988). The reason for the negative reaction to the purchase was not, however, the addition of commercial content to broadcasts, but rather the increased competition for British toy-driven animation products that it represented. Graham Clutterbuck, founder of Filmfare Communications (British producer-distributor) noted that animation in Britain cost between 2,000 and 10,000 pounds per minute to produce, while importing animation from US and continental sources cost broadcasters 100 pounds per minute. Local character merchandising had therefore become vital for British animation producers. In turn, British animated programs exported to the US tended to play on PBS and cable networks, which did not support merchandising to the degree that network broadcasts had. "The whole game is based on merchandising - getting books, toys, wallpaper off the ground. It's not easy for British products to be a success outside of the United Kingdom, so the only way to recoup is to hit the jackpot here" (p.115).

International industry resistance to toy tie-in merchandising schemes existed in varying degrees, until the decline of toy-driven programming worldwide in the late 1980s.

Nevertheless US licensing marketers pushed aggressively for merchandising from US programs into foreign markets following the flattening of profits in the domestic market in 1985. They had some success. As *Variety* reported, 31% of all US licensing came from cartoon strips and animation (Grantham, 1986, p.38) The continued strength of toy tie-in marketing seemed apparent in the heightened activities at the International Market for Creativity and Licensing -- a conference which was largely dedicated to children's toy tie-ins. At the International Licensing and Merchandising Conference and Exposition held in New York, "the convention floor was packed with a universe of children's merchandise and the aisles were populated with temps running around in duck suits, Spiderman outfits and claymation dancing raisin getups, among other costumes" (*Variety* 1987c, p.21). Regardless of these types of industry successes, however, they also reported barriers to licensing expansion in other nations. While some nations, such as France, were favourable to toy-tie in licensing, others, such as the Scandinavian countries and Holland, avoided programs that appeared to be "overt plugging" (Grantham, 1986, p.38). Thus, international merchandising around toy tie-in programs was seen as an important means to compensate for diminished US local markets, and required accommodations for variations in markets abroad.

Another focus of international pressure groups in the 1980s and early 1990s was a demand for quality programs. Broadcasters, at the time, sought to relieve the demand for more programs through foreign sources. For instance, in 1979, *TV World* noted that the international market for children's programs produced in Britain was strong,

and that "with pressure-groups world-wide demanding quality products there is no sign of the demand diminishing" (TV World, 1979b, p.15). They suggested that the strength of United Kingdom exports of children's programs was paralleled by the fact that very little was imported into Britain, even if "US imports like Scooby Doo and Dukes of Hazzard remain[ed] popular" (p.15). The strength of British exports of children's programs was also not significantly diminished by import restrictions. For instance, *TV World* noted that Thames was able to sell children's documentaries in Rhodesia because, quoting a spokesperson for Thames, "The government doesn't mind if programs have cultural and educational interest" (p.16). International Sales Manager for British independent network Southern TV, Michael Crawford noted that: "Last year we sold programs to 29 different countries and 65 to 70 per cent were children's programs. The move to control the quality of children's programs can be nothing but good news for British products." (p.16).

Also, the perception of quality among both pressure groups and government regulators included recognition of lower degrees of violent content. This, in turn, sparked the move to develop all-children cable services. For instance, in the wake of world-wide criticism of children's TV programming in 1979, the international year of the child, *TV World* reported that Warner Cable Corporation's new cable channel Nickelodeon featured "special non-violent programming for children of all ages, on an all day, every day basis, and without commercials" (TV World, 1979d). Original programming was a major part of the channel, coming mostly from parent-company Warner (through

QUBE, an alternative format production centre) as well as classic cliffhanger serials from the 1950s such as Tom Mix and Flash Gordon (p.32). Consideration of violent content was also considered important for improving international distribution. For instance, International Sales Manager for British independent network Southern TV, Michael Crawford commented on the problems of producing programs for global distribution in 1979: "There was one scene in a children's series when somebody was murdered before the battle of Waterloo. We shot the scene with great care but the Swedes thought it was too violent and it had to be re-edited." (TV World, 1979b, p.16). In 1988, *Broadcast* reported on changes in the international consumption of animated series with violent content: "...[such] series were becoming increasingly hard to sell abroad with growing criticism of the synthesis of marketing and violence, and the low quality that the 'hack and slay' variety (particularly those made in the Far East) were beginning to represent." (Brown and Friedman, 1988, p.28). Similarly, in 1988, *TV World* described the effects of state censorship directed at children's animated TV in Hong Kong. They noted that it restricted any violent content, and resulted in the use of older programs such as Popeye and early MGM classics. Philip Chow, head of children's programming at ATV approved of the restrictions, arguing that children have little judgement and tend to imitate the behaviours of their favourite characters (Fox, 1988, p.30).

However, with the introduction of alternate distribution formats, these concerns of regulatory agents were perceived by industry sources to be out-dated. For instance, in

1984, *Variety* reported that the Monte Carlo Television Market had been dominated by discussions of how the international TV trade had been altered radically, as traditional state broadcast monopolies had crumbled, and commercial, cable, satellite, home video and pay TV services had entered the markets. Producers and broadcasters complained that state regulators were no longer sensitive to the new market conditions. Sam Nilson, President of Swedish Television commented: "I wish we could have brought Parliament with us so they could learn what we're facing" (Michie, 1984, p.45). Marketing for different formats in different markets was difficult because it involved entirely new processes: "When a package of television features is put together, first all titles may have to be checked market-by-market to see if theatrical clearance is possible, then home video and so on. The process can become cumbersome" (p.188). In a similar sense, industry sources felt the development of new interactive programs in the late 1980s would be hampered by international broadcast regulations. Regarding the newly developed interactive program *Captain Power*, William Shields, President and CEO of New World Television International noted that the new formats are "an interesting proposal and that international sales will tend to follow whatever success pattern that is established in the US," however, he suspected that there would be more obstacles internationally, given that "you have more government control in international markets" (Beck, 1987, p.19).

The introduction of home video, on the other hand, was perceived by consumer advocacy groups as a highly positive development, since it provided parents with a

greater degree of control over children's viewing. For instance, in 1984, Peggy Charren and Cynthia Alperowicz of ACT wrote in *Variety* that the quality of children's programs was going to increase as a result of developments in home video formatting. They advocated a switch to video-tapes for children's viewing "to turn your TV into an educational tool" (Charren and Alperowicz, 1984, p.220). Similarly, in 1988, Charren noted: "I think the most exciting development for families and children is that there are now three technologies to think about. One is broadcast television (radio broadcasting for children has all but disappeared, with one or two exceptions locally). One is cable, and one is home video. The hope for the future depends on how well these technologies interact for the benefit of children" (Variety, 1988m, p.113). The rise of sell-through video, while it gave parents more control over the content of children's programs, also tended to remove children as potential commodity audiences to be sold to broadcast advertisers.

Conclusion

Broadcasters' attempts to create alternate scheduling strategies in order to establish different modes of program flow in different global broadcast markets in the 1980s and early 1990s suggests that consumers had different localized domestic routines. Since program flow is an important way to articulate centralized broadcasts with local modes of consumption, the routinization of program flow is essential to creating and maintaining TV audiences. Moreover, while specific markets require continual

modifications in scheduling in order to maximize audiences, the different localized broadcasts of global programs indicates important reflexive attention to international variations in domestic routines and family practices around television viewing. Evidence therefore suggests that, both in important national markets such as the US, as well as international markets for TV animation, every-day practices and consumer sovereignty around scheduling preferences and program choices was a highly significant factor in the successes of program distribution. Broadcasters made continual adjustments according to differentiated and shifting consumer preferences for programs, modal viewing times, as well as divisions and mixing of child and adult audiences, which had significant variations and differing requirements in international broadcast markets.

This reflexive practice of broadcasters worked to create and improve the fit between globally distributed programming and local variations in preference for program features and specific programs. Though animation is a comparatively popular TV genre for international distribution, important differences exist in terms of consumer preferences across some national markets. Notably, violent content tended to be more acceptable in Japan, and faster pacing tended to be preferred by US, and rejected by European child consumers. Consumer sovereignty also operated significantly in the rise and fall of toy-driven programs, as well as for the global popularity of specific animated TV characters. However, this popularity varied significantly in some national markets, such as Japan, where a strong local industry tended to create barriers to

importing programs, and a strong consumer preference for local products tended to create barriers to exporting programs. Moreover, as animated TV programs globalized through the 1980s and early 1990s, evidence suggests that local differences in terms of consumer preferences and local program particularities were maintained rather than subverted, as consumers and producers engaged in a reflexive comparison of global and local program features - consumers through the consumption of a mixture of programs, and producers and distributors through attempts to market global programs on a local level, and local programs on a global level.

The global rise and fall of toy tie-in animated programs in the 1980s and early 1990s is a highly significant feature of TV animation trade during this time, and is a salient example of the operation of consumer sovereignty, suggesting that producers did not exercise ultimate power in the process of cultural production, and that the development of global consumption is not a straightforward, homogenizing process. Since the rise of toy tie-in programs, such as He-Man, was largely unanticipated in the 1980s, it was consumer choice that initiated and largely drove their proliferation. On the other hand, the sudden decline (due in large part to consumer 'burn-out') in popularity of these types of programs was marked by an increase in consumer demand for higher-quality animated programs. As opposed to toy-driven, these character-driven programs began with the strong global popularity for Disney's first experiment in TV animation, Gummi Bears in 1984, and was followed by other Disney efforts such as Duck Tales, as well as Spielberg's Tiny Toons. A shift in preference towards alternate program

formats such as live-action and game shows was also evident, suggesting that consumer sovereignty played a significant role in the global development of TV programs for children in the 1980s and early 1990s. The development of animated TV, though showing overall increases, was neither uniform nor straightforward.

The rise in alternatives to broadcasting in the 1980s and 1990s, coming most notably in the form of cable and home video, also worked significantly to provide variations in consumer choices, and to modify the ways that global consumers used animated TV. While the shift away from toy-driven animated programs motivated producers and distributors to develop such alternatives as interactive programs, significant challenges to broadcast TV came in the form of all-children cable services, especially with the introduction in the US of cable carriers HBO and the Turner Broadcasting System's Cartoon Network. While the struggle for child audiences took place on a global level, the penetration of cable markets did not take place in a uniform fashion across national markets. Another significant change in the consumption of TV in the 1980s and early 1990s, especially with respect to children's programs and in enhancing the global distribution of animated programs, was the rise in popularity of home video. Producers and distributors were surprised by childrens' preferences for repeat viewing -- this differed considerably from adult modes of viewing -- and immediate, strong sales of children's home video animated programs, and were required to develop new marketing strategies and distribution methods for this format. Moreover, home video provided a new way of accessing international markets, since it could circumvent

obstacles in the form of limited broadcasting infrastructures, and restrictions through state broadcast regulations. The strong international success of Hanna-Barbera's *Greatest Adventures: Stories from the Bible*, is an important case-in-point, especially given the success of distribution in Latin America. It is suggested that the home video format therefore provided an important alternative to the management of program flow through broadcast TV, and a more flexible means of accommodating local variations in viewing habits.

The rise of home video also provided an alternative to the commercialization of children's animated TV through advertising placements, a practice which public pressure groups protested against through the 1970s and 1980s. This type of pressure existed also in different national contexts, both from industry advocacy and public pressure groups. It was, however, uneven, and took different forms and followed from different motivations across national contexts. Industry resistance, for instance, was not directed against the commercialization of children's programs, but rather against excessive foreign competition. On the other hand, public pressure groups internationally through the 1980s resisted commercialization and violent content as a means of regulating childhood socialization through programming. The rise of home video had an international impact, as it fundamentally changed the ways animated TV was marketed worldwide, and provided a greater degree of control for parents over what and when children consumed.

These processes around the articulation of the spheres of production and consumption of children's animated TV on a global level has not involved a centralization or unification, but rather a relativization of international practices of consumption -- one that has required uneven and differentiated marketing practices, and maintained identifications by local consumers with local cultures. Therefore, while the globalization of animated TV has been characterized by the proliferation of globally distributed programs, consumption has not involved a simple reflex of production. Globalization has rather operated in many ways through accommodations of local cultural variations that include localized marketing and distribution schemes. This has involved, through scheduling and maintenance of program flow, a process akin to 'presencing' or 'reimbedding' of cultural artefacts from one traditional locale to a different global locale, as described by Robertson (1995) -- this process generally involves a range of different strategies in accord with different local cultural requirements. Therefore, rather than the imposition of a homogenized, mass culture around animated TV, evidence suggests that the process of globalization has included the operation of consumer sovereignty which has mediated the power of producers to determine the creation and form of global consumption.

Chapter Six: Representation of International Animation and the Case of Smurfs

Analyses of the globalization of mass media that view the process through the lenses of homogenization or cultural imperialism have commonly emphasized the importance of representation. Many have argued, for instance, that the global circulation of images from a dominant source has worked to create a homogenization of culture around TV. For example, Silj et al (1988) address the concerns of homogenization of TV products, and the assumption that national identities are "threatened by an overdose of Dallas" (p.2). Similarly, Caughie (1990) notes: "The question of how US TV and the discourses which surround it figure in the empire of signs and representations and critical and theoretical practices that constitute TV and our various relationships to it inside and outside America is clearly very important" (p.48). However, these arguments have tended to focus on live-action drama programs, such as Dallas, or TV news carriers, such as CNN, and tend to avoid the ways in which broadcasters have developed local versions of globally distributed programs.⁶²

The current chapter deals centrally with the representational features of TV animation, which work to create a localized appeal for global programs, including the generic, universal nature of characters and motifs, as well as the production of alternate

⁶² They similarly have avoided the broadcast practices and strategies that work to create a localization of programming through the management of program flow. An exception to this tendency, for example, is Tulloch's (1989) argument that the relations between Australian TV programs and advertisements work to create a sense of 'Australianess' that is not generally created by the programs themselves.

versions tailored for local markets. Through this focus on representation, it is argued that the particular features of TV animation make it an especially glocalizable program genre. As argued in chapter two, the operation of a common language is highly important to the practices around sustaining a shared culture, since it involves the sharing of conceptual maps, is central to the production of shared meaning, and performs a range of cultural functions beyond the referential. The current chapter notes therefore, that the genre of animated TV is better suited to local adaptation, especially since translation and voice dubbing are more effective when animated than when live-action characters are used. As such, the heightened capacity of animation for language dubbing contributes to its capacity for international versioning, and partially accounts for the fact that animation is a more globalized TV genre. Moreover, translation often involves alterations in character names, personalities, etc., as well as changes in script, cultural references and basic features of dialogue. In some instances, adapting animated programs can involve radical restructuring of scene sequences and storylines. These types of changes are possible with animation, since images, lighting, costumes, etc. tend to be more uniform.

Many also argue that animation has a more universal appeal, since the visual representation is more imaginative and colourful than, for example, live-action. Similarly, however, animation in general tends toward, and is more readily applied to, fantasy motifs and stories, which rely less on specific or localized features, and have more universal identifications. As such, TV animation tends to be better suited to the

international tailoring and versioning process, since it helps to create a TV product that is more adaptable to diverse, localized representational needs. Moreover, since the study of globalization should focus on specific instances of intercultural exchange, and, in the case of TV animation, the specific accommodations of global products for local distribution, the representational features of specific programs are a key focus for analysis. This analysis should also incorporate both the global features of programs, as well as local differences such as variations in language, accents, characters, and in some instances, storylines. As described in chapter two, mass media, especially those operating on the global level, tend to employ characters that are easily identifiable, typically in the form of the 'ethnie' - this involves depictions of local identities which tend to be nostalgic and ahistorical, include only those features which are previously constructed, and are characterized by an absence of features that reflect the current realities of national or local culture.

The first section of the current chapter describes the bases of the more universal appeal of the animation genre, which, as industry sources have observed, has made animation more readily produced by international partners, and more readily consumed by global audiences. Animation programs have involved largely fantasy (e.g. animal), or science fiction characters, motifs and settings, as well as the use of colourful designs and themes. On the other hand, evidence also suggests that the universal appeal of animation is limited in part by the existence of different national and regional styles of animation, resulting in, for example, distinctions between Japanese

and European animation.

The next section discusses some of the representational features that have resulted from international versioning of animated TV in the 1980s and early 1990s. A central component of international versioning has been the development of both language and accent-appropriate dubbing for various international markets. Evidence suggests that international audiences developed a greater sophistication and demand for animated dubbing through the 1980s and early 1990s. While language dubbing became more prevalent, some projects also involved extensive re-editing and altering of program scene sequences, storylines and program duration, in order to facilitate distribution in international markets. Animated program versioning often also involved the use of wrap-around, live-action sequences, in which personalities with local identification and appeal hosted language-dubbed cartoons. Though this often involved post-production re-working, international versioning was also coordinated from the outset of production through coproduction partnerships, that involved a sharing of creative control and a more reflexive development of global programs for international distribution.

The following section then begins to develop a context for analysis of the case selection of *Smurfs*, discussing industry reviews of the program during its initial broadcast, as well as a more intensive analysis provided by Kline (1993). Both the industry reviews and Kline's analysis reflect a common tendency to assume that children's animated TV is over-simplified or banal. While industry reviews tend to

focus on the quality of the production and the appeal of the characters, Kline tends toward a reductionist position, arguing that Smurfs lack a congruence with reality and involve a focus on a simple relationship between good and evil. It is argued here that Smurfs is not as simplified or obvious as Kline suggests, and that some story and character features run counter to his analysis. Overall, as discussed in chapter two, it is argued that children's programming has a complexity that tends to supersede the assumptions of many analyses.

In a focus on the representation of Smurfs, the next section describes the deployment of the ethnie in the final production season of the series, which involved a radical new storyline development announced by Hanna-Barbera producers in 1989. The discussion includes an overview of the various characters and settings involved in the 39 episodes. These characters and settings have a semi-fantastical orientation, but include features that can be identified with specific, traditional international locales. As well, selected English, North American version episodes (i.e. those with Australian, Indian and Central American themes) are described in more detail, outlining the ways that locales and characters are represented. In the case of the Australian theme, the production was preceded by a state regulation that placed broadcast quotas to support the production of programming with specific Australian characters and settings. Overall, however, it is argued that the deployment of the ethnie in Smurfs involves specific representations of regional and/or national culture that are ahistorical, picturesque and exoticized versions of place and identity - i.e. those which attend to

local particularities, but are most easily recognized on a global level.

The final section focuses on a single 1983 episode of Smurfs, incorporating a comparison of the English North American version (*The Magic Stick*) and the French European version (*Le Baton Enchanté*). The analysis presents a line-by-line comparison of a transcription of the English version and a translation of the French version. While this episode included only minor variations in storyline, important differences exist in terms of the nature of characters, their relationships, and the accents which identify social and geographical position. These character differences work to create different consumer identifications through shared cultural references distinct to each consumer market. Some further differences are identified -- for instance, in the English North American version, character accents tend to have identifiable regional features, while in the French European version, they tend to have features attributable to different strata of social class.

The Global Appeal of Animation

As argued throughout the present analysis, the genre of TV animation has a more global appeal, is in many ways more adaptable, and is therefore more readily globalized than other genres. However, as the introductory chapter notes, the industry definition of animation includes a relatively indistinct range of programming (eg. adult animation vs children's animation, scientific/educational, as well as puppetry). For the

purposes of the current study, animation is taken to include both cel animation and puppetry, but is limited to dramatic programming, as opposed to advertisements or program separators, station identification inserts, etc. Although some recent cartoons have been developed for adults, the vast majority of TV animation has been produced for children, and the bulk of the present analysis deals with childrens' programs.

Though the review also includes puppetry, the production of these type of programs has been less frequent than cell animation -- a notable exception is the highly popular *Sesame Street*, which incorporates live-action and puppetry with cel animation.

The visual, colourful appeal of animation, as well as the more generic or universal representational features of the fantasy motifs common to children's animation are part of its global popularity and are the features that industry groups tend to point to in their own accounts of its success. For instance, in 1988, *TV World* reported on the strategy of Canada's Cine Groupe in adopting "an international flavour - or perhaps universal flavour for its productions. Its productions are not specifically, identifiably Canadian. The universal appeal is essential" (p.39). *TV World* quotes Michel Zgarka, marketing VP for Cine Groupe: "there's no room for nationalistic fervour -- animation has world-wide appeal. Children everywhere like the same kinds of things" (1203, p.39). Similarly, International GM Motoyuki Kubotani of major Japanese producer Shochiku noted in 1980,

The success of Japanese animation can be attributed to a number of factors. We have developed technique to an extraordinary level and we have applied it to achieve pace and action that simply cannot be created in live-action pictures. Japan has been a leader in science-fiction and science-fantasy and these elements are naturally absorbed by our animators. Almost everything imaginable in characters, expression and gadgetry become part of our animation

output (Werba, 1980, p.38).

Similarly, major animated theatrical producer Toho-Towa chairman attributes the success of Japan's 10-12 annual animated features to the fact that young people are attempting to evade a "dull and stupid" world: "There is no limit to fantasy in this medium and this explains its fascination for children and youth. Comic books and the visual stimulus have taken over from books and the cultural establishment, even in the universities. This has become a bridge to the upsurge of animation as an entertainment form" (p.38).⁶³

Though the visual and representational features of animation contributed to its globalization in the 1980s and early 1990s, it should be noted that large US producers such as Hanna-Barbera had considerable success marketing their characters abroad prior to the advent of international production strategies in the 1980s. This international appeal of certain characters, however, had also tended to be mediated by variations in character created through voice dubbing. The International Marketing VP for Hanna-Barbera noted in 1989 that because Hanna-Barbera had no central marketing theme until recently, Hanna-Barbera characters had adopted different personalities in different countries: "The Flintstones are very strong in the United Kingdom; Scooby

⁶³ Again, the universal appeal of animation was evidenced in 1988, when RA-1 entered in a coproduction agreement with Ruby Spears to produce *Bad Cats*, and a 52 part animated series with NTV of Japan to produce a series equally divided between the old and new testaments. Scaffa describes why RA-1 chose Japanese animator Osamu Tezuka: "Osamu gave us a fine 'Old Testament', preserving religious sentiment because he is a true Buddhist. The series reflects the strong interior spirit of Japan" (*Variety*, 1988g, p.120).

Doo is liked by the French; Italy is in love with Yogi Bear, in fact, Yogi is a up-market character in Italy, a spokesman for all kinds of causes" (Busby, 1991, p.70).

This established appeal carried well into the 1980s and early 1990s. In 1989, for instance, *Variety* reported that Worldvision (the international distributor for Hanna-Barbera since the company had been acquired by Taft Broadcasting in 1979) was aggressively marketing the over 3000 hours of Hanna-Barbera animation available for international buyers of TV programming (Variety, 1989a, p.64). Worldvision VP Cohen described Hanna-Barbera characters as US national treasures, but also the most well-known US animated characters in the foreign marketplace. He went on to announce the creation of a new program: The European Hanna-Barbera hour, which had already been sold in Italy, West Germany and Belgium, and which featured a mixture of US -developed Hanna-Barbera characters: The Flintstones, The Jetsons, Yogi Bear, Huckleberry Hound and Quick Draw McGraw (p.64). *Variety* quoted Hanna-Barbera CEO John D. Ryan in accounting for the long-term success of Hanna-Barbera TV animation: "Whereas many other children's characters -- especially toy-driven ones -- have proved to be fads, Ryan points to Hanna-Barbera creations as having an almost limitless life in syndication. When the dust has settled, he suggests, 'Eventually we come back to Joe and Bill's classic characters'" (p.64). In describing the success of Hanna-Barbera products abroad, *Variety* quoted Hanna-Barbera distributor Worldvision executive VP and chief operating officer Bert Cohen:

Cohen says that in the international marketplace, Hanna-Barbera creations are liked by adults as well as by children. 'They're not violent; they're characters

everyone can relate to, even though they can get into mischief, they're happy characters. Cohen doesn't agree that Fred Flintstone, with his joyous cry of Yabba dabba doo or Yogi Bear are quintessentially American. All Hanna-Barbera creations are 'universal characters', he maintains (p.64).

As opposed to these previously popular programs, and other successful, live-action, adult, dramatic programs marketed internationally through the 1980s (eg. Dallas), the form and development of coproductions such as Smurfs were driven by a preconceived intent to develop and market the programs internationally. Dallas in its early years of production had a specific American orientation in format, characters, stories, and especially location, betraying little intent to market the program internationally. Smurfs, on the other hand, were produced with a more generic, fantasy motif and with more easily translated and voice-dubbed visuals. Similarly, as opposed to the easily identifiable national and ethnic features of live-action characters such as those in Dallas, fantasy animation characters (e.g. animal characters such as Yogi Bear and Mickey Mouse) tend not to have readily identifiable ethnic characteristics.⁶⁴

This lack of specific identification of fantasy-oriented animated characters suggests that animation is a more flexible and glocal genre for the globalization of TV than, for instance, live action. This position, is also partly supported by the arguments

⁶⁴ This is evidenced, for instance, in a 1989 report by the *New York Times*, which described the global boom in animated character-driven advertising promotion. Bernard Shine, owner of a Los Angeles Disney memorabilia gallery noted of Mickey Mouse: "He's become a corporate logo. He used to be an adventuresome, comic character. He's now become a pitchman, a generic logo that fits every product" (McGill, 1989, p.35). McGill notes: "The fact that these are cartoons and not real people adds to their desirability, many advertisers say" (p.37).

developed by others suggesting that live-action programs tend to have a less universal appeal. Silj et al (1988), for instance, argue in the case of live-action drama that, "the more a program has a national flavour, the more difficult it will be to export." (p.213). They then suggest that coproductions provide a more universal product that is more appealing to different publics. However, coproduction arrangements faced problems associated with the varying tastes of the different audiences for whom they were produced. In 1988, *Variety* reported on increases in US-European TV coproductions, citing rising production costs as the primary reason. Bruce Johansen, senior VP and director of program development for Multimedia Entertainment noted some difficulties: "The problem is the show. The deal is always easy to put together. But storylines that work in one culture don't always work in another" (p.56). (512) Again, *Variety* reported in 1988 that while US-European live-action coproduction partnerships lowered production costs, the use of British writers and locations tended to give programs a European flavour, which was not popular with US audiences (Lipman, 1988, 514).

An exclusive focus on live-action TV may tend to support the homogenization thesis. Silj et al (1988) for instance, argue that, because of the limitations on live-action, there is no way that coproduction can resolve the contradiction between policies around preserving national identities and those developed around creating a wider global market (p.217). In conclusion, they argue that coproductions, which were on the rise following the decline in popularity of US imported programs in the late 1980s, contributed to a de-provincialization of the public and markets of certain countries, but

that, "since they were programmed from the start for the international market, with huge budgets," the product was often a flavourless "europudding" (p.212).⁶⁵ While Silj et al may be correct in making these claims on the basis of an analysis of single-version live-action dramas, the present study argues that animation production is better suited to international coproduction, and deals with the problem of producing locally-specific programs through an intensification of versioning, a process more readily adaptable to animation than live-action dramas. Versioning in coproduction works against the kind of program homogenization identified by Silj et al. The present analysis tends to run counter to the conclusions of Silj et al, especially given the prevalence of international versioning, evidenced for instance, in the fact that animation producers are increasingly pressured to develop language-dubbed versions of programs.

On the other hand, while animation characters are often described as having universal appeal, there are also noted differences in animation styles and variation in their appeal around the world. For instance, in 1986, *TV World* described DIC's animation style as having a 'Euro-look', even though most of the programs were produced in the

⁶⁵ Similarly, Quester (1990) follows the homogenization thesis in concluding that the trend towards international coproductions would become a form of multinational enterprise rather than a form of cultural imperialism. (p.277). He notes: "There is a sort of cultural war underway between Hollywood and any state that wishes to protect indigenous entertainment industries or local language and culture and the sanctity of the family dinner hour" (p.278).

US and Japan (*TV World*, 1986).⁶⁶ Variations persist in international consumer demands in terms of stylistic features. For instance, in 1988, *TV World* reported on the continued failure of Japanese TV animation to obtain distribution in the US. Its success was limited by what North American programmers saw as the inappropriate content of much TV animation in Japan. A spokesperson for Tohoku Shinsha noted that the company had not succeeded in selling Japanese animation programs into the US: "Americans don't want their children to watch the kind of animation in which there are machines which are destructive or where there is cruelty to animals or violence involving human beings. Somehow, these things are accepted in Japan, but they are certainly not seen in the same light overseas" (De Stain, 1986, p.22).

Evidence therefore suggests that the universal appeal certain features of the animation genre, with some exceptions, tended to facilitate the globalization of TV animation in the 1980s and early 1990s. While industry sources often point to the universal, non-specific appeal of popular animation characters such as Mickey Mouse and Yogi Bear, the broad appeal can also be attributed to the more generic fantasy styles and motifs that often characterize animation programs.

⁶⁶ These differences also extend to such textual TV features as pacing. Dick Colbert, President of TV Sales for Embassy Home Entertainment advised: "Americans expect to see commercials. Your programs need commercial breaks" (p.58). Paul Talbot of Fremantle: "US audiences demand fast involvement. Europe must alter its theatrical traditions of slow openings" (Friedman, 1983, p.58).

Representation and International Versioning

While some, e.g. Silj et al (1988), suggest that success of international coproduction schemes for live-action depends on their ability to develop characters that appeal to audiences in each participating nation, this does not hold true in the case of animation production, wherein versions are often produced for each market. Evidence moreover suggests that children's programs have been better suited to international versioning. In 1986, *Broadcast* reported on the continued international success of US children's TV programming abroad. While older, previously produced live-action programs such as *Lassie* and *The Lone Ranger* were enjoying widespread popularity, *Broadcast* noted that the most popular shows were animated children's programs: "Most programmers maintain that animated programming does so well at home and abroad because its easy to dub and cheap to produce" - they estimated that the average half-hour program cost approximately \$285,000 to produce (Woodman, 1986, p.19).⁶⁷ Furthermore, "Almost all today's successful domestic shows are sold abroad, most dubbed into a number of languages, including French, Italian, Portuguese, Japanese and something called 'neutral Spanish' (Lorimar also close-captions its programs for those with hearing

⁶⁷ Moreover, while animation is generally more suited to post-production versioning, evidence suggests that versions of live-action genres are produced independently through format copying. For instance, *Variety* reported in 1988 that the success of Nickelodeon's *Double Dare* had led to a number of international adaptations, using a local personality and local contestants. The original *Double Dare* was not distributed internationally, however, the format was licensed through Viacom for local productions, eg. in England, *Double Dare* plays as *Going Live* on the BBC (*Variety*, 1988e, p.115).

impairments)" (p.19). Sesame Street, which combines live-action with animated sequences, was partly dubbed, and partly produced in conjunction with foreign producers, who inserted locally produced versions of puppet sequences. This included new characters that, as described by Children's Television Workshop's Fran Kaufman, "are culturally more acceptable to the children who are watching, or street scenes filmed in their countries" (p.19). Moreover, evidence also exists that language-appropriate dubbing became increasingly popular throughout Europe in the 1980s. For instance, in 1988, *Variety* reported the creation of KinderNet (Dutch for Children's TV), which carried mostly subtitled, and post-synchronized foreign material. It was also the first all-Dutch cable channel (*Variety*, 1988o, p.121).

As such, the rise in consumer demands for dubbing created important economic benefits for post-production dubbing of animation throughout the 1980s. For instance, in 1983, *TV World* reported that US media buyers emphasized the need for US English dubbing, rather than subtitling, which was accepted more readily by audiences elsewhere. Dick Harper, President of Harper Associates, indicated the US audience preference for US English dubbing, but also noted that this preference was evident elsewhere: "France does not accept shows dubbed in Montreal; Mexico does not take shows dubbed in Spain" (Friedman, 1983, p.58). Similarly, in 1988, *Variety* reported that the French networks broadcast extensively to children, but used mostly foreign-produced programs. French cartoons were very expensive to produce: while a 26 minute Japanese animated program cost approximately \$10,500, including dubbing, a

French program would have cost ten times this amount to produce (p.190). As a result, over 80% of children's programs carried on TF1 in 1988 were produced in either the US or Japan (Nayeri, 1988, p.190).

This greater demand and potential for the development of international versions of animated programs, and the ultimate heightened success of animation when compared to live-action formats, was acknowledged in increasing degrees throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s. For instance, in 1991, *Variety* described the international marketing of *Tiny Toons* as involving a very careful process of post-production for voices, picking the right voice, and developing the right character depending on the country of distribution. The Senior VP and General Manager of Animation at Warner Bros. noted, "In the past, dubbing has been handled in a haphazard fashion sometimes. You can end up with some weird, unusual voices. We want the characters to have the right attitude and youthful qualities." (Busby, 1991, p.70). *Variety* reported consistently through the 1980s and early 1990s that international buyers for TV animation had become more sophisticated over the past few years, expecting more quality programs, as the market had begun to fill with internationally-produced TV animation. For instance, Saban Entertainments' *Adventures of the Little Mermaid* broke records in 1991, since it was sold in 72 countries and launched simultaneously on three continents (NA, Europe and Asia).

Similarly, TV producers recognizing the US preference for dubbed programs, began,

prior to the 1980s, to develop post-production dubbing in order to access the lucrative US market. Evidence suggests that they began to favour for more easily dubbed types of programs such as animation. For instance, Studio Hamburg in 1983 launched a foreign sales drive aimed at English-speaking markets, including the more easily dubbed types of TV programs: pop music programs, documentaries, puppet shows and animated cartoons (*Variety*, 1984c). In 1987, *TV World* reported on the success of Studio Hamburg's attempts at English versioning with *Around the World in Eighty Days*, which had been sold in Australia and Scotland; Sales Officer Axel Pult noted that the sales would not have been made without pre-made English versions (*TV World*, 1987, p.31). Although international markets began to demand dubbing to greater degrees through the 1980s, some evidence exists that US child consumers had specific preferences for US accents prior to this point. For instance, in 1979, *TV World* reported on efforts by TV animation producers in France to create a greater market for their products internationally. They noted that the only dubbing by French producers in post-production was for English-speaking markets, and the dubbing in this case was done in the American version, since British audiences were more likely to accept US English dubbing than were US audiences to accept British English dubbing (*TV World*, 1979e).

Similarly, US producers also catered to US tastes, and developed post-production dubbing of foreign programs for the US English market. For instance, in 1983, *Variety* described that Western World TV Enterprises, a distributor of TV programs (e.g. those

produced by the BBC and Time-Life) in Latin America reported increases in trade. They noted that Western World had begun to dub programs with Spanish-speaking voice-overs, for example Nick and Pick (a childrens' puppet show) from SRC (Canada), for distribution in Mexico (*Variety*, 1983f). Similarly, in 1986, Canada's Cinar purchased and developed post-production work on a Japanese TV series (25 hours) *The Wizard of Oz*. The program was developed as an anglo-US TV series (50 half-hours) and three theatrical features, all using mostly Canadian voice and musical talent (*Variety*, 1986b, p.81). In 1985, *Variety* reported that Thames Television of Britain had the greatest impact of British producers on US TV through format importing (most notably US sitcom copies *Three's Company*, *The Ropers*, etc.). However, it was noted that animated programs were not copied, but rather versioned for US markets. For instance, *Danger Mouse* had been distributed on Nickelodeon in the original 10 minute versions, but was being post-produced in the US, and developed into a half-hour format for Saturday morning network broadcast (*Variety*, 1985f, p.134).

In some cases, the development of versions of foreign programs by US producers for distribution in the US involved both dubbing and radical alterations to the original visuals. For instance, in 1984, *Variety* described a Turner Program Services licensing agreement for animated feature films (a total of ten by that point), originally produced by Japan's Toei, for dubbing and redistribution in anglo-US markets. They estimated a \$1.5-\$2 million profit for Turner, and described an upcoming deal in which Turner

would purchase Draemon, 150 seven minute cartoons, for post-production into 50 half-hour shows for distribution in the US (*Variety*, 1984a, p.61). The reformatting in this case was extensive, involving radical alterations in dialogues and storylines. Similarly, in 1985, US producer Kidpix began to capitalize heavily on international sources of existing childrens' programs through an intense process of post-production. The process, described in *Variety*, began with raw animation from a series of segments from foreign (mostly Japanese) animated TV series. The segments were then rescripted with a new chronology and story line. US voice actors were used and six original songs were scored to a stereo soundtrack to complete a 90 minute feature film for TV and video release with a US-oriented title. The budget for each film in 1985 was under \$1,000,000 US, considerably cheaper than full-production films. *Variety* reported in 1985 that Kidpix had closed three separate deals for US distribution (Tusher, 1985).

Another common form of international versioning that involved alterations in the flow of programming was the use of locally identifiable live-action hosts in sequences that would "wrap-around" or be inserted before and after animated sequences (much like that developed by Sesame Street producers). For instance, the Executive VP of marketing at Buena Vista Television (Disney's TV distribution arm) in 1991 attributed the international success of Disney TV programs to the development of local-market programs called 'Clubs', and the insertion of alternate local sequences: "Our shows are molded into Disney club packages in each country. They're formatted with a new form of Mickey Mouse, a live-action character that interacts with other characters who are

nationals from that country" (Busby, 1991, p.70). Similarly, in 1988, *Variety* reported that US producers were considering new ways to tailor programs in order to meet the needs of foreign audiences: "Worldvision is discussing with broadcasters in Italy, Spain, West Germany and Latin America the concept of a children's hour that would blend 30 or more minutes of Hanna-Barbera animation with programming centred around a local personality. Such a hybrid could include a studio audience and a locally produced game" (Variety, 1988e, p.115).

This use of wrap-around host sequences for international versions was also developed through international coproduction schemes in the 1980s and early 1990s. For instance, in 1990, *TV World* reported on a new Disney coproduction project involving five foreign partners: United Kingdom's ITV, France's TFI, Italy's RAI-1, Germany's ARD and Spain's Catalonia TV3. The Disney European Christmas Special would be shown to over 15 other broadcasters. The program was set where Pinocchio was created (the Italian village of Collodi), and in a Bavarian fairy-tale castle. It included Tom Jones and Ruth Pointer singing Disney film songs, and clips from Disney cartoons. Each coproduction partner provided a different presenter-host in order to 'customize' the program for each market. Etienne de Villiers, President of Buena Vista International noted: "We think this is an innovative way to meet each individual broadcaster's needs whilst providing them with production values that could not be achieved on an individual basis" (TV World, 1990, p.4).

Wrap-around live-action hosting was an important feature of the highly popular, and broadly internationalized Sesame Street. In 1989, *TV World* reported on the success of the international coproduction of Sesame Street. Joan Lufkano, Director of international production and Senior Producer of adapted series noted that 50% of the program was produced by the Children's Television Workshop, while the other 50% included local production of the live-action street scenes and 'wrap-arounds'. The coproductions often involved negotiations over creative decisions on program content: "We consult them on their 50 percent and sometimes find ourselves saying things like 'That's not something we would do...' and telling them why" (Friedman, 1989, p.32). Once a coproduction arrangement was made, a production advisory board was struck and foreign producers were brought to New York for a 2-week intensive workshop. Adrienne Benton, VP of marketing and program development at Children's Television Workshop International Group noted: "We've realized that in order to contend in a competitive and changing marketplace, we have to be flexible. At the same time, we have to preserve the integrity of the program. For example, the word Sesame or its translation must be in the title. Whether the action is set on a Street or in a neighbourhood is not as critical as it once was" (p.32). A recent conflict had arisen with the Israeli coproducers who wanted to include religious inserts. Children's Television Workshop refused, and in the working out of a compromise, the street sequences were developed to include a number of different characters who were shown to co-exist: religious and non-religious Jews, Ashkenazi, Sephardic and Oriental

ethnicities, and an Arab was included as a regular cast member.⁶⁸

Similarly, another popular coproduction, *Fraggle Rock*, involved extensive versioning that included production of alternate international live-action sequences, that were incorporated into the storyline around puppet sequences. *Variety* reported in 1983 that the CBC had been doing well in the US cable market, beginning with the sale of the CBC-Jim Henson coproduction *Fraggle Rock*: "a program which has become an important staple of HBO's schedule, but is somehow overlooked as a CBC coproduction" (*Variety*, 1983g, p.54). This program later became a successful project for dubbed versioning. Harriet Yasky, Executive VP at Henson Associates reported that a segment of *Fraggle Rock* was being produced for different markets: in North America, a live character was a retired inventor, in England a retired lighthouse keeper, and in France a retired chef (*Variety*, 1988e, p.115).

The development of international versioning, including language-dubbing, radical story and sequence editing, and the development of alternate sequences tailored to local markets, represented an important means by which TV animation was globalized in the 1980s and early 1990s. While certain representational features common to children's

⁶⁸ This practice of combining live-action with animated sequences to produce different global versions of a program was also applied to the adult program *Max Headroom*. Ross (1990) compares the US and United Kingdom versions the program. In the United Kingdom version, Max operates outside major broadcasters, even helping to put an end to Network XXIII (the biggest network). In the US version, he is a renegade within network XXIII itself, and his erratic appearances help boost network XXIII ratings (p.148).

animation tended to lend it a more universal appeal, animated programs were also more readily altered to enhance their appeal in local markets. These alterations included most notably the mixing of live-action characters who had greater local identification with more generic fantasy characters in a host wrap-around format, or more extensively in an interactive format.

Children's TV Criticism and the Case of Smurfs

The development of international versions for children's animated TV programs suggests overall that children are attuned to the representational specificities of programs and exert consumer sovereignty through the preference for more locally-specific programs. On the other hand, as described in chapter two, analysts often argue that children's Saturday morning programs in the 1980s were banal, and represented a 'ghetto' of TV scheduling (e.g. Gitlin, 1989) or focused on simplified relationships between, for instance, good and evil (e.g. Kline, 1993). These assumptions have also been evident in industry reviews of children's programs, which, as described in chapter three, commonly derided Saturday morning programs during this time as repetitious, dull and poorly written. This section describes some of the industry reviews of Smurfs during its initial production run in the 1980s, as well as some of the analysis of Smurfs provided by Kline (1993).

In some ways, industry reviews of Smurfs reflect the position that the content of

children's TV is to be taken seriously (i.e. at its own level) but assume also that children's programs are more simple than are adult programs. For instance, a *Variety* review of the Smurf's 1985 Valentine Special focused on a range of elements:

As usual, Smurfs provide better-than-average entertainment, though this special comes up somewhat short in the two areas in which the series generally excels -- strong stories and vivid but not overdone characters. The plot of this Valentine's special is one-sentence simple -- two characters decide to get married, and the evil wizard Gargamel tries to disrupt the ceremony with one of his wicked spells... it's hardly the kind of meager plot the Smurf viewers have come to expect... And the characters - mostly communicated by Smurfette's fantasies of what it would be like to be married to them -- are presented in already exaggerated personalities... Exception to this deficit in the special, is the addition of a new character who uses sign language, and presents her 'secure, accepted role in the community'... Smurfs continues to rank at the head of the Kidvid class -- among the best animated and scripted animations shows around. If Hanna-Barbera can keep focused on the strong stories and characters, without overdoing it, Smurfs will stay on top (Beir, 1985, p.56).

Similarly, *Variety* delivered a positive review of The Smurfs Christmas Special in 1982: The show "revealed the care and shrewd attention to detail exhibited by producer-director Gerard Baldwin and the Hanna-Barbera crew in these curious stanzas" (Tone, 1982, p.38).

Primarily non-religious, despite suggestions of the Star of Bethlehem and Christian Precepts, the Smurfs Christmas Special dealt strongly in the power of good over evil, and it was done with charm. In this case the Smurf-hating Gargamel (voiced spiritedly by the late Paul Winchell) approached by the Satan-like stranger (Rene Auberjonois, who did a fine job of stressing badness), made a pact with him to catch a pair of youngsters stranded -- until Gargamel's own greed upsets the applecart. Papa Smurf (Don Messick) taken by the children to be Santa, was organizing the other Smurfs for the Christmas festivities, including eating the great pudding once a final walnut is added. The plight of the human children, though, took precedence. All the voices were excellent, the storyline sharp and good, and the animation, lively and

persuasive" (p.38).⁶⁹

Despite the occasional positive review, other reviews of children's programs like Smurfs followed the assumptions that the content was banal, the plots simple, or that newer animation on TV is not as good as older animation. For instance in 1983, *Variety*, following the argument that commercialism drives out imagination, complained that "there is rich literature on which they [producers] can draw -- 'Wind in the Willows', for example, or 'The Chronicles of Narnia', or almost anything by Charles Dickens. Instead, there are Smurfs, little creatures in chef's hats" (Loftus, 1982, p.31). This form of pastoralism in critiquing modern animation is also evident in scholarly analysis. Kline (1993), for instance, in conclude that the jokes on Smurfs are banal and sloganistic. Similarly, Gitlin (1989) complains:

older cartoon shows, such as ones featuring Bugs Bunny or Donald Duck, have folk-tale characteristics combined with common quotidian domestic conflicts. Newer cartoons are more mythic-heroic in nature... [they involve] basic bouts between good and evil, the social context is less quotidian and realistic, and resolutions more predictable" (p.314).

For Gitlin, newer cartoons tend to feature a "simplified abstraction". For example, Care Bears have no integrated personalities -- each bear is a single emotional dimension. The special abilities of action toy characters involved construction of a team of characters each with individualized skills (a concept, he added, designed to enhance purchase of all pieces in a set).

⁶⁹ In the credit descriptions, the final line lists primary sponsors with agencies: Mattel (Ogilvy and Maher) and M & M Mars (Ted Bales).

By far the most extensive analysis of Smurfs has been conducted by Kline (1993) as part of a general work on children's consumer culture. Though admirable in scope, Kline's analysis often follows reductionist assumptions, minimizing the complexity of the content and assuming an undue level of vacuousness, and sometimes making simple errors. He notes: "though Smurfs social organization has a familial quality, there is no maternal figure" (p.290). However, this reading is not entirely correct, since Smurfette was included in the program from the first season, and she represents in many ways a maternal figure for Baby Smurf (added in the second season). Kline also ignores an elderly Smurf character 'Nanny' who was added for the last four seasons and whose character is definitively maternal.

Kline (1993) notes that the addition of the Smurfs enemy (Gargamel) created a plot situation wherein: "stories hinged on the survival of the community and the personalities of the mushroom patch were mustered in a more grand struggle against mindless malevolence" (p.291). This direct attack on the program avoids detailing the motives for Gargamel's attempts to capture Smurfs: he is desperately impoverished and wants them for food. Alternately, Gargamel, as an alchemist, is aware of the utility of Smurfs as the essential ingredient for making gold, and often wishes to capture them for this purpose. Kline's reading of Smurfs similarly seems to miss the possibility that Gargamel's repeated attempts to capture Smurfs falls short every time because of his incompetence and bungling -- Smurfs are far more agile and cunning, and are shown to be superior and capable of ensuring their own safety in every instance.

Kline (1993) also imputes motives to the producers of Smurfs for developing a simplistic series of characters and storylines. He notes that when toy sales and ratings shot up (following the introduction of Gargamel), NBC found that when simple characters were "rearranged around a storyline motivated by conflict and the magic of pure good against pure evil, the grail would come into sight" (p.291). Kline does not mention the fact that the addition of characters to Smurfs followed more or less the format developed in the Peyo cartoon strip created in the early 1960s and still in circulation in the late 1980s. With the exceptions of, for example, Smurfette, Baby Smurf, the Smurflings, Grandpa and Nanny Smurf, the Smurf personalities came from this original source, in which the addition of new Smurf personalities involved an individual decision on the part of each Smurf, who chose their identities as a means of distinguishing themselves from the rest of the physically identical Smurfs. From the outset, the cartoon strip, as well as the TV series, included characters such as trolls and monsters who represented enemies of Smurfs, as well as fairies and giants who represented more often nuisances rather than evil. It is thus not likely that the addition of a new character creating a polarization between good and evil was designed to motivate consumption in the manner described by Kline.

Similarly, it is misleading to reduce the struggles between Smurfs and Gargamel to one between 'pure good' and 'pure evil', since Gargamel's poverty on occasion lends him some sympathy from the Smurfs. Gargamel was also the creator of Smurfette, whom he originally constructed as a means of destroying Smurfs because his magic

alchemy book describes the addition of a female Smurf as certain doom for Smurf society. This was possibly a play on the real-life situation wherein Smurfs creator Peyo objected strongly to the addition of Smurfette, which he saw as a unacceptable variation in the concept of Smurf society. Similarly, Sassette (an adolescent Smurf) was created by the other three male adolescent Smurfs using Gargamel's formula. Once Sassette discovers this fact, she identifies Gargamel as her 'pappy', and Gargamel softens his attitude towards her and the other Smurfs -- creating an ironic and humorous play on the antagonistic relationship between Gargamel and the Smurfs.

While Kline reproaches analysts such as Neil Postman for not tuning in to Smurfs to "draw [their] conclusion about what is happening to children's culture", he too follows the typical practice of deriding children's television without first developing a level of understanding commensurate with the nuances and complexities of the programs themselves. The following analysis will instead attempt to take Smurfs content at its own level, recognizing a greater degree of complexity than has generally been assumed. Underlying this discussion are the arguments put forward by other analysts that children have higher degree of skill and critical appraisal than they are generally accorded in the practice of consuming television (e.g. see Hodge, 1989; Mellancamp, 1990; Nava and Nava, 1996).

Smurfs and the Ethnie

As described in chapter two, the deployment of the *ethnie* in popular mass media is a common focus of academic research, and has important implications for the representation of identity and place in such media forms as TV. The present section describes the representation of the *ethnie* in Smurfs, which were incorporated in the final season, and mixed with the original fantasy motif. The analysis notes that the representations of the *ethnie* in Smurfs are ahistorical, premodern, exoticized depictions of cultural 'others'. This type of representation was important to Smurfs as a globalized program, since it provided globally recognized characters -- those that could be identified and referenced in a variety of international markets.

It should first be recognized that the deployment of the *ethnie* in children's TV animation is not limited to Smurfs. The Lucky Stars breakfast cereal character, for instance, has been a fixture of children's advertisements for decades -- a leprechaun character with stereotypical Irish features, voice and mannerisms. In a more recent example, *Variety* noted in a 1991 review of Captain Planet and the Planeteers: "Captain Planet comes across as a serviceable (at best) symbol of heroism and environmental responsibility. The cast of kid Planeteers also shows some promise: three of the five are foreigners who can't master English contradictions, one is a dogmatic Soviet girl, and the fifth, Wheeler, is a watered-down version of the ugly American" (Bierbaum, 1990, p.104).

In 1989, *Variety* reported that Hanna-Barbera CEO, John D. Ryan had indicated the show would be undergoing some changes. "One of the longest-running hits on network TV, now on NBC, Smurfs will be taking a different direction, changing the format and a few of the basic premises. This may generate a whole new batch of Smurfs, Ryan believes." (*Variety*, 1989a, p.64). These changes were in fact a radical departure from the 'traditional' (ie. 7 seasons) Smurf format and storylines. Smurfs employed a series of ethnies in the final season of the program -- each in an easily identifiable setting, and presented as a different feature of each episode. In the final year of the production run, the Smurfs' adventures no longer take place in their Belgian forest and village of mushroom houses. Instead they are lost in time and space, touring in each episode to a different temporal and geographical space, where they magically assume the garb and linguistic idioms particular to the inhabitants.

As others have argued (e.g. Thomlinson, 1991), global media often reify a sense of national culture as static, or as suspended in a specific historic period. This fact is evidenced clearly in *Schtroumpfs*, which represents easily identifiable, historically premodern instances of national and cultural identities. This again indicates a universal modern position with respect to culture constructions of the 'other'. However, representing the universally identifiable character, while avoiding an accurate modern account of national identities, allows global viewers to recognize the exotic codes of the 'other' in a way that may help them articulate their own sense of identities. In a similar sense, each representation of the ethnies in Smurfs may be identified as

traditionalized, nostalgic, and premodern representations of identity and place.

As opposed to the fantasy setting of the magical forests populated by elves, trolls, giants, witches, sorcerers and fairies, the final season transported the Smurfs in each episode to a different exotic location. The program opener was changed from a fast-paced tour of the Smurf's forest, including an appearance by each of the characters, to one that emphasized the new storyline theme. In the new opener, dramatic music plays as Grandpa Smurf turns a crank on the side of his house, while other Smurfs look on. His house turns aside to reveal an opening in the ground. The Smurfs ascend stairs into an underground cave, where twinkling crystals are assembled on a table. A multi-coloured tornado surrounds the crystals, and sweeps up the smurfs. The Smurfs are shown tumbling around the tornado, and in each pass in and out of the frame, they have a different costume: 1st - normal Smurf apparel (white trousers and hats) with Smurfette wearing her usual dress and carrying Baby Smurf; 2nd - white Chinese/Japanese robes, wooden block shoes, while Smurfette has a pair of crossed sticks in her hair and Papa Smurf has a red robe; 3rd - Scottish kilts; 4th - Arabic head-dress, vests, robes, shoes etc., while Sassette and Smurfette wear veils. Then, a group are deposited into a traditional Arabic desert setting, where they land on a lamp. This causes a sinister-looking genie to emerge and grab for them. The genie chases them into a market area filled with tents, where they are nearly bitten by a cobra as it emerges from a basket next to a local snake-charmer character. They run onto a magic carpet just as the genie lunges for them, and traps himself in a bottle. The carpet takes

flight, while Grandpa Smurf manages to rearrange the crystals, and the Smurfs are again spinning in the rainbow vortex: 1st pass - Arabic dress; 2nd - 'cave-man' clothes, with no footwear, roughly cut furs, etc. They arrive in a pre-historic setting with volcanoes, etc., where a large, angry purple dinosaur tries to crush them with its tail. The Smurfs run under a rock shelter, and the tail smashes the rock. As the tail lifts, and dust clears, the smurfs are smiling and waving, sitting on rock letters that spell "Smurf... by Peyo".

As the Smurfs take on different costumes appropriate to each new locale, the opener works to show that the popular characters are consistent, and continue from the previous seasons, while mixed with new and exotic themes that the producers hoped would appeal to the audiences of Smurfs. The opener is important in terms of program content, since it represents the new theme of Smurfs in the final season. It also includes the central characters, and marks the beginning of the program in the overall flow. The opener is very fast-paced (it has a one minute duration) and includes a range of musical cues that characterize the program and sets the tone for action on the screen - e.g. danger, chase, humour, safety. It also importantly marks the beginning of the first set of station identifier, program-advertisement separator, and commercial advertisements. As such, the opener provides an important marker of change in program flow, preparing the audience for the broadcast, both integrating and announcing the new program in the schedule, and maintaining the regularity of advertising and program breaks.

Each North American, Saturday-morning broadcast of Smurfs in the final season included two 12 minute episodes, and one 22 minute episode (see table). There are 22 distinct themes in 39 episodes, as the Smurfs revisit some locales more than once. Though the themes involve pre-modern, traditional and exoticized versions of different global locales, they are in many ways semi-fantastical, and are designed to be indistinct. For instance, the traditional/Imperial China locale and characters involves a mixture of Chinese and Japanese references such as Chinese fortune cookies, Pandas and wooden block shoes, as well as Shogun characters and terms such as 'Papa-san'. The ancient Greece/Roman locale mixes what are typically identified as features of both themes, such as aqueducts and Greek theatre. In most cases, neither Grandpa nor Papa Smurf can identify the location. At the beginning of each episode, as they are deposited by the tornado, one or another Smurf typically asks where they are, and Papa usually says he does not know. Sometimes, however, the locale is identified by either Grandpa or Papa Smurf. For instance, the South Pole is identified by Grandpa once he sees a barber pole sticking out of the snow. The locales are also sometimes identified by either Grandpa or Papa Smurf with a semi-fantastical name rather than the name of an actual place. For instance, Papa identifies traditional Arabia as 'The Land of the Mystic Sands', and

Smurfs Episode Titles and Themes, 1989-1990 Broadcast Season

Title	Theme
(Two twelve minute episodes per show)	
Cave Smurfs	stone age with dinosaurs
Hogatha's Beauty Sleep	ancient Egypt
A Fish Called Snappy	ancient Greece/Rome
Trojan Smurfs	ancient Greece/Rome
Karate Clumsy	traditional/imperial China
Fortune Cookie	traditional/imperial China
Shamrock Smurfs	traditional Ireland
Smurfs That Time Forgot (Part one)	stone age with dinosaurs
Smurfette's Green Thumb	traditional Polynesia
Hefty Sees A Serpent	traditional Scotland
Like It Or Smurf It	traditional Polynesia
Scary Smurfs	traditional Germany
Grandpa's Fountain Of Youth	traditional Central America
Jungle Jitterbug	traditional Polynesia
Sky High Surprise	traditional Arabia
The Monumental Grouch	ancient Greece/Rome
Greedy's Masterpizza	traditional Italy
No Reflection On Vanity	South Pole
G'Day Smoogles	Australia
Papa Loses His Patience	traditional Spain
Big Shot Smurfs	Viking (with tiny people)
Small-Minded Smurfs	traditional Polynesia
Brainy's Beastly Boo-Boo	traditional African jungle/plains
Hearts 'N' Smurfs	medieval England
Wild Goes Cuckoo	traditional Switzerland
Banana's Over Hefty	traditional Polynesia
(new 22-minute episodes combined with reruns)	
Smurfs That Time Forgot (Part two)	stone age with dinosaurs
Mummy Dearest	ancient Egypt
Papa's Big Snooze	traditional/imperial China
The Smurf Odyssey	ancient Greece/Rome
Imperial Panda-Monium	traditional/imperial China
Swashbuckling Smurfs	pirates in South Seas
The Phantom Bagpiper	traditional Scotland
The Clumsy Genie	traditional Arabia
Curried Smurfs	traditional India
Gnomon Holiday	ancient Greece/Rome
Painter's Egg-Cellent Adventure	traditional Ukraine
The Golden Rhino	traditional African jungle/plains
Smurfs Of The Round Table	medieval England

traditional Polynesia as 'The Jungles of the Southern Hemisphere', while Grandpa identifies traditional Ireland as the 'Legendary Emerald Isle'.

The local characters have stereotyped accents. The music is also oriented around the locale, for example, Ukrainian shumka music, India sitar, Scottish bagpipes, etc. The local characters are also represented as engaging in typical activities. For instance, medieval Englanders are at a jousting event; Italians are preparing pasta; the Swiss are milking cows and making cheese and chocolate; the Spanish are bull-fighting; Ukrainians are painting eggs; Greek/Romans are spectators at a gladiator fight, etc. The Smurfs interact with the characters and engage in the situations according to their characteristics. For instance, Greedy voraciously consumes the exotic food, and tries to get recipes; Smurfette falls in love with a chivalrous Knight in medieval England; Hefty becomes a gladiator, etc. Aside from adopting clothing that is appropriate to the locale, the Smurfs build houses that follow local designs. For instance, in the Polynesian theme, they build grass huts; in the ancient Egypt theme, they build pyramids; in the South Pole theme, they build igloos. Overall, it is clear that these themes and interactions are developed around what are easily identified as specific, traditional, exotic, picturesque identities and places - i.e. those that are globally mythologized.

In a specific example, for instance, in the case of the Australian episode, *G'Day*

Smoogle,⁷⁰ the Smurfs are deposited in an Australian outback - i.e. rough plains with sparse brush and hills in background. Each male smurf is wearing a 'Crocodile Dundee' outfit, with hat bearing crocodile teeth, vests, as well as arm and wrist straps. Smurfette is wearing an Australian rancher-style dress with vest. Smurfette says: "Oh what a smurfy look!", and Hefty says: "Yeah! This vest is great, and I like the hat!". Smurfette then says: "Oh my, I wonder where we are now?", and Grandpa replies: "From the look of things, I'd say we're in the land down under...". The Smurfs, as in many visits, set up a new Smurf village, according to local styles, this time building a set of grass huts on wooden stilts. They meet local characters, such as a talking bird befriended by Sassette, who begins to teach it how to talk like a Smurf. 'Enemy' characters are an old prospector named Sidney and his Koala Bear companion named Wolfback Willie, who does not talk, but makes growling and 'chirping' noises. The two try to enslave the Smurfs and a village of Smoogles (akin to the Smurf's furry purple friend), and put them to work at their opal mine. Sidney talks in an Australian accent, and uses Australian colloquialisms such as: "What'ya say we rustle up some slaves to do the digging for us, Willie?", "get back to work, or I'll toss you little shrimps on the barbie", and "'y'see, I swiped 'em from a mate down on the beach".

In the traditional India episode, *Curried Smurfs*,⁷¹ the Smurfs are deposited in a partial

⁷⁰ Story by Glenn Leopold, Sean Catherine Derek, Ernie Contreras and Reed Robbins. Written by Dean Stefan and Ernie Contreras.

⁷¹ Story by Glenn Leopold, Sean Catherine Derek, Ernie Contreras and Reed Robbins. Written by Dean Stefan and Glenn Leopold and Sean Catherine Derek.

jungle setting, with traditional Indian-style houses, wearing nehru jackets, Indian head-dress (Papa Smurf's is red), while Smurfette is wearing a veil. Brainy says: "We're home, we're home, we're... (feeling his hat) not home", and Papa Smurf says: "No Brainy, I'm afraid the crystals still haven't returned us to smurf village." Then Smurfette asks in a worried tone: "Oh Papa Smurf, do you have any idea where we are?" and Papa replies: "Well... judging from these outfits, which I believe are called saris, I'd say we're in the ancient land of the cobra." He says the name in a cautionary tone, which he also later uses when he says: "I won't believe it until we've searched every inch of this ancient land". They meet local animal characters - oxen, monkeys, a lion. Gargamel has a duplicate character in this episode, 'Gargapori', who drives an oxen cart, who indicates his villainous nature through his cruelty to the animals. In thick Indian accent he orders them to "Step on it you out-of-step Oxen! If I'm late for my meeting with the Raja, you'll be back plowing fields in the Punjab!" Gargapori is selling animals that he has faked as oddities (e.g. an abominable snow creature from the "peaks of Katmandu") to 'the Raja', who is collecting animals for a zoo. Gargapori says: "The raja will pay a lot more for an abominable snow-beast than for a run-of-the-mill monkey". After Gargapori attempts to sell these fake creatures to the Raja, he receives payment for his captured Smurfs in the form of fake gold. When he discovers this, Gargapori says: "I'm going to teach that robbing Raja you can't fool with a fakir".

The Smurfs also meet several dangerous Cobras, which have the power to hypnotize. Brainy is 'hypnotized' by a Cobra, but is rescued by Greedy Smurf, who inadvertently

throws a piece of fruit in its mouth, which causes it to form a hoop and roll away. The Raja also talks in a thick Indian accent, and claps his hands together when delivering orders to numerous servants. The Smurfs also meet a sitar-playing character, and befriend an Elephant who in the end rescues them from Gargapori. Greedy meets a local character cooking 'extra hot' curry. Misunderstanding the term, he decides he can cool it down by blowing on it. However, it is so hot that it turns his face red and steam blows out of his ears. He runs screaming fire, and jumps into a trough of water, where oxen lick his face. Smurfette says: "Greedy Smurf, I hope you've learned your lesson", and he replies: "I sure have, next time I'm ordering my curry mild!" At the end of the episode, Greedy tries to make curry, but it is equally hot, and the elephant saves him again by spraying water on him.

In the Central American episode, *Grandpa's Fountain of Youth*,⁷² the Smurfs are deposited in a Central American jungle setting with an Mayan/Aztec-style temple. They are dressed in hats with floral adornments and white, knee-length waist wraps and sandals. Smurfette and Sassette are wearing square-cut bordered robes. Greedy asks: "Where are we Papa smurf?", Snappy asks: "Yeah? Why am I wearing a diaper?", and Painter asks: "Yeah, where is this place?". Papa replies: "I don't know, my little Smurfs. But until I know, I forbid any Smurfs from handling anything". The local characters are all children (one name is provided: Big Monty), except for an old

⁷² Story by Glenn Leopold, Sean Catherine Derek, Ernie Contreras, Reed Robbins and Dean Stefan. Teleplay by Dean Stefan.

man, which the others are carrying to a fountain, while chanting "Youngster!

Youngster! Youngster!" The King child (wearing a Mayan-style hat) says: "You've hid in the forest for years old one, but now your time has come", and he replies "Please, I like being old, don't end it for me!" They drop him into a fountain and he changes into a child character, who laughs happily and runs away. Grandpa Smurf later falls into the fountain and turns into a child Smurf (though still with a grey beard). Papa Smurf declares "My smurf! I was right, Grandpa Smurf has fallen into the waters of some sort of, er... fountain of youth!... Since he didn't fall completely into the fountain, the effects are only temporary". After being captured by the 'Grumble Bird', and rescued by Sassette, the Child King remarks: "Gee bearded one, we wouldn't mind growing older if all the grownups were as much fun as you", and Grandpa replies: "Don't kid yourself, growing old can be just as fun too. You just have to realize that you can't have fun all the time".

While the development of these alternate settings and characters in Smurfs represents an attempt to find globally appealing content for programming, it is possible that in one instance the producers were hoping to satisfy national broadcast regulations. The inclusion of an Australian outback setting and characters would have met regulation standards set by the Australian Broadcast Tribunal. In 1989, *Variety* reported on these regulations on commercial TV that encouraged quality programs with an 'Australian Look'. While current rules enforced a 50% Australian content, the ABT was pushing for a 60% level. Also, while first-run Australian-produced broadcasts would receive

scores towards the quota regulations, the new proposals would offer bonus scores for broadcasts of Australian Look programs, "determined by theme, perspective, language and character" (597, p.29). In another source, Al Grassby, Commissioner for Community Relations at ABC noted:

Focusing on programs for children in Australia I would strongly urge that the whole basis of such programs should be the recognition of the nature and content of Australian society. In the US there has been a ready recognition after some 300 years of a mix of their society so that it would be rare indeed to find any American television program in which all of the people were blond, blue-eyed anglo-Saxons. I suppose Sesame Street is an excellent example of how children's television is used to teach tolerance, understanding and a good sense of unity in diversity (p.41). (1281)

Though Smurfs did attempt representations of the Australian outback -- ie, characters include a European Australian miner and aboriginal characters -- the representations are clearly of a stereotypical, dehistoricized nature that would not reflect the experiences of the modern-day Australian.

A Comparison of Two International Versions of Smurfs

The present section provides a comparison of international versions of Smurfs, focusing on the English North American version, *The Magic Stick*, and the French European version, *Le Baton Enchanté* (as transcribed and translated in appendix three). These versions use the same visuals, scene-sequencing, etc., and follow mostly the same storyline. However, some minor variations exist in dialogue, and significant differences exist in terms of character personalities, as well as the accents of the voices. The nature of the characters and the relationships between them is subtlety

different. For instance, Greedy is treated more harshly by the other Smurfs when he makes a mistake, and Brainy makes greater attempt to take control of situations and decisions in the English North American version. Papa Smurf also takes a somewhat more commanding and authoritative tone in the French North American version. More significantly, however, differences exist in terms of the characters' accents -- for instance, while the English North American version tends to use regionally distinctive accents, the French European version tends to use distinctions that are class-based within France.

In terms of dialogue, a notable difference is that the French European version uses the Smurf vernacular to a greater degree. (In Smurf language, the word 'Smurf' or 'Schtroumpf' often replaces other words, which can be verbs, nouns or descriptors - e.g. "This is Smurfy!"). For instance, in the English version, Vanity says: "It has been nothing but trouble for me" and in the french version says: "I've had nothing but trouble since I Schtroumpfed it!"; as well, whereas in the anglo version, Clumsy says: "Gosh, this is great", in the French version he says: "Oh this is Schtroumpf". Similarly, nonsensical Smurf words such as 'Smurfawillickers' in the English version have different parallels unique to the French language in the French version. For example, when exclaiming, or cursing, Vanity says: "Great Smurf!" in the English version and "Nom d'un Schtroumpf" in the French version, and Painter says: "Sacre blue-green!" in the English version and "Par tout les Schtroumpf" in the French version.

Similarly, some linguistic references (and consequently the visual puns) are also different. For instance, Painter Smurf calls his representation of the "Birth of Venus," "Smurfette on the Halfshell" in the English version. In the French it is "Smurfette sur le coquille Saint Jacques". Humorous references are in many instances not translated directly. Vanity (or Coquet) suggests that Painter Smurf's painting subject should be "Schtroumpf Coquet a la coquille Saint Jacques". The humorous alliteration is missing in the English version, where he suggests "Vanity on the Halfshell". Inflections of tone also work differently in the two versions. When Brainy tries to help Papa Smurf in the English version, and winds up knocking him to the ground and falling on him, Papa says with some impatience, "Thank you Clumsy... I think!" In the French version Papa says: "Thank you Maladroit, thank you", without any irritation or irony. Similarly, when Brainy accidentally transports Papa Smurf to the top of his chimney at the end of the English version, he agrees with Papa that they should get rid of the magic stick. At the end of the French version, however, he makes a joke at Papa's expense: "You'll never be able to pass for a stork", and the other Schtroumpfs join in the laugh.

Subtle variations in character are also conveyed through dialogue. In the English version, the giant Big Mouth is more ignorant of his surroundings, especially with respect to the presence of the Smurfs. For example, Schtroumpfette says: "Oh Big Mouth! You Glutton! Why don't you go eat somewhere else?" In the English version, Big Mouth appears oblivious to her question, responding "Yummy! Big Mouth loves Smurfberries", whereas in the french version, he responds directly to her: "Grosse

Bouche is happy with this!"

Character differences are more apparent among the Smurfs/Schtroumpfs. Differences in the names of Smurfs and Schtroumpfs are related in some ways to the differences in their characters. For instance, Brainy Smurf in the English version is more often derided for his intellectual snobbery than is Schtroumpf à Lunettes in the French version. As well, Papa Smurf in the English version tends to have a more paternal, nurturing character than the French version's Grand Schtroumpf, who is more commanding and authoritative. The French Grand Schtroumpf holds a more formal position of authority in relation to the other Schtroumpfs, as opposed to the more family-oriented authority held by Papa Smurf.

With respect to character differences, Brainy in the English version typically imposes his assumptions of superior intellect on the others. For example, when Big Mouth is eating the smurfberries, he tries to order Hefty to stop him. Hefty responds: "YOU stop him!". In the French version, Schtroumpf à Lunettes merely says: "He's eating all our crop", and Schtroumpf Costaud says: "We have to stop him!" When Brainy and Hefty go to Papa Smurf's house for help in the English version, and Papa suggests that they use the magic stick, Brainy says in an authoritative tone: "Of course, Hefty, the magic stick", while in the French version he makes the remark to Papa -- "Well of course, Papa, the magic stick" -- the joke being that he's not supposed to know about the magic stick at this point. At the end of the English version, when Brainy argues

with Papa about whether the magic stick should be taken away and accidentally transports Papa to the top of the chimney, he finally must admit his error. In the French version, on the other hand, Brainy betrays no embarrassment and his error is forgotten in the laughter at his joke.

Clumsy Smurf is also treated more harshly by the other Smurfs when he makes a mistake in the English version. For example, when he makes a bridge disappear, he, Smurfette and Brainy fall into the stream, and Smurfette says in an irritated tone: "Oh Clumsy! What a mess!" In the French version her tone is rueful rather than angry when she says: "Oh Maladroit! I can't believe you!" Papa Smurf is also less angry when telling Clumsy that he should have told him about losing the magic stick in the French version than he is in the English version.

Most importantly, however, significant differences exist between the English and French versions in terms of accents and style of speech. These differences work in many ways to provide a cultural context for the voices and characters that can be identified within the English North American and French European markets. In the English versions, for instance, the accents are in some cases regionally-based. For example, Farmer Smurf has a New England accent, Clumsy has a southern US accent, Doctor Smurf has a New York Jewish accent. In the French European version, differences in accents tend instead to bear class-based distinctions. For instance, Clumsy in the English North American version has a West Virginian or Appalachian

accent (i.e. similar to TV's Gomer Pyle), including the drawl and idiomatic phrases such as "Gosh", "Oh my Gosh", and a drawn out "Uh". While Clumsy's character involves much physical bungling, tripping, dropping things, etc., he is also somewhat slow-witted, and has difficulty deciding how to remedy his mistakes and bungling. In the French version, his nature is similar, but he does not have the specific regional accent. He does, however, have the speaking style of a 'simpleton' (i.e. 'niaiseux et masillard' in French). Similarly, while Hefty and Handy have standard US accents in the English North American version, Hefty in the French version has a lower-class, Parisian street-gang type accent, and Handy has a French working-class accent.

Brainy is a self-described intellect in the English version. He speaks with the nasally voice typically attributed to the 'nerd' in North America, and uses long sentences, usually talking at greater length than the other Smurfs. In the French version, Schtroumpf à Lunettes also uses more complex sentence structure and vocabulary than the other Smurfs, but instead has an upper-class french accent. In the North American version, Painter Smurf has a strong French accent, employs French-style sentence structure, and uses humorous plays on French phrases as exclamations, such as: "L'arc de Triomphe!", or "Sacre Blue-Green!" In the French version, he has an Italian accent. However, he does not use plays on Italian colloquialisms as exclamations, but rather uses standard Schtroumpf vernacular such as "Par tout les Schtroumpf" as exclamations.

Conclusion

The universal appeal of children's TV animation derives in part from the often bright, colourful style of the genre, as well as from the themes that tend toward less locally-specific fantasy, or science fiction characters and designs. It is notable, for instance, that the most globally popular animation characters are animal-based (e.g. Mickey Mouse and Yogi Bear) and have obscure or less specific ethnic features. These less locally-specific characteristics have contributed in many ways to the global popularity of animated characters and programs, and have made animation more glocalizable, since they facilitate local identifications of global TV programs. This is opposed to, for instance, live-action TV dramas, which are argued in many cases to be more difficult to market internationally, since they involve more localized identifications. While analyses such as those of Silj et al (1988) argue that the coproduction of live-action programs creates a common product (e.g. 'europudding') the limitations they refer to are particular to live-action. In the case of animation, such limitations could be overcome to some extent through the operation of versioning. In the 1980s and early 1990s this process worked to a greater degree against the type homogenization of representation which Silj et al identify, and provided different ways to create localized cultural relevance.

The representational features of animation also lend the genre more readily to international versioning in the form of language and accent dubbing, and this in turn

allows for more intensive versioning in the form of variations in character personalities and dialogue. Such alterations were increasingly preferred by international audiences in the 1980s and early 1990s. Consumers of TV animation during this time were increasingly more likely to be presented with internationally produced programs, and increasingly demanded language and accent-appropriate dubbing. Moreover, international versions of programs were also more prevalent, and could include alterations in story-lines, scene sequences and program length, as well as the incorporation of live-action host personalities with local cultural identification. Overall, it is argued that the flexibility of TV animation production allowed for the intensification of versioning for alternate global markets.

Both industry reviews and scholarly analysis of Smurfs during the original production run in the 1980s reflect assumptions that program stories and characters are simplistic -- assumptions that are commonly made about children's TV. Industry reviews sometimes attempted to evaluate Smurfs on its own level, and focused on the quality of program elements such as the appeal of characters and storylines, as well as the quality of the animation. On the other hand, industry reviews often reflected assumptions about the banality of children's animated TV. Similarly, the analysis provided by Kline (1991) tends to be reductionist, dismissing Smurf characters and relationships as simplified, and on several points misses features and storylines that run counter to his analysis. This is especially so with respect to his conclusion that the program focused on an oversimplified relationship between good and evil, and that the

producers development of characters along these lines was solely motivated by an interest in heightened profits. Overall, these criticisms tend to assume that content of Smurfs represent a highly simplified example of TV programming. This assumption is not generally supported by the current analysis of representation in Smurfs.

The development of the *ethnie*, following a semi-fantasy motif, included features that are easily identified as ahistorical, traditional and exotic representations of specific characters and locales. Smurfs representations of different locales and characters included 22 different themes, each involving semi-fantastical and exoticized constructions in which Smurfs operated as tourists, assuming the dress attributable to each locale, engaging in different ways according to their individual personalities, and receiving moral lessons along the way. While these representations involved particularities of place and identity, they were constructed in ways that would be easily recognized on a global level. As such, the representation of *ethnie* in Smurfs, as with the operation of the *ethnie* described by others (e.g. see Caughie, 1990; Thomlinson, 1991), can be seen as a mechanism for incorporating varied local (if exoticized) identities into global programming. The representation of the *ethnie* does not involve engagement with current everyday cultural realities, but it is recognizable by global audiences. The global identification of the *ethnie*, while part of the process of the globalization of Smurfs, did not, however, work to meet the objectives of, for instance, Australian state regulators, who supported programming that advanced Australian culture. While these objectives were intended to support representations that reflected

the current cultural and ethnic realities of Australia, the deployment of the ethnics in the case of Smurfs involved ahistorical, exoticized cultural and ethnic constructions.

The development of versions of Smurfs oriented to different international TV markets involved the use of common visuals and overall storyline with language dubbing of primarily the same dialogue. However, it is notable that a number of phrases involving plays on language itself, including curses such as, "Sacre blue-green" in English and "Par tout les Schtroumpf" in French, as well as some humorous references, were not translated directly, and involved different phrases altogether. Aside from those differences related to language, important variations in personalities and relationships, including, for instance, the acceptance of individual flaws by other characters, were also incorporated. Most importantly, Smurf and Schtroumpf characters have linguistic accents that are specific to the forms and ranges of accents in each consumer market. The contexts for different accents in the English North American version is in several cases based on regional variations in the US, and in the case of Painter Smurf is based on a stereotyped French accent. In the French European version, on the other hand, accents are in several cases based on social class divisions in France, and in the case of Painter Smurf is based on an Italian stereotype. Overall, since the variations on language and accents are specific to each consumer market, it can be argued that they, as described in chapter two, involve a sharing of cultural codes, and stress, as with the bardic function of TV, the commonalities of the differentiated people in each consumer market. The variations can therefore be seen as an important means of mediating the

local distribution and consumption of Smurfs as a globalized TV program.

The production of both globally recognized characters and the development of localized versions works to promote consumption through the attachment of representation to meaning, which consumers recognize and with which they can identify. One strategy for constructing identifications, used by producers of Smurfs, is the deployment of the *ethnie*, which involves a presencing, or reimbedding of local cultural identities and a reflexive construction of alternate identities that leads to a sharpening of distinctions rather than an emphasis on sameness. As such, the emphasis is on a heightened foregrounding of globally recognizable characters and locales, but also, through this, a reflexive positioning of the cultural 'other', which necessarily involves a traditional, exotic construction of place and identity. These constructions are stereotypical in nature, and, through distribution, provide for a global cultural sameness. However, it remains to be understood how they are read in different cultural contexts. For example, following ethnographic studies of the global readings of Dallas - as described in the following chapter - it can be assumed that different global identities understand the *ethnie* in different ways, contingent on the particularities of their own cultural contexts. Therefore, while the *ethnie* is a mechanism whereby global cultural awareness is compressed, it may also provide for a heightened awareness of local cultural particularities.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

The globalization of animated TV in the 1980s and early 1990s involved in some respects the global distribution or circulation of images and the global compression or sameness of cultural experience around animated programs. Though some analysts have tended to focus on a single dimension, such as production or representation, the present study demonstrates that the process of cultural production around animated TV has operated through a complex articulation of the diverse processes of regulation, production, consumption and representation. Therefore, while some assume that producers have an exclusive power in manipulating and exploiting viewers and markets of TV, evidence suggests that viewers exert a considerable measure of sovereignty in creating and maintaining consumer markets, and that producers work centrally to anticipate, test and respond to the preferences and tastes of consumers.

This articulation, or the creation of a best 'fit' between product and consumer is the primary objective of producers and distributors of TV programs, and characterizes most of the activities of animation producers, as discussed in the present study.

Similarly, the processes of regulation and representation articulated in significant ways to mediate the overall process of globalization of animated TV. This realization of the importance of articulated processes is relatively recent among scholars of mass communication and culture, and is gaining more widespread acceptance, as approaches congruent with 'the circuit of culture' model increasingly replace deterministic

approaches that over-emphasize the importance of, for instance, the processes of production or representation. Overall, the arguments and analyses generated by the current study suggest that a balanced consideration of the articulation of each sphere or process is important to the analysis of any dimension or feature of cultural production, and supports the contention that each process is contingent on its articulation with the other processes.

Moreover, it is essential that the conceptualization of the processes that characterize the globalization of cultural production also consider the various ways in which the processes of cultural production articulate with each other. This is especially important, since evidence also suggests that the processes of globalization have taken varied forms worldwide, based on the particular contingencies in each locale. The conceptualization of the processes of globalization is also relatively recent to scholarly approaches, which, as Robertson argues, have typically been polarized between assumptions of homogenization (i.e. the production of globalized sameness) and heterogenization (i.e. the production of localized difference). On the other hand, the current analysis also supports Robertson's contention that globalization broadly involves processes of both homogenization and heterogenization, since the processes of globalization around animated TV have generally involved the production of global sameness through the international distribution of programs, but that this production has involved centrally the mediation of local particularities and distinctions. These local particularities have moreover been maintained, and local differences have

remained salient, as the globalization of cultural production around animated TV has involved an important and central reflexivity of local and global processes. As the present analysis demonstrates, this reflexivity has operated in significant ways through the articulation of the various processes of cultural production. For example, regulatory sources have both responded to, and created contingencies for the processes of production (through, for instance, production quotas), and the processes of production have been oriented in significant ways to those of consumption (i.e. both creating conditions and responding to changes). The analysis importantly shows that these articulations have occurred in different ways across the varieties of global locales, contingent on diverse local factors, and that in order for globalization to occur, global processes must accommodate, or syncretize with local processes.

This accommodation runs counter to versions of the homogenization thesis (such as the notion of cultural imperialism), which assume that globalization involves the straightforward replacement of local processes and particularities with centralized and unified global processes. These assumptions of homogenization have often been raised by those concerned with a perceived threat to national culture and local cultural sovereignty, fearing that a dominant global culture works to replace national mores and threaten important features of nationhood such as political citizenship and national identity. Similarly, these assumptions tend to involve the displacement of local consumer sovereignty by global cultural forces. The present analysis, however, also demonstrates that both generalized and localized consumer sovereignty, through the

operation of distinctive consumer tastes and preferences, has operated in highly significant ways to mediate the powers of animated TV producers and distributors to create a unified global consumer culture. This operation of consumer sovereignty is especially significant when observed in the context of children's TV, since a large portion of scholarly work positions children as an especially naive and easily manipulated category of consumer. In contrast, the current analysis works to show that child consumers have demonstrated a high degree of consumer sovereignty, and therefore tends to support the contentions of some researchers, who argue that children are active, critically aware TV viewers.

The analysis also works to demonstrate that the global distribution of animated TV programs, while operating on a contingent basis in various international consumer markets, uses specific mechanisms to facilitate global programming on the local level. An important mechanism, for instance, is through the manipulation of TV flow, which articulates centralized global broadcasting with the everyday routines of localized viewers, and creates an important localized sense of 'presentness'. Similarly, the bardic function of language, largely through TV dubbing, works to create a culturally cohesive construction of social reality and to establish and maintain the boundaries of shared cultural experience and community. In terms of specific representational features of programming, the current study suggests the operation of the *ethnie*, as a globally recognizable construction of place and identity, also works to create global identifications that operate on the local level. These mechanisms facilitate what

Robertson has described as the 'presencing' or reimbedding of traditional cultural forms from one locale to another different local context, the varied instances of which requires different practical modes or accommodations.

The current analysis shows that a range of regulatory efforts by state governments have worked to contravene the perceived threat of cultural homogenization through the globalization of TV programs. These, as well as regulatory efforts by public advocacy groups, have centred on the perception of TV as either a public good or as a vehicle for commercialism (i.e. the distinction of citizenship vs. consumerism). These struggles between regulators and the TV industry figured significantly in the heightened global distribution of children's animated TV in the 1980s and early 1990s, especially as children's TV experienced a worldwide boom in toy-driven, commercial length animation, and a decrease in alternate, e.g. educational programming. Moreover, the various forms of regulation on industry practices were not limited to governments and pressure groups, but also included forms of industry self-regulation, which did not in sum threaten standard commercial practices. However, the present study also demonstrates that the various regulatory efforts worldwide were not uniform, but rather took different forms in different local contexts. These differences were often contingent on local perceptions of the need to protect local financial interests, including local TV properties and production enterprises, as well as labour interests and employment levels. Therefore, the globalization of TV animation production was mediated in different ways by international regulatory efforts to protect both local

citizenship and local cultural identities, as well as local industry.

Developments in TV animation in the 1980s and early 1990s were also characterized in the sphere of production by a significant rise in international corporate mergers, and acquisitions of control and ownership of both trademark characters and production operations. These changes constituted an important dimension of the globalization of TV animation during this time, as locally popular characters and programs were reimbedded into new consumer contexts and rearrangements around international divisions of labour. These changes, especially the use of Asian labour sources, also involved the diversification of corporate interests around animated TV and worked to include such interests as toys, publishing, and theme parks. The global boom in TV animation therefore involved considerable changes in the ways the industry produced programming, most notably the development of international labour sources, especially in Asia.

Moreover, the most notable change was in the development of international coproduction partnerships, which worked in significant ways as responses to changing financial conditions and state regulations that supported local productions, but also as a means of improving the fit, through a sharing of creative control, between global programming and diverse, local consumer expectations. The development of international coproduction partnerships, as important intercultural encounters in the globalization of animated TV, was mediated in important ways by such sources as

state regulations that motivated the production and broadcasting of local productions, and by industry conferences that worked to facilitate the exchanges through, for example, the exchange of information on local consumer expectations. Overall, developments in the international production of animated TV in the 1980s and early 1990s were important means of articulating global programs with diverse local consumer markets.

The analysis shows that consumer sovereignty constituted an important mediation of the power of global producers and distributors to create and maintain local consumer markets. The operation of this sovereignty is evidenced in many ways, including the *common rejection of globally-distributed programs and the influence of varieties of consumer tastes and preferences*. Global producers and distributors of animated TV programs were required to manage the flow of programming through a reflexive monitoring of ratings for each market, and the development of alternate scheduling practices in different consumer markets, which were specialized accommodations of locally-specific domestic routines and child-rearing practices. Similarly, differences in tastes for specific features of animated programs, such as animation style and violent content were important barriers to the development of consumer markets worldwide. On the other hand, these variations in tastes and popularities of specific programs also provided an important opportunity for reflexive comparisons of producers and distributors, who worked to find local successes that could be reimbedded into other local markets.

Moreover, the operation of child consumer sovereignty had far-reaching implications in the 1980s for producers of animated TV, most notably in the unexpected rise and fall in popularity of toy-driven programs, and shifts in preference towards higher quality animation and alternate program genres. Similarly, the rise of alternate program formats for TV programs, such as cable and home video contributed in significant and diverse ways to the globalization of animated TV. This was due in large part to the fact that alternate formats provided a greater flexibility in articulating global programming with local consumer needs and expectations, and provided a means of avoiding in many ways state broadcast regulations. On the other hand, regulatory sources such as public pressure groups advocated the use of home video as a means of providing parents with a greater degree of control over what programs children consumed, as well as how they consumed them.

As demonstrated in the current study, the flexibility of the representational features of animation distinguishes the genre from, for instance, live-action drama. Animation has a generic appeal for children, in the form of colourful and fantasy-oriented styles, which have less specified, local identifications (as opposed to, for instance, the clear placement of Dallas in the southern US) and characters without localized or ethnic characteristics (e.g. animal characters such as Mickey Mouse and Yogi Bear). Also, however, the flexibility of animation allows for the more intensive production of international versioning, including the more effective use of language and accent voice dubbing, and the reworking of storylines and program duration, in order to improve

the fit between program and consumer markets. Also, however, international versions of animated programs in the 1980s and early 1990s were in many cases developed to include alternate live-action hosts and characters with local consumer appeals and identifications. It is argued that these types of modifications provide for an international marketability of animation that is greater than, for instance, live action dramas.

The analysis then focuses on the case of Smurfs, and begins by demonstrating that industry reviews and scholarly approaches to children's animated TV tend to assume that the representations are banal and overly simplistic. An analysis of Smurfs content argues that the representations of the ethnics in the program are ahistorical, exoticized constructions of place and identity, and work to provide images that are recognizable on a global level. While they include the presentation of local particularities, they do not reflect current lived experiences. Focusing on two versions of a specific episode, the analysis then also shows that international versions of Smurfs incorporate, through voice dubbing, the representation of language and accents that are specific to each consumer market. These representations of both globally recognizable and locally specific features of Smurfs are made possible through the flexibility of animated representation, and have worked in different ways to facilitate the globalization of the program.

Overall, the study demonstrates that the process of globalization of animated TV

programs in the 1980s and early 1990s was not a straightforward, uniform process of global expansion, and that the process was not characterized by a homogenization of local cultures. Instead, evidence suggests that this globalization has not been straightforward one sided, but has featured mediations of global processes by local cultural contingencies and particularities. Therefore, rather than a centralization, the process involves a relativization of local and global culture, implying that local viewers have experienced a heightened sense of relativeness, as they consume images of global motifs, characters and situations through a reflexive awareness of their own local identifications and cultural experiences. This follows what Robertson (1992) argues is a broad outcome of globalization - a heightened civilizational, societal, ethnic, regional and individual self-consciousness, in which "there are constraints on social entities to locate themselves within world history and global future - [even though] globalization in and of itself also involves the diffusion of the expectations of such identity declarations" (p.23).

However, the project of identifying how the processes creating a heightened reflexive awareness of global and local cultures operates, is a significant limitation on the findings of the present study, given a lack of specific ethnographic data on the experiences of consumers of animated TV worldwide. According to other ethnographic studies, such as Ang (1985) and Leibes and Katz (1990), who show how different viewers from different global cultures 'read' Dallas, the process of viewing global TV programs involves primarily an understanding of Dallas in contrast with, and in the

specific context of their own everyday lived experiences - they rearticulate the symbols and representations in relation to their own localized identities and cultural contexts. Therefore, rather than exclusively a production of sameness, globalization in this case has involved a production of diversity, through a reflexive awareness of global programming, and a syncretization of local and global cultures that allows for the identification of local consumers with local cultural contexts. This distinction is similarly important for the study of children's TV, since some analysts assume an overdetermination of children's culture by producers (e.g. Gitlin, 1989; Kline, 1993) while others, through ethnographic analysis, demonstrate that children have a strong capacity for readings that centrally articulate their own social relationships and identifications (e.g. Hodge, 1989; Moores, 1993; Nava and Nava, 1996). Though the present study is limited by a lack of specific data, it is useful to include a review of research that supports the generalized existence of locally contingent readings of global programs, as a means of drawing implications for the present study, as well as a means of framing an approach for further research into these processes.

It is commonly argued by proponents of the homogenization thesis that the global circulation of images from a dominant source works to create a homogenization of culture around television. However, the approach adopted by the present study follows the assumption within cultural studies that mass media do not hold meaning outside of cultural interpretation. The circulation of images is contingent on a practice of meaning production that operates through a specific shared culture. Following

Mellancamp (1990) it should be assumed that: "text partakes of audience and representation without the mutual exclusivity claimed by many scholars"(p.7). In other words: "the moment of reception is the valued focus of research" (p.7). This moment of reception operates in a way that allows local consumers embedded in local cultural contexts to negotiate with globalized processes. The global circulation of images can therefore be assumed to involve a series of diverse 'readings' of TV based on various contingencies of cultural circumstances.

As argued in chapter two, TV performs a bardic function for the society in which it is consumed, since TV involves a series of social rituals and associations that create a common social centre, and articulates a cultural consensus and sense of cultural membership. This implies that local TV markets represent important boundaries of cultural identification and community. This is similar to the representational implications of television flow, in which it is argued that flow integrates and articulates the centralized production of TV with the everyday lived routines of consumers. However, while evidence tends to support this contention through the need for modifications and differences in scheduling, the relationship of TV programming to the lived experiences of consumers is largely unknown without consideration of the direct evidence provided by such approaches as ethnographic research. This type of research focuses on the production of meaning through consuming TV, as well as the importance of different identities and the contexts of everyday lived experience.

This operation of contingency in the production of meaning from text is a process that includes the text in a broader 'system of representation', that includes the activities of producers and consumers of texts. Following Hall (1996c), the cultural turn in sociology refers to the importance of meaning in culture, which is constituted not by texts (ie. physical objects), but rather by processes and practices. Rather than assume, as do some researchers,⁷³ that meaning resides exclusively within the text, it is important to consider that people of different cultures interpret or make sense of the world in broadly different ways. In other words, culture is about attachments, identities and emotions, as well as concepts and knowledges (eg. different limits of language). This implies, for the purposes of the current study, that the completion of the circuit of culture model would include the influence of identity, and only then would allow for a complete understanding of cultural production - one that includes an understanding of how participants read or produce meanings through the consumption of representations. On the other hand, conclusions can be drawn from other arguments and studies about the influence of identity on the process of culture, particularly how diverse local audiences experience global TV programs.

Following Hall (1996c), common symbols operate to constitute or establish meaning for the shared identity of, for example, a national culture or local community. While

⁷³ For instance, Kinder (1991) conducts an analysis of content, focusing on the intertextuality of TV, movies and video games. She follows psychological, Freudian principles and assumptions of the processes of reading these texts among children, without studying the process of reading itself - e.g. in an ethnographic sense.

representation of national belongingness is tied up with identity: "it is difficult to know what being English or French or German, South African or Japanese *means* outside of all the ways in which our ideas and images of national identity or national cultures have been represented" (p.5). On the other hand, without these systems of representation, we could not hold identities or maintain the "common life-world which we call culture" (p.5). Moreover, meaning is constituted partly by the contexts and interpretations that we give to experiences (i.e. how we represent meanings and classify cultural objects), and since contexts vary widely worldwide, it is likely that meaning is produced in broadly different ways, including through the global media.

This is a persistent problem in the course of studying the meaning of mass media messages, but is central to understanding how institutions such as the TV industry work to create links between global and local cultural production. For instance, ethnographic studies show how consumers rearticulate the meanings of imported programs according to local cultural contexts. In this sense, it is neither appropriate to understand consumers as ultimate dupes, nor as having ultimate freedom in determining the outcome of cultural production. Following Moores (1997), meanings are not broadcast directly, but are rather negotiated by active audiences embedded in a local cultural context. This implies that the study of globalization around these processes must focus on the situated nature of local cultural practices, and the process of consumption as one that mediates global and local cultural processes. Importantly, this theoretical assertion has been supported by ethnographic studies into the localized

readings of global TV programs such as Dallas.

It is therefore important to understand that texts have both closed and open properties - ie. that the moment of producing meaning from a text through reading can be determined by the content (and is in fact necessary for the shared culture), but also provides for a range of potential variation, allowing for different cultural groups to read the text. While the mass popularity of Dallas has lead many critics to assume a global homogenization of TV culture, and often a form of US cultural imperialism, several studies have shown that culturally contingent readings of Dallas have involved the reflection or incorporation of the everyday lived experiences of Dallas viewers around the world into divergent readings of the program, and a form of evasion or resistance to what may be seen as the dominant US meanings. This emphasizes the importance of a flexible model of encoding-decoding that allows for a fit between the production and reception process that can be carried out by a singular set of producers and a range of different groups and interests of consumers. In other words, the meanings of animated TV programs do not arise from the texts themselves, but rather through the ways they are represented in language (visual and verbal), as well as through the discourses and knowledges of the people who consume them. It follows therefore that the analysis of animated TV representations cannot be complete until it includes the different ways in which the programs are associated with or consumed by different groups around the world.

The nature of globally divergent readings of TV has been demonstrated to be contingent on local cultural contexts (e.g. see Radway, 1988). Following Silj et al (1988), the globally stereotypical features of US TV work in part to explain their global appeal, but do not explain enough. They suggest that ethnographic research on Dallas, such as that conducted by Katz and Liebes (1990) show the importance viewers' cultural contingent life-experiences in significantly conditioning how the program is understood. For instance, studies of the comparative popularity of Dallas show that, for example, in Algeria, where anti-imperialist politics are more dominant, Dallas was highly popular. However, Algerians appreciated Dallas because Texans were shown to oppose the federal state, and because paternalistic Jock Ewing was shown to be a strong, family-oriented figure. Therefore, readers in Algeria tended to take meaning from Dallas that they identified in relation to their own cultural conditions. Silj et al (1988) also note that a study by Leibes and Katz (unpublished) demonstrated that moralistic dimensions of watching Dallas provided a way for viewers to understand life in the US. Russian viewers, for instance, considered themselves immune to the messages and the intentions of producers to alter the values of viewers, and made alternate readings based on their own knowledges that wealth and capitalism is negative.

Overall, these approaches to understanding the locally contingent readings of global programs emphasize in the mediation of meaning of in the process of cultural production, and provision of power for the subjective production of cultural meaning.

This is important for the current project, which argues that intercultural encounters through the globalization of animated TV involves different processes of cultural syncretization that work in a reflexive manner to accommodate local and global cultural processes. Aside from the important balanced consideration of regulation, production, consumption and representation included in the present study, it is important to also understand, as an avenue of future research, how different global consumers rearticulate the symbols of globally distributed TV in relation to their own local identities and cultural contexts.

Overall, the evidence described in the current study supports the assumption that consumers' capacities to influence the process of consumption through choices and preferences for programs is significant. While producers and distributors are able to manipulate markets and capitalize on trends in taste and consumer choice, child audiences are known to be highly fickle and unpredictable, as demonstrated, for instance, in the sharp rise and fall in popularity of toy-driven programs, and the substantial losses of investors who were suddenly unable to market programs. This suggests that while producers and distributors were able to develop and maintain global markets, they did so only through a largely trial and error, and were ultimately only able to maximize these markets through attention to local cultural particularities and conditions. Moreover, the trend towards greater accommodation through versioning into the 1990s suggests that localized consumers were increasingly demanding of locally-appropriate program features. In a similar sense, the heightened

marketability of animation can be attributed to some degree to its greater flexibility for international versioning. Thus, the combination of the power of producers to manipulate, and the power of consumers to mobilize preferences, both operate in a reflexive manner in the process of globalization around animated TV, which involves, in an abstract sense, the reflexive articulation of global universals and local particularities.

These processes do not generally reflect a straightforward process of homogenization. In other words, global consumers do not typically accept global products unconditionally, without some measure of localized accommodation. On the other hand, global producers and distributors are not involved in a straightforward practice of producing entirely differentiated products. Therefore, as with Robertson's thesis, the processes of localization and globalization operate together. Since producers engage in a continual process of creating and maintaining the marketability of programs, often through trial and error, and consumers are repeatedly presented with new alternatives against which choices and tastes are tested, the practice of establishing a fit between consumer and product is centrally a reflexive process. In turn, however, this process is mediated in various ways through the articulation of sources of regulation, such as consumer advocacy and pressure groups and regulations guided by state interests, both of which operate to mediate the interests of industry to construct TV audiences as consumers vs. citizens. Therefore, while producers' interests are centrally commercial, they are, in various ways and historical degrees, required to also respond to social and

political interests. Overall, however, evidence that the process of globalization is influenced by diverse factors.

Similarly, it is important to note that cultural homogenization and heterogenization in the process of globalization do not operate at the exclusion of one another. The operation of the *ethnie* is a useful case in point, since it involves the appropriation of local particularities that are constructed and circulated by global media. The *ethnie*, though an appropriation of the local, does not involve a close connection to current, lived experiences or expressions (much like Robertson's argument that the global circulation of the local is a construction that typically has little in common with the local). On the other hand, the *ethnie* is important as a construction that is identified on a global level. In fact, it is due to the fact that the *ethnie* is an ahistorical, exoticized construction that it allows the widest possible range of local consumers to identify it as a representation of the cultural other. The *ethnie* is therefore a suitable mechanism for glocalization of programs, since it facilitates reading by a broad range of local identities. As with the popularity of *Dallas*, the *ethnie* is a homogeneous cultural form, but a particular one that allows for heterogeneous interpretations.

Appendix One: Selected Dates in the Globalization of Children's Animated TV

- 1956 Herb Klynn becomes first US producer to employ foreign animation for US TV programs - *The Gerald McBoing-Boing Show* and *Mr. McGoo*
- 1957 Hanna-Barbera pioneers limited animation for TV with *Huckleberry Hound*
- 1958 Les Schtroumpfs appears for the first time in *Spirou* - a Belgian children's comic-strip periodical by cartoonist Peyo (Pierre Culliford)
- 1967 Taft Broadcasting acquires Hanna-Barbera, begins expansion of merchandising operations
- 1969 The first broadcast of a program-length commercial by US 's ABC - Mattels' *Hot Wheels*
- 1971 Hanna-Barbera establishes Australia animation subsidiary company and studio **Hanna-Barbera-Australia**
- 1974 The US FCC adopts a special policy statement that "broadcasters have a special obligation to serve children", and that the TV industry must regulate the "worst excesses" of children's advertising - lessen violent content and develop more

age-specific programming for 2 to 11 year-old age group

- 1978 Hong Kong by public pressure group WHO (The Action Committee for Improving Children's Programs) conducts first major TV campaign
- 1979 ABC broadcasts first pro-social public service announcements in US
- 1979 (August) US Local 839 of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees takes strike action against Hanna-Barbera, Ruby-Sears and DePatie Freleng in response to runaway labour practices - in two weeks local receives cash settlements from two companies
- 1980 (August) Local 839 files additional grievances against 18 different animated programs in violation of the cartoonists' pact
- 1981 President Reagan appoints Mark Fowler as the new head of the FCC, which announces it would reverse policies restricting commercial practices on children's TV
- 1981 *Smurfs* Hanna-Barbera/SEPP TV coproduction begins broadcast run worldwide
- 1982 The Australian Children's Television Foundation's first annual report argues that

children's programming must be "relevant to the life experience of Australian children and young people"

- 1982 DIC Enterprises, a division of Audiovisuel Enterprises of France, opens subsidiary studio in Japan
- 1983 The US Action for Childrens' Television petitions FCC to regulate program-length commercials such as Smurfs
- 1983 US FCC lifts commercial content regulation, allowing as many minutes of advertising during children's programming as broadcasters chose
- 1983 New contract between Local 839 and animation producers includes restrictions on the use of runaway labour
- 1983 He-Man begins worldwide syndication broadcasts
- 1983 DIC Enterprises, becomes first overseas company to sell an animated series directly to a US network with *The Littles*
- 1983 *He-Man* becomes largest single purchase of foreign programming in United Kingdom to date

- 1984 Commercial courts of Brussels places a sequestration order to protected the assets of the Dupuis family, including the proprietorship of *Smurfs* coproducer SEPP - rumours that move was a defence against potential US 3M takeover
- 1984 The Australian Broadcast Tribunal releases new standards for children's television, forming an opposition to commercial deregulation
- 1984 *Gummi Bears* becomes first Disney animation produced for Saturday morning TV
- 1984 Turner Broadcasting Systems buys *Draemon* (produced by Japan's Toei) for post-production and release in US
- 1985 Runaway labour restriction agreement not renewed; overseas studios already widely established
- 1985 1975 Anglo Canadian-British Coproduction film accord extended to include TV and video production
- 1985 First biannual market for animation, Annecy (the Animated Film Market) held
- 1985 *Hanna-Barbera's Greatest Adventures: Stories from the Bible* becomes first

animated program released exclusively on video

- 1988 *Variety* reports that the alternate formats (home video, satellite, cable) in western Europe had begun to 'shake loose the reins of control' from government regulators
- 1988 Hanna-Barbera retakes control of video distribution from Worldvision
- 1988 Large US animation producer Burbank Studios moves operations to Philippines
- 1989 *Smurfs* Hanna-Barbera/SEPP TV coproduction ends broadcast run worldwide
- 1989 Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles becomes most successful worldwide syndicated animated TV program
- 1989 Pacific Rim Media opens first US-owned animation studio in mainland China
- 1989 Disney opens animation studio in France
- 1989 Fox's all-children's cable service Children's Network begins broadcast
- 1989 Australian Broadcast Tribunal creates quota system of points for programs of

an Australian 'look' - determined by theme, perspective, language and character

1990 Disney acquires assets of Hanna-Barbera-Australia's Australian production facilities

1991 Turner Broadcasting Systems takes over Hanna-Barbera

1991 Annecy expands to include publishing representatives

1992 European Community implements 'television without frontiers' policy

1993 British government grants broadcast license to Turner's Cartoon Network in Scotland

Appendix Two: The Structure of the Children's Entertainment Industry

Pecora (1998) provides an analysis of the transitions within the structure of children's entertainment and leisure industries. Her analysis is detailed and current enough to warrant extensive discussion for the purposes of the present study. She works to fill what she perceives as a gap in the understanding of the ways that economic forces have shaped children's culture, and creates a model to explain how decisions are made at the corporate level in children's entertainment (e.g. television) and leisure (e.g. toy) industries. She takes a political economic approach, focusing on the recognition that industries and commercial organizations produce and distribute commodities, and quotes Schneider's (1987) three primary principles of the children's television industry: "keep the audiences up, keep the costs down, and keep the regulators out" (p.5). In other words, while the children's television industry works to create and maintain profits, it also works within a broader context of social, political and economic constraints.⁷⁴

It is important to understand that the children's entertainment industry is not exclusively involved in TV, but also books, radio, records, motion pictures and video and audio cassettes, video games and computer software. These entertainment products

⁷⁴ Influences such as government regulation, have been present since early in the development of the children's entertainment industry. For example, in the 1870s, the US federal Act For Suppression of Trade in, and Circulation of Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use was directed at regulating the dime novel trade which had been directed at young boys through the US postal service (Pecora, 1998, p.27).

are tied to leisure products such as toys, as well as other products such as fast food, clothing, etc. Pecora (1998) notes that what began in cross-marketing as simple, contractual agreements between entertainment and manufacturing industries between the 1930s and 1960s, grew into more complex economic relationships in the 1980s: "entertainment characters not only sell products, they have become part and parcel of the product" (p.8). The shift in this relationship was related to a number of factors, including the historic development of the child as consumer, which she identifies in part as a process of socialization. For instance, in the 1980s, children as young as 5 years old were encouraged by marketers to orient their consumption decisions to the 'brand label'. This practice began among older children in the 1930s, as children's radio programs were often sponsored by national brand food, cleaning and oil products, that offered toy premiums and rewards. While toy manufacturers did not advertise on radio, these premiums and promotions tied to adult consumer decisions worked to influence purchases through children. However, children in the 1930s and 1940s were generally seen as lower-end consumers, and as not influencing major adult or family consumer patterns. Between 1930 and 1939, 30 of 32 national, fully-sponsored radio programs for children were sponsored by food manufacturers (the other two were sponsored by Anacin and Pepsodent) (p.12) and between 1940 and 1955, 36 of 41 radio programs were sponsored by food manufacturers (p.14). This marked the development of children as consumers targeted by advertisers, and the shift from children as influencing household consumer decisions, towards consumers of products developed

for consumption exclusively by children.⁷⁵

The television industry was developed largely from the structure of the radio industry in the late 1940s. The number of children's programs in the late 1940s was relatively large, since broadcasters appealed to adults to purchase television sets through the provision of children's programs. Once television sets had reached a saturation point in the late 1950s and early 1960s, broadcasters shifted more towards adult programs, in order to maximize returns on consumer product advertising - the focus of broadcasters shifted from purchases of television sets to purchases of advertised products (Pecora, 1998, p.72). However, in the late 1960s, children's programming gained importance as advertisers began to rely to a greater degree on ratings and market segmentation. At this time, animated programs were a low-cost alternative for children's programming. By 1965, all three networks had shifted from after-school weekday programming to Saturday morning schedules for children's programs. Increases in children's programs in the 1970s is explained by an increase in the sophistication of rating techniques, which began to fragment audiences with greater precision, as well as by overall increases in programming. By the 1970s, advertisers had discovered a \$50 billion market in Saturday morning television, in which \$1.00 in advertising costs would reach 1000 children, as opposed to 286 children during weekday, after-school programs, and only 133 during prime-time (p.33).

⁷⁵ At the same time, children were beginning to be taught the value of proper money management and consumption, predominantly by parents, but also by high-schools and the popular press (Pecora, 1998, p.11).

Also in the 1970s, significant changes began to take place in the production of television programming directed at children. Skyrocketing costs of program production and increased competition for advertising dollars began to change the structure of entertainment media industries (p.25). Among these changes was the inclusion of diverse corporations with ownership interests in several facets of the business. This spread the investment risks of program production, and allowed a greater number of programs to be produced. At the same time, the toy industry in the US also shifted from seasonal fluctuations (i.e. 4th quarter Christmas sales) to year-round consumer marketing driven largely by character licensing. Toy-television cooperation in program development led to increases in merchandising based on characters designed for possibilities as both toys and animated programs. As a result, the corporate operations and interests of television producers and toy manufacturers began to converge.

By the 1980s, programs began to be produced in consultation with toy manufacturing and product licensing agents. Prior to the 1980s, programs were sponsored by product-based companies, and the lines that separated TV producers and product manufacturers were clear. The few exceptions included *The Monkees* in 1966 and *Hot Wheels* in 1969 (Pecora, 1998, p.37). However, these programs did not establish an industry pattern in toy and accessory program tie-ins. The pattern was, however, established in the 1980s by programs such as *Strawberry Shortcake*, *Care Bears*, *G.I. Joe*, etc. The programs that followed through the 1980s linked programs with consumer products, following a regulatory climate in which economics rather than public interest defined

program marketing (p.38). However, as Pecora describes, these changes in sponsorship patterns were a matter of degree rather than substance. For instance, between 1930s and 1950s, approximately 50% of programs were sponsored by cereal companies. Therefore, since early in the history of the broadcast industry, children's programs have been more or less consistently sponsored by commercial interests (p.39).

Independent stations developed through the effect of the Prime-Time Access Rules in the 1980s, as well as the rise of cable networks and premium stations in the 1990s, created more outlets for toy-driven syndicated programs. In 1976, there were 85 independent television broadcasters in the US, and in 1985 there were 226. On the other hand, there were 560 network affiliates in 1974, and 630 in 1984. Pecora argues that the rise in independent stations was due to 1) the Prime-Time Access Ruling that limited network control over prime time schedules; 2) high-demand programs such as the Olympics in the mid 1970s that drew more advertisers to network broadcasts and created a demand for alternate advertising outlets; 3) the restructuring of the syndication market. Prior to the 1980s, syndicated programs were limited by the practice by networks of cancelling programs in the early years of production (i.e. limiting the numbers of episodes for syndication later on). However, in the 1980s, the numbers of first-run syndicated programs increased as the numbers of non-network financiers increased. This worked to ensure the long-term production of programs, and also lowered the costs of programs for broadcasters.

The toy trade in the US is one of the oldest industries, as well as one of the most unstable in terms of risk of investment. This was due, prior to the 1980s, in large part to rapid changes in the tastes of child consumers, often within the 18 month span between production and retail distribution. However, in the 1980s, several factors worked to stabilize the industry: 1) improvements in research and development to better predict consumer tastes around the annual christmas market cycle; 2) the use of licensing to provide longer shelf-life of toys through promotion by television programs and commercials, comics, and videocassettes; 3) a flurry of mergers in the early 1980s. These mergers involved the larger manufacturers, such as Hasbro and Milton-Bradley (which allowed Hasbro access to Milton-Bradley's international markets), Hallmark and Binney Smith, as well as CBS and Ideal Toys. In 1980, Hasbro, Mattel and Coleco controlled 20% of the market, and in 1985 controlled almost 35% of the market (p.48).

The stabilization of the toy industry was also influenced by 4) year-round marketing, which was achieved largely through the development of the Saturday morning television market (as opposed to the placement of weekday prime-time advertising placements) as well as through the rise of large toy store chains such as Toys 'R' Us, which retailed 16,000 different toys 352 days a year (as opposed to department store toy sections that would expand annually for christmas marketing). Also, in the 1980s, 5) risk management strategies had extended the shelf-life of toys (e.g. Smurf toys have been available for 15 years, and through syndication of the program, experienced a

renewed retail distribution in 1996), and product licensing expanded the marketing of individual toys to include entire lines of products (e.g. numerous Smurfs figurines, toy accessories as well as food, clothing, etc.). Driven by these developments in toy marketing,⁷⁶ the licensing industry grew dramatically in the 1980s. For instance, in 1977, the licensing industry involved \$4.9 billion, by 1980 had increased to \$9.9 billion, and by 1990 had increased to \$60 billion (p.57). As an overall development in industry structure in the 1980s: "the relationship between market manager and product manufacturer became more complex, as toy companies entered the realm of production and distribution, separating the risk of introducing new products" (p.64).

Another significant development in industry structure, however, was the rise in alternatives to network television, which introduced significant changes to the children's entertainment industry (i.e. cable, video, movies, etc.). Initially, cable was a technology that was used only to distribute broadcast television to remote areas (i.e. those outside of broadcast signal range). However, in the late 1960s, New York Entrepreneur Robert Weisberg developed a cable service called the Baby-Sitting Channel, which operated as a second signal into the home, providing a children's alternative to television that would occupy children during the soap-opera schedule times when programs were focused largely on house-wives. By 1997, however,

⁷⁶ In 1975, the toy industry in the US involved \$200 million in retail sales, while in 1985 had increased to \$2 billion, and by 1992 to \$7.2 billion (Pecora, 1998, p.56).

exclusive children's cable services such as Nickelodeon and Disney ⁷⁷ provided much more extensive services for children. However, it should be noted that while, for instance, Disney is perceived as an all-children service, 15-30% of subscriber households in 1997 had no children. As with the Baby-Sitting Channel, Disney and Nickelodeon use age-specific programming, and schedule morning hours for preschool, afternoon hours for older children, and family programming during evening hours.

The new all-children national and international cable services in the 1990s were also involved in production, as opposed to New York's Baby-Sitting Channel, which included only previously produced programming. In 1997, the Disney Channel had 30-50% original programming in 1988, with toy tie-ins for most Disney characters. Moreover, as opposed to the distinct lines between program and product with Smurfs, Disney has highly complex relationships between the different toy and licensing industries. The complexity of these relationships is due in large part to the diversity of licensing interests that currently exists in the children's entertainment industries. Licensed characters have moved from TV-toy tie-ins to those including, for instance, all forms of print media (comic books, magazines, books, etc.) recordings, motion pictures, and home video, as well as games and concerts.

Public television is another alternative to network TV. However, while public

⁷⁷ While Disney in 1997 was supported exclusively by subscriber fees, Nickelodeon was supported by a combination of subscriber fees and advertising revenues.

television was created as a public institution in the late 1960s, government support declined in the 1980s, and corporate sponsorship began to take its place. Similarly, merchandising around programs (especially Sesame Street in the 1980s) provided important sources of funding. As well, new programs in the 1990s, such as Barney, were created in a for-profit corporate structure, and provide a mixture with producers such as the Children's Television Workshop (Sesame Street) which follow a not-for-profit structure (Pecora, 1998, p.108). This mixture created situations wherein, for instance, PBS funded 40-50% of the production of Barney in its first three seasons, received profits only from tapes and CDs, and none from \$500 million in sales of other retail products (p.109).

Important changes in the structure of the children's entertainment industries, however, has also involved centrally processes of globalization. Pecora (1998) argues, again, however, that the development of the internationalization of children's television in the 1980s and 1990s can be traced back to an earlier point. For instance, licensed versions of Howdy-Doody in the 1950s were distributed in Canada and Mexico. However, she notes that: "these alliances were primarily the sale of an American product to a foreign market. Now, such arrangements are designed to transcend national boundaries and borders" (p.134). Whereas foreign sales were secondary sources of revenue prior to the 1980s, they had become key sources of revenue planned from the beginning of program development. For instance, in 1991, 50% of Mattel's sales were in 100 overseas markets (Schine and MacMillan, 1992).

Coproductions, Pecora (1998) describes, are designed for three reasons: 1) to open new markets through the circumvention of national quotas (especially through live-action program wrap-arounds); 2) to develop mutually beneficial characters (e.g. Duckula by Thames Television and Nickelodeon) (p.141); and 3) to "create a program primarily for international markets... the objective is to make a program intelligible to children from diverse backgrounds and cultures" (p.142). In all three, the bond between advertiser and producer is still strong. However, the corporate component in international coproductions is the international agent (p.143). For instance, Zodiac Entertainment in 1980 was the first production company to define itself as a global corporation, marketing children's programs and merchandise to a global market (p.143). They created characters designed to be cross-cultural - e.g. in Widget, there are no alpha or numeric characters, in order to avoid using linguistic symbols that would be identified with a specific culture (p.147). Overall, Pecora argues that the corporate structures required to meet these types of marketing objectives has involved a much more direct link with international partners - i.e. through an intensification of relationships around production rather than merely a focus on distribution ties.

Appendix Three: A Transcript of Two Versions of Smurfs

Transcript of “The Magic Stick”

Clumsy: I’m almost there [Carrying a basket] and I haven’t even spilled one smurfberry [laughs]. [explosion comes out of window, smurf and berries fall on ground] Oh gosh! I wonder what’s going on

Papa Smurf: [incantations over a stick] With the smurf dust that I flick, Smurf me up a magic stick.

I did it, I did it [stick jumps around] [Music: Dance of the Sugarplum Fairy] I **conjured** up a magic stick! Hey, come back here! Stay, I said, magic stick, stay!

Clumsy: Oh my Smurfness, papa Smurf needs my help! Hold it papa, I’m coming!

Papa Smurf: Got ya!

Clumsy: Here I am Papa Smurf! [Falling on top of one another]

Papa Smurf: **Thank you Clumsy, I think**. [Getting up from floor]

Clumsy: What’s going on?

Papa Smurf: I just **conjured up** a magic stick from an ancient formula that I borrowed from Homnibus.

Translation of “Le Baton Enchanté”

Maladroit: I’m almost there [Carrying a basket] and I have succeeded in not dropping a single schtroumpfie (berries) [laughs]. What is happening here? [explosion comes out of window, schtroumpf and berries fall on ground]

Grand Schtroumpf: [incantations over a stick] Now that you are covered in schtroumpf dust, schtroumpf yourself into an enchanted stick.

I succeeded, I succeeded! [stick jumps around] I **schtroumpfed** an enchanted stick! Hey, where are you going? Stay magic stick, stay!

Maladroit: Oh my Schtroumpfness, Grand Schtroumpf needs my help! Hold it Grand Schtroumpf, I’m here!

Grand Schtroumpf: Got ya!

Maladroit: Here I am Grand Schtroumpf! [Falling on top of one another]

Grand Schtroumpf: **Thank you Maladroit, thank you**. [Getting up from floor]

Maladroit: What’s going on?

Grand Schtroumpf: I just **schtroumpfed** up a magic stick from an ancient formula that I borrowed from Homnibus.

Clumsy: A magic stick? But what can it do?

Papa Smurf: It can return everything to its previous state.

Clumsy: Huh?

Papa Smurf: Just watch. All you have to do is point the stick and say "Smurf up".

Clumsy: Golly Smurfawillickers Papa, everything is just like it was before!

Papa: Exactly, and not only that, but the magic stick can make things disappear! All you do is touch something and say "Smurf away" [Taps a barrel]

Clumsy: Oh my god [big flash, then barrel is up side down over Clumsy's head] Papa, Papa, where are you, did you smurf away too?

Papa: Sorry Clumsy, that's the only problem with making things disappear - you never know where they're going to reappear again! It's a little detail I need to work on. Imagine all the tasks this stick can smurf for us. For right now, I'll put the stick in this closet. For safe keeping. [Puts stick in closet. Screen closes].

Now I must visit Homnibus, I promised him I'd return his formula as soon as possible, would you like to come along? [Leaves the house]

Maladroit: A magic stick? But what can it do?

Grand Schtroumpf: It can return everything to its previous state. Here, just look, all you have to do is point the stick and say "Schtroumpf this".

Maladroit: [Similar expression in French] Grand Schtroumpf, everything is returned exactly as it was!

Grand Schtroumpf: Exactly, and not only that, but the magic stick can make things disappear! All you need to do is tap something and say 'Schtroumpf over hear' (par ici) [Taps a barrel]

Maladroit: Oh my god [big flash, then barrel is up side down over Maladroit's head] Grand Schtroumpf, Grand Schtroumpf, where are you, did you schtroumpf-disappear me too?

Grand Schtroumpf: Sorry Maladroit, that's the only problem with making things disappear - you never know where they're going to reappear again! It's a little detail I need to solve. Imagine all the work this stick can schtroumpf for us. For the moment, it would be best is I put the stick in this closet. Safely. [Puts stick in closet. Screen closes].

Now I need to visit Homnibus, I promised him I'd return his formula as fast as possible, Are you coming with me? [Leaves the house]

Clumsy: Uh... I'd like to Papa, but I've got to clean up this mess!

Papa: Yes Clumsy that looks like a big job!

Clumsy: I know, I know - H'mnnn... I bet I can clean this mess up in no time if I used papa's magic stick! Say, Papa Smurf!?! [Papa leaves]. Oh shucks, he's gone. Well, I'm sure Papa wouldn't mind if I used his magic stick [walks into the house again]. Will he? NOOO Do you think? NOOO I bet you he wouldn't mind at all! [Laughs] Shucks, what are magic sticks for?! [laughs, opens door to closet, closet's contents fall all over him] Wrong closet! [walks to another door] This must be the right closet - I hope [opens door, sees the stick]. Ahhh, the magic stick... Now, what was it, [by the other closet door, with things all over the floor] smurf back, smurf in, smurf out - no, it was up - SMURF UP! [touches the stick on things on floor - all the things go back in closet]

Wow! Gosh this is **great!** [Goes outside.] I hope it works as well with the smurf berries! SMURF UP [explosion]. Wow, I did it. With this stick I'll never be clumsy again! I know I should put the stick back in Papa's closet. But I just gotta show it to every smurf, I just gotta!

[Brainy and Smurfette walking, with

Maladroit: I'd like to Grand Schtroumpf, but I've got to clean up all this!

Grand Schtroumpf: Yes, I think it will take you some time.

Maladroit: I know, I know - [thinks] I bet I can clean this mess up in no time if I used Grand Schtroumpf's magic stick! Say, Grand Schtroumpf!?! [Grand Schtroumpf leaves]. Oh, he's gone, I'm sure Grand Schtroumpf would allow me to use his magic stick [walks into the house again]. Will he? Oh yes. Do you think? But Yes. I'm sure Grand Schtroumpf would allow me to use it [Laughs] Oh well, what else are magic sticks made for...[laughs, opens door to closet, closet's contents fall all over him] Oh my! This is not the right closet. [walks to another door] This must be the right closet, I hope [opens door, there's the stick]. Ahhh, the magic stick... Now, what do you say [by the first closet door, with things all over the floor] schtroumpf in front, schtroumpf here - no, it was this - Schtroumpf THIS! [touches the stick on things on floor - all the things go back in closet]

Oh this is **schtroumpf!** [Goes outside.] I hope it works as well with the schtroumpfies! Schtroumpf THIS [explosion]. Wow! It worked! With this stick I'll never be clumsy again! I know I should put the stick back in Grand Schtroumpf's closet. But I just gotta show it to all the schtroumpfs in **schtroumpfland!**

[Schtroumpf à Lunettes and

heavy baskets:]

Brainy [grumpy]: Oh boy, this basket just get heavier with every step I smurf.

Clumsy: Hey Brainy, Smurfette,

Smurfette: What is it Clumsy?

Clumsy: Look what I've got?!

Brainy: You stopped us to look at a stick?! Come on Smurfette!

Clumsy: But Brainy, this is Papa's magic stick!

Brainy: Clumsy, Papa doesn't have a magic stick, only Homnibus has a magic stick [walking away from Clumsy].

Clumsy: But now Papa has one too, Brainy, and it can do great things. It can make things disappear, just by saying Smurf away [big flash, bridge they're crossing disappears, smurfs fall in water].

Brainy: I guess Papa does have a magic stick.

Smurfette: **Oh Clumsy, what a mess!**

Clumsy: Oh gosh, I'm sorry.. Oh my gosh, the stick, I dropped it in the stream. I've lost Papa's magic stick! Oh gosh, Smurfette, what am I gonna tell Papa? [walking up the bank]

Schtroumpfette walking, with heavy baskets:]

Schtroumpf à Lunettes [grumpy]: Its terrible! This basket gets heavier and heavier with every step we schtroumpf.

Maladroit: Heeey!

Schtroumpfette: What's happening?

Maladroit: Look what I have!

Schtroumpf à Lunettes: You're stopping us to show us a stick! Come Schtroumpfette.

Maladroit: But Schtroumpf à Lunettes, this is Grand Schtroumpf's magic stick!

Schtroumpf à Lunettes: Grand Schtroumpf doesn't have a magic stick, only Homnibus has one [walking away from Maladroit].

Maladroit: But now Grand Schtroumpf has one too, Schtroumpf à Lunettes, and it can do lots of things. It can make things disappear, just by saying Schtroumpf away [big flash, bridge they're crossing disappears, schtroumpfs fall in water].

Schtroumpf à Lunettes: I guess Grand Schtroumpf does have a magic stick.

Schtroumpfette: **Oh Maladroit, I can't believe you!**

Maladroit: Oh I'm sorry Schtroumpfette, I didn't mean it! The stream has taken the magic stick away! I've lost Grand Schtroumpf's magic stick! Schtroumpfette, what am I going

Smurfette: Just tell him what happened Clumsy.

Clumsy: But he doesn't even know I took it.

Smurfette: Hey, Clumsy, look what I found [stick sticks out of the water]. Could this be Papa's magic stick?

Clumsy: Yup, yup, that's it all right!

Brainy: Clumsy smurf, you had better get that back to Papa as soon as possible.

Clumsy: I sure had.

Brainy: And remember what Papa always says [Clumsy and Smurfette running off to Papa's]

Clumsy: Yuh, yuh. I sure do. Bye!

Brainy: Hey wait, I haven't finished yet.

[Vanity walks along riverbank with mirror in hand] La, la, la... say, there's nothing like an outing to tone up one's skin [stumbles, falls in mud hole]. Well what have we here? A walking stick! [picks up stick from the water near shore] Hi diddly-dee, a walking stick for me! [flings stick in the air] Oh my great good luck! Oh what an entrance I'll make [looks at self in

to tell Grand Schtroumpf? [walking up the bank]

Schtroumpfette: Just tell him what happened, Maladroit.

Maladroit: But he doesn't even know I schtroumpfed it.

Schtroumpfette: Hey, Maladroit, look what I found [stick sticks out of the water]. It is perhaps Grand Schtroumpf's magic stick?

Maladroit: Yes, yes. I'm sure that's it.

Schtroumpf à Lunettes: Maladroit schtroumpf, you better give it back to Grand Schtroumpf as soon as possible.

Maladroit: Yea, I'm sure I better...

Schtroumpf à Lunettes: And remember what Grand Schtroumpf always says... [Maladroit and Schtroumpfette running off to Grand Schtroumpf's]

Maladroit: Yea, yea I won't forget. Bye

Schtroumpf à Lunettes: Hey wait, I haven't finished yet.

[Schtroumpf Coquet walks along riverbank with mirror in hand] La, la, la...II think there's nothing like fresh air to improve my skin tone. [stumbles, falls in mud hole]. But look! Well what is this? Its a schtroumpfy stick! [picks up stick from the water near shore] What luck! [flings stick in the air] I'll make a prestigious entrance! I'll be able to use it as a walking stick

reflection of water, has mud in face]
 Hmm, perhaps I'd better return home
 first and smurf up. [stick lights up,
 makes him clean] **Great Smurf**, I'm
 clean again! How in the **world**?
 Whatever the reason, at least I can
 continue on without worrying about
 how I look.

Clumsy: [back at Papa's house] Papa
 Smurf, Papa Smurf.. Oh good, he's not
 home. Gotta return Papa's magic stick
 before he gets back [opens door to
 closet, things fall all over him] Wrong
 closet again. No problem, all I have to
 do is say 'smurf up'. I said, smurf up. I
 said SMURF UP [nothing happens,
 clumsy is getting angry]. I don't
 understand, it worked before. It doesn't
 make sense...

[Papa Smurf is on his way home.]

Clumsy: ...unless this stick isn't the
 real stick.. Oh my gosh.. Papa Smurf's
 back.. ah, ah... [Papa is now on the way
 into the house] no time to think..
 [hurries up and gets stuff back in
 closet] Oh... I better hurry! [puts stick
 in its closet, then Papa enters the
 house]. [Crash, Papa goes over to the
 window where Clumsy tipped over
 basket of berries in attempt to get out
 of house through window]

Papa: What was that? Clumsy Smurf,
 haven't you cleaned up that mess yet?

in my old days. [looks at self in
 reflection of water, has mud in face]
 Hmm, perhaps I better return home
 first and schtroumpf this. [stick lights
 up, makes him clean] **Nom d'un
 Schtroumpf!** I'm clean again! What a
schtroumpf! Whatever the reason, at
 least I can continue on without
 worrying about my good looks.

Maladroit: [back at Grand Schtroumpf's
 house] Grand Schtroumpf, Grand
 Schtroumpf.. Oh good, he's not home.
 Gotta return Grand Schtroumpf's magic
 stick before he gets back [opens door
 to closet, things fall all over him]
 Wrong closet again. No problem, all I
 have to do is say "schtroumpf this" But
 I said, "schtroumpf this". I said
 Schtroumpf THIS [nothing happens,
 clumsy is getting angry]. I don't
 understand, it worked well before.

[Grand Schtroumpf is on his way
 home.]

Maladroit: It's not possible, its not
 possible... unless this stick isn't the real
 stick.. Oh my god.. Grand Schtroumpf's
 back.. ah, ah... [Grand Schtroumpf is
 now on the way into the house] No
 time to think! [hurries up and gets stuff
 back in closet] I have to be quick!
 [puts stick in its closet, then Grand
 Schtroumpf enters the house]. [Crash,
 Grand Schtroumpf goes over to the
 window where Maladroit has tipped
 over basket of berries in attempt to get
 out of house through window]

Grand Schtroumpf: What the..
 Maladroit schtroumpf, haven't you
 finished that yet?

Clumsy: Uh... Yes Papa... Uh, I mean, No Papa..., I'll smurf to it right now.

Papa: Good.

Clumsy: Oh, that was **close** [wipes sweat off forehead]. [Screes blacks out]

Painter: How do you like it?

Vanity: What is it, painter?

Painter: What do you mean, what is it? [painter angry] It's my latest masterpiece! [painting of two smurfs, looking at Smurfette adoringly]. I call it - **Smurfette on the halfshell.**

Vanity: Not bad Painter, but don't you think that a better subject would have been Vanity on the half shell?

Painter: Vanity on the half-shell?! [angry] It is wrong, impossible!

Vanity: Alright, alright. It was just an idea I thought I'd smurf up! [explosion occurs]

Painter: **Sacre blue-green!** My painting she is gone [look at canvas]. Oh! The canvas is clean. What have you done Vanity?!

Vanity: I didn't do anything.

Maladroit: Yes Grand Schtroumpf... Uh, No Uh... I'll schtroumpf it right now.

Grand Schtroumpf: Very good.

Maladroit: Oh, that was **schtroumpf!** [wipes sweat off forehead]. [Screen blacks out]

Painter: Does it please you?

Schtroumpf Coquet: Yes, but What is it?

Painter: How can you say what is it? How can you say what is it? [painter angry] It's my latest masterpiece! [painting of 2 schtroumpfs, looking at Schtroumpfette adoringly]. I call it - **Schtroumpfette Coquille Saint Jacques.**

Schtroumpf Coquet: Um... not that you've got nothing there, but don't you think that a schtroumpfier subject would have been Schtroumpf Coquet on the half- shell?

Painter: Schtroumpf Coquet on the half-shell?! [angry] But no, it is impossible!

Schtroumpf Coquet: No? OK. It was just something I said. I could have said schtroumpf this! [explosion occurs]

Painter: **Par tout le Schtroumpf!** My artwork has disappeared! [look at canvas]. The canvas is virgin again. What have you schtroumpfed?

Schtroumpf Coquet: I didn't do

Painter: Well, someone did something!
My painting, she's gone. And it took
me so long to paint it. What am I going
to do?.. [cries, walks away]

Vanity: How strange [looks at canvas].
I wonder if the stick had anything to do
with it... No, ridiculous!

[Brainy and Hefty at smurfberry patch
with many other smurfs picking berries
when giant comes]

Big Mouth: Yum, yum, smurfberries.
Big Mouth loves smurf berries! [Sits
down].

All Smurfs: Big Mouth!

Brainy: He's gonna eat the whole crop!
Stop him!

Hefty: YOU stop him!

Smurfette: Go get Papa, he'll know
what to do.

[Brainy and Hefty meet Clumsy at
Papa's house who have just cleaned up
all the berries and put in his basket,
other smurfs bump him, and berries fall
out again]

Brainy and Hefty: Papa Smurf! Papa
Smurf!

anything.

Painter: Nevertheless, someone did
something! My artwork, it has
disappeared. It took me such an effort
to paint it. What have I done? [to
deserve this] [cries, walks away]

Schtroumpf Coquet: Hmmnnn... This is
very bizarre [looks at canvas]. I wonder
if the stick had anything to do with it
by chance...No, it's impossible!

Schtroumpf à Lunettes [in forest, with
many other schtroumpfs picking berries
when giant comes and says:]

Grosse Bouche: Yam, yam,
schtroumpfies. Grosse Bouche is very
hungry! [Sits down to eat].

All Schtroumpfs: Grosse Bouche!
Grosse Bouche!

Schtroumpf à Lunettes: He's going to
eat all our crop!

Schtroumpf Costaud: We'll have to stop
him!

Schtroumpfette: Go get Grand
Schtroumpf, he'll know what to do.

[Schtroumpf à Lunettes and Schtroumpf
Costaud meet Maladroit at Grand
Schtroumpf's house who have just
cleaned up all the berries and put in his
basket, other schtroumpfs bump him,
and berries fall out again]

Schtroumpf à Lunettes and Schtroumpf
Costaud: Grand Schtroumpf! Grand

Papa: What's wrong?

Hefty: Big Mouth's eating our smunberry crop. And if we don't stop him, there'll be nothing left!

Brainy: What can we do Papa Smurf?

Papa: I know, I'll use the magic stick.

Clumsy: The magic stick?!

Brainy: Of course Hefty, the magic stick.

Papa [with stick in hand]: Follow me!

Clumsy: But wait, Papa Smurf, are you sure you should use the magic stick? Maybe there's another way to make Big Mouth go away.

Papa: There's no time to spare Clumsy, come on!

Clumsy: But Papa, Papa...

[At Handy's house, Vanity appears]

Handy: There, almost finished now [making a contraption]

Vanity: Handy, I've been looking all

Schtroumpf!

Grand Schtroumpf: What have we here?

Schtroumpf Costaud: Grosse Bouche is eating all our schtroumpfies crop. And if we don't stop him quickly, there'll be nothing left!

Schtroumpf à Lunettes: What can we do Grand Schtroumpf?

Grand Schtroumpf: I know, I'll use the magic stick.

Maladroit: The magic stick? (With small voice)

Schtroumpf à Lunettes: Well of course, Grand Schtroumpf, the magic stick.

Grand Schtroumpf [with stick in hand]: Follow me!

Maladroit: But wait Grand Schtroumpf! Do you really want to use the magic stick? There is perhaps another way to chase Grosse Bouche away.

Grand Schtroumpf: There's no schtroumpf to loose. Let's go!

Maladroit: But Grand Schtroumpf, Grand Schtroumpf...

[At Schtroumpf Bricoleur's house, Schtroumpf Coquet appears]

Schtroumpf Bricoleur: There, I'm almost finished [making a contraption]

Schtroumpf Coquet: Schtroumpf

over for you. I'd like you to take a look at this stick that I found - it's behaving very strangely.

Handy: I can't right now Vanity, I've got to finish my new smurfberry dough-making machine. Come back later. Now, where did I put that ratchet...

Vanity: A smurfberry dough-making machine. I wonder how much smurfberry bread it can smurf up... [explosion]

Handy: WHAT? What happened? You wrecked my great invention!

Vanity: It's not my fault, it's this stick!

Handy: The stick, the STICK! [Vanity flies through the air, lands next to another smurf]

Greedy: Vanity, you almost made me drop my fire wood!

Vanity: Here, add this to your firewood. It has been **nothing but trouble for me.**

[At the scene where Big Mouth is]

Smurfette: Oh Papa, Big Mouth hasn't stopped eating since he got here.

Papa: Don't worry Smurfette, my

Bricoleur, I've been looking for you everywhere my dear. I'd like you to take a look at this stick that I found - it's behaviour is altogether bizarre.

Schtroumpf Bricoleur: But I can't do it right now. I have to finish my new schtroumpfies pressing machine. Come back later, OK? Now, where did I put that ratchet...

Schtroumpf Coquet: Its a new schtroumpfies pressing machine. I wonder how he manages to schtroumpf this... [explosion]

Schtroumpf Bricoleur: WHAT? What happened? You destroyed my great invention!

Schtroumpf Coquet: No, no! It wasn't my fault, it's the stick that did it!

Schtroumpf Bricoleur: The stick. The stick! [Schtroumpf Coquet flies through the air, lands next to another schtroumpf]

Schtroumpf Gourmand: Schtroumpf Coquet, you almost made me drop my fire wood!

Schtroumpf Coquet: Here, put this with the rest **I've had nothing but trouble for me since I schtroumpfed it.**

[At the scene where Grosse Bouche is]

Schtroumpfette: Oh Grand Schtroumpf, Grosse Bouche hasn't stopped eating since he got here.

Grand Schtroumpf: Don't worry

magic stick will make him disappear
[walks towards Big Mouth].

Clumsy: But Papa! I, I don't think
that... I, I mean oh oh...

Papa: [next to Big Mouth] Big Mouth,
smurf away! [Hits Big Mouth with
stick]

Big Mouth: Ow! Why you hit Big
mouth on toe? [throws Papa to where
others are Papa screams]

Vanity [just arriving]: What in the
world is going on Hefty?

Hefty: Papa Smurf just tried to get rid
of Big Mouth with a stick.

Vanity: With a what? Are you alright
Papa Smurf [helps Papa up]

Papa: I'm fine. I just don't understand
what went wrong with my magic stick!

Clumsy: Uh... I do Papa [hands in front
of face]

Papa: Well, speak up.

Clumsy: I'm sorry Papa Smurf, but I
needed the stick to pick up the smurf
berries, then it fell in the stream, but I
didn't know that it wasn't the real
stick, and..

Papa: Clumsy, what happened to the
magic stick?

Schtroumpfette, my magic stick will
make him disappear [walks towards
Grosse Bouche].

Maladroit: But Grand Schtroumpf! I, I
don't think so... I mean...

Grand Schtroumpf [next to Grosse
Bouche]: Grosse Bouche, schtroumpf
away! [Hits Grosse Bouche with stick]

Grosse Bouche: Ouch, Why did you hit
me on the foot like that? [throws Grand
Schtroumpf to where others are]

Schtroumpf Coquet [just arriving]: But
what is going on Schtroumpf Costaud?

Schtroumpf Costaud: Grand Schtroumpf
just tried to get rid of Grosse Bouche
with a stick.

Schtroumpf Coquet: With a what? But
you're crazy Grand Schtroumpf [helps
Grand Schtroumpf up]

Grand Schtroumpf: I'm just fine. I just
don't understand what went wrong with
my magic stick!

Maladroit: Uh, uh. I know, Grand
Schtroumpf [hands in front of face]

Grand Schtroumpf: Well, speak up.

Maladroit: Well I'm sorry Grand
Schtroumpf, but I needed the stick to
pick up the schtroumpfies, then I let it
fall in the stream and I didn't know
that it wasn't the real stick, and..

Grand Schtroumpf: Maladroit, what
happened to the real magic stick?

Clumsy: It must have floated down stream.

Papa: You should have told me immediately! But right now we have to find the real magic stick! [Big Mouth keeps on eating]

Vanity: Gee Papa Smurf, today I found a stick at the stream that looked exactly like the one you're holding and it made a strange noise, kind of a twang..

Papa: Where is it now Vanity?

Vanity: I gave it to Greedy for firewood.

Papa: Firewood?! We must hurry. I smurf we're not too late!

Greedy: Oh smurfberry soufflé, my favourite! [smurfs barge in]

Papa: Greedy! [Greedy drops soufflé on floor, screams]

Papa: Greedy, what did you do with the firewood you collected this morning?

Greedy: I made it to bake my soufflé, ohhh my poor soufflé [cries]

Papa: I'm afraid it's gone.

Brainy: What are we going to do now?

Maladroit: The stream must have carried it away.

Grand Schtroumpf: Maladroit, you should have told me immediately! We need to find the real magic stick as soon as possible! [Grosse Bouche keeps on eating]

Schtroumpf Coquet: Grand Schtroumpf, today I found a stick at the stream that looked exactly like the one have. And it made a strange noise.... Uh... it's difficult to say exactly....

Grand Schtroumpf: Where is it now Schtroumpf Coquet?

Schtroumpf Coquet: I gave it to Schtroumpf Gourmand for fire wood.

Grand Schtroumpf: Firewood?! We must hurry, **before we are schtroumpfed!**

Schtroumpf Gourmand: Oh my schtroumpfies soufflé! Its what I really like! [schtroumpfs barge in] Schtroumpf Gourmand! [Schtroumpf Gourmand drops soufflé on floor, screams]

Grand Schtroumpf: Schtroumpf Gourmand, what did you do with the firewood you gathered this morning?

Schtroumpf Gourmand: I burned it to make my soufflé, ohhh my poor soufflé [cries]

Grand Schtroumpf: I think it was with them (that wood).

Schtroumpf à Lunettes: But what are

Clumsy [by a wood pile]: Papa Smurf, look what I've found, it's the magic stick!

Papa: It looks like the magic stick

Greedy: Oh that, you're welcome to it Papa Smurf, it is much too big for my stove!

Papa: There's only one way to tell. [taps the stick on floor next to soufflé] Smurf up!

Greedy: My soufflé! [all back together in baking tray]

Papa: My magic stick! We must hurry back to the smurf berry patch - if there still is a smurf berry patch!

[At the berry patch...]

Smurfette: Oh Big Mouth, you big glutton, why don't you eat somewhere else?

Big Mouth: Oh yummy, Big Mouth loves smurf berries!

Papa: Smurfette, I hope we're not too late.

Smurfette: Almost Papa, Big Mouth's about to eat our last smurf berry bush.

Papa: Then there is not a moment to

we going to do now?

Maladroit [by a wood pile]: Grand Schtroumpf, look what I've found! This looks like it!

Grand Schtroumpf: Yes, it looks like the magic stick!

Schtroumpf Gourmand: Oh that, you're welcome to it Grand Schtroumpf, it is too big for my stove!

Grand Schtroumpf: There's only one way to find out. [taps the stick on floor next to soufflé] Schtroumpf this!

Schtroumpf Gourmand: My soufflé! [all back together in baking tray]

Grand Schtroumpf: My magic stick! Now we must return to the schtroumpfies patch to see if there's anything left to save!

[At the berry patch...]

Schtroumpfette: Oh Grosse Bouche, you big glutton, why don't you eat somewhere else.

Grosse Bouche: Yum, yum! Grosse Bouche is happy with this!

Grand Schtroumpf: Schtroumpfette, I hope it's not too late.

Schtroumpfette: Almost Grand Schtroumpf, Grosse Bouche is about to stuff himself with our last schtroumpfies.

Grand Schtroumpf: Then there is not a

loose! Big Mouth, Smurf away!
[explosion].

Brainy: Gee, I wonder where he went?
[Big Mouth hanging over a branch in a tree nearby]

Big Mouth: Huh? [branch breaks, Big Mouth falls to ground, sits up, crab apples fall all around him] Hmmm, crab apples! Big Mouth loves crab apples!

[Gathering of all the smurfs with Papa talking]

Papa: And so my fellow smurfs, in order to prevent the magic stick from accidentally going into innocent hands, I've decided to give it to Homnibus for safe keeping.

Brainy: But Papa Smurf, I'd be happy to keep it for you.

Papa: I don't know Brainy...

Brainy: [holds stick] Oh, I assure you Papa, that with the stick in my hand, all your worries will smurf away! [explosion, papa disappears] Papa Smurf!

Papa [from top of the chimney]:
Brainy! Look what you've done!

Brainy: Like you said Papa Smurf, let's get rid of this thing!

minute to loose! Grosse Bouche, Schtroumpf away! [explosion].

Schtroumpf à Lunettes: I wonder where he went? [Grosse Bouche hanging over a branch in a tree nearby]

Grosse Bouche: Huh? [branch breaks, Grosse Bouche falls to ground, sits up, crab apples fall all around him] Hmmm (oyez), apples! Grosse Bouche loves apples!

[Gathering of all the schtroumpfs with Grand Schtroumpf talking]

Grand Schtroumpf: And so my fellow schtroumpfs, in order to prevent the magic stick from accidentally going into clumsy hands, I've decided to give it to Homnibus, for safe keeping.

Schtroumpf à Lunettes: But Grand Schtroumpf, I'd be happy to watch it for you.

Grand Schtroumpf: I don't know Schtroumpf à Lunettes...

Schtroumpf à Lunettes: [holds stick] But Grand Schtroumpf, if you have a problem, I would come running with the stick, crying, schtroumpf away! [explosion, Grand Schtroumpf disappears] Grand Schtroumpf!

Grand Schtroumpf [from top of the chimney]: **Schtroumpf à Lunettes. What am I doing on this chimney?**

Schtroumpf à Lunettes: You'll never be able to pass for a stork! [laughter].

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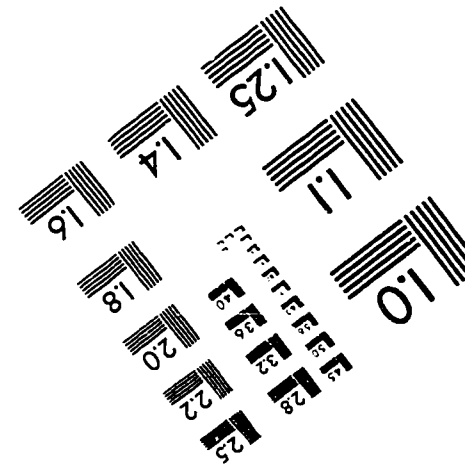
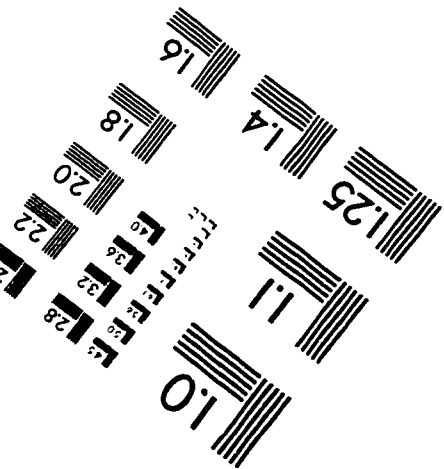
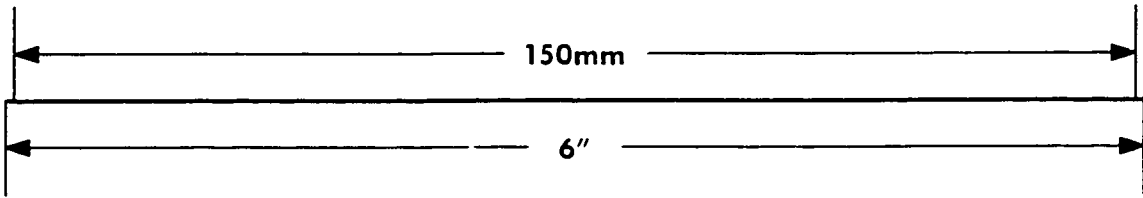
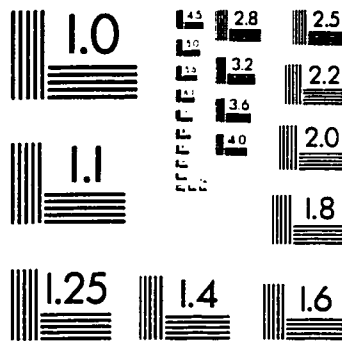
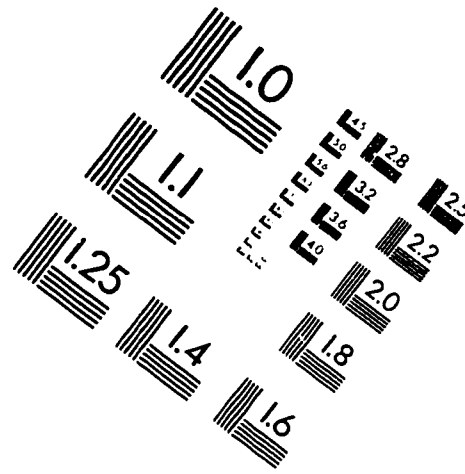
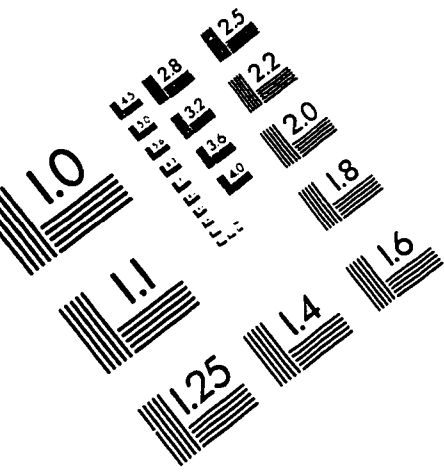
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