

Existe espaço para as crianças na televisão! A presença da programação infantil na TV aberta mundial

There is enough space for children on television! The presence of children shows in worldwide broadcast TV

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Resumo: *Este trabalho objetiva compreender o lugar que a programação infantil ocupa na TV aberta considerando o papel das grades de programação na estruturação dos conteúdos televisivos. Nosso argumento tem em vista que: 1) as grades são fundamentais para compreensão das práticas de veiculação e consumo da TV contemporânea; e 2) a partir da análise das grades é possível compreender diversos fenômenos relacionados à programação infantil. A proposta é investigar a presença desse conteúdo na televisão aberta considerando para isso um mapeamento realizado em grades de 16 países e 30 canais. A análise revela a ainda marcante presença dos produtos infantis na TV e enfatiza a importância de perceber as televisões em diálogo com contextos globais.*

Palavras-chave: *programação infantil; grade de TV; televisão aberta.*

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Abstract: *This paper aims to understand the place that children's TV shows occupy in broadcast TV considering the role of the schedule in the structure of television contents. Our main argument is that: 1) TV Schedules are fundamental elements for understanding the consumption practices of contemporary TV and 2) from the analysis of TV schedules, it is possible to understand a series of phenomena related to children's TV programming. Our proposition is to investigate the presence of children's TV content in the worldwide broadcast television by making a mapping which includes 16 countries and 30 TV channels. The global analysis reveals the strong presence of children's content on TV and the importance of perceiving local television in relation to global ones.*

Keywords: *children's programming; TV schedule; broadcasting TV.*

Introduction

The scheduling directed towards children follows broadcast television history in its core and has been developed in an ever-growing rhythm until early 2000's. In numberless cases, including Brazil, children schedules filled big parts of television schedules in broadcast TV to the point of creating specific television genres to attract children, such as TV shows and telenovelas for children. These shows arrived not only to fill many daily hours of schedule but also to form a big audience, which in many cases, created competitions for audience in different TV channels.

Nowadays, the scenario seems to be different. American broadcast TV, for instance, which helped consolidate television as a fruitful space of children media consumption (STABILE; HARRISON, 2003), do not show any content directed specifically towards children. In Brazil, Globo, a channel that for over 20 years dedicated all their weekday mornings to children shows (with shows such as *Balão Mágico*, *TV Colosso* and *Xou da Xuxa*), now does not have any regular show dedicated to children. Similarly, TV channels such as Band, Record, and RedeTV had a significant reduction of children shows throughout the last few years.⁴ It is true that there are, in the Brazilian and the American case, different paid channels exclusively created for younger audiences (Cartoon Network, Disney Channel, Discovery Kids, Gloob, Nickelodeon, etc.), however, it is important to consider that TV subscription is a still a product catered to the elite⁵. Streaming services such as Netflix are relevant, but if in the whole world that platform gathers 63 million subscribers outside the United States⁶, we can infer that it is a fairly incipient service in the global kids universe.

4 Between 2012 and 2016, according to annual reports of broadcast TV produced by Ancine, at the channel Band there was a decrease of the total annual of 5.08% of the programming destined to kids to 0.25%; at Record, there was a reduction from 2.98% to 0%; at Rede TV, the numbers changed from 2.95% to 0%.

5 Brazil has 17.7 million subscribers of subscription TV in a context where there are 67.3 million homes and over 102.6 million TV sets.

6 Data from 2018. Available at: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mercado/2018/04/netflix-atin-ge-1189-milhoes-de-assinantes.shtml>. Accessed in: Jan. 18th, 2019.

With these considerations in sight, this article intends to investigate the presence of children shows in Brazil commercial broadcast TV, but with a global focus, inserting the local television in a wider context in which it is perceived as one of the elements of a cultural process (CAREY, 1992) whose characteristics can help not only understand the phenomena from our television, but, complementing the known words of Williams (2016), especially understand television as a *global* cultural form. In this sense, how to measure the presence/absence of children content in Brazil's broadcast TV, taking into consideration the television in other parts of the world? To what extent the children schedule shown in televisions of different countries deal with local production? And in what way this production dialogues with imported products?

As we are aware that these are complex questions, whose answers go beyond the limits of an article, our proposition is to make an initial mapping of the children schedule found globally in broadcast TV, in a way of inserting the Brazilian case in a cultural process which, as such, cannot be understood in an isolated manner. To do so, we did an extensive analysis of the schedule of broadcast channels of 16 countries, highlighting especially: 1) the time dedicated to kids shows in each schedule; 2) the type of schedule (imported or local) and 3) which shows are broadcasted. This proposition requires that, primarily, we make a brief analysis related to the importance of kids shows as a unique element for the understanding of television as a cultural form so we can, then, analyze the researched schedules.

Children shows as a consequence of the programming schedule

The development of a kids schedule on television has a deep connection with the institution of a programming schedule since TV became popular, after World War II. At this time, children already were a group of interest for channels, which could be especially perceived in the American, British and also Brazilian television. In England, the first

television show for children was released in 1946 on BBC. *Muffin the Mule* was a little puppet in the shape of a mule that interacted with the show host Annette Mills. During the 1950's, BBC showed at least seven shows for kids, a great part being directed towards little children.⁷ Many were inspired in children theatre and had puppets, music and the participation of adults and children, which signalized a hegemonic look of the time that formatted the perception that children shows needed to be especially directed to early childhood.

In the United States context, between 1947 and 1963, channels broadcasted over 100 children shows (SHELBY JR., 1964, p. 247). Telecines⁸, and, later on, kinescopes⁹ allowed TV to offer a wide variety of children shows beyond game shows and theatre plays, like films and animations, even before the invention of the videotape. In this context, the first children's show in American television was *Movies for Small Fry Club*, released between 1947 and 1951 by the extinct DuMont Television Network. In this show, initially, they used to broadcast movies followed by a voiceover of the host Bob Emery (HOLZ, 2017). At that same period, NBC broadcasted *Howdy Doody*, led by Bob Smith with a puppet that gave name to the show. During this early stage of TV in the United States, NBC began broadcasting 14 weekly hours and CBS had 13 weekly hours of child programs (SHELBY JR., 1964)¹⁰ which shows us the significant presence of children in front of the screen, considering that the television schedule still didn't totalize the 24 hours of the day.

Little by little, the puppets and more theatrical shows were losing space and animation became hegemonic in American TV schedules. These products suffered a complex process of change in audience when

7 *Andy Pandy* (1950), *Sooty* (1952), *Bill and Ben the Flowerpot Men* (1952), *Watch with Mother* (1953), *The Woodentops* (1955), *Pinky and Perky* (1957) and *Blue Peter* (1958). Available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/are-you-sitting-comfortably-a-history-of-childrenstv-1335443.html>. Accessed in Feb 7th, 2019.

8 The telecines that captured film projections through cameras and, then, transformed optic images into electronic signals for broadcasting in television. (BALAN, 2012).

9 The kinescope was developed in 1947 by DuMont Laboratories and commercially released by Kodak; through it, it was possible to tape record images reproduced by the television (NANTES, 2018a).

10 That happened in 1956. Between late 1940's and 1950's, NBC expanded its children scheduling with other shows such as *Judy Splinters* (1949-1950) and *Kukla, Fran and Ollie* (1947-1957).

they migrated from cinema to the schedule of broadcast TV channels. When they were only shown in the cinema, in the beginning of the 20th century, cartoons were socially perceived as short-films and had the main goal to entertain adults, while they were waiting for the main film to begin. These short films, then, were acquired by the first broadcast TV channels in the United States and began to compose the schedule when these channels were still defining their space (MITTELL, 2003; STABILE; HARRYSSON, 2003). In a short amount of time, TV channels perceived that cartoons had a special appeal to children, an audience that: 1) wasn't bothered by the repetition of content and 2) watched television in different hours from their parents, motivating the television presence in the domestic environment beyond the adult's time of leisure.

To explore this content in an efficient manner, considering the child audience, TV channels started to broadcast animated "short films" in a sequence, in addition to choosing to release them in the time of day in which children would be supposedly disposed to consume television content. This movement was responsible especially for two phenomena related to the cultural institution of television: on one hand, animated short films – which included products such as *Betty Boop*, *Felix the Cat*, *Woody Woodpecker*, *Popeye* and *Tom and Jerry* – were no longer perceived as short-films for adults, but as cartoons for kids. The same content, therefore, changed its audience by modifying the media platform and dynamic of exhibition. On the other hand, the need to agglutinate cartoons in determined time slots throughout the day helped evidence, along with TV channels, the need to think the television uses through a program schedule. With that, while in the United States and in the United Kingdom, this phenomenon took cartoons to Saturday morning and late afternoon, in Brazil, cartoons were mainly instituted in different schedules in the morning, from Monday to Saturday. More than a simple business approach, this choice has relation with cultural elements, related to the routine of urban children in each context. For instance, while in the United States and in the United Kingdom children had a

school day (therefore, away from the television) beginning in the morning and ending mid-afternoon, in Brazil, until the 1990's, the school day would happen only in one shift (morning or afternoon), and supposedly children would tend to study in the afternoon.

The perception that cartoons were “kid stuff” (MITCHELL, 1995) was already culturally instituted in September 30th, 1960, when *The Flintstones* got released on ABC. Unlike all cartoons shown on television until then in the United States, this process was thought to be broadcast on prime time of that country, Friday, 8:30 P.M. (BOOKER, 2006). Much due to the place they filled in the schedule, *The Flintstones* were not considered a *television cartoon*, but a *sitcom*, which, as such, competed with *live action* shows that were broadcast simultaneously in other channels. The time of day designated to this show allowed it to: 1) develop a narrative closer to the structured series than the cartoons that were popular in other schedules; and 2) deal with themes more linked to the adult taste, with comprised even the merchandising of a cigarette brand. Until the second season (from a total of six) every episode of *The Flintstones* ended with an image of the lead characters Fred and Wilma sharing cigarettes in a moment of relaxation, in a typical behavior socially linked to the adult universe.

In Brazil, the insertion of kids shows in the schedule happened through variety shows, in a direct influence from radio, and in a very precocious manner: in 1915, TV channel Tupi released *Gurilândia*, a children talent show. The presence of hosts and audiences became, in the 1960's, the main television reference for children, gaining specific outlines that slipped into broadcast television until late 1990's. These shows instituted some exhaustedly replicated patterns, such as the presence of children in the audience, playful scenarios, doing activities and offering prizes (SILVA, 2017). Under these templates, shows led by men like *Capitão Furacão* arrived in 1965 on Globo and *Capitão Aza* in 1966 on Tupi. From the 1980's onward, women hosts stood out, such as Angélica, Eliana, Mara Maravilha and, especially, Xuxa, whose show

*Xou da Xuxa*¹¹ used to be broadcast on mornings at Globo from 1986 to 1992 and had even five daily hours, from Monday to Saturday (BORGES; ARREGUY; SOUZA, 2012).

We risk saying that the huge popularization that children variety shows hit on Brazilian TV channels might be greatly responsible for the hegemony that imported cartoons had in schedules. This show template was fairly lucrative, because only one TV host (surrounded by a small group of dancers, people in costumes, etc.) would interact with children in the audience for a few minutes; then, they would give space for the exhibition of cartoons. These were usually bought from Disney, Hanna-Barbera and Japanese production companies, which then sold *animes* and *tokatus* with an attractive price. These products were tirelessly rebroadcast throughout decades, even when they changed the TV host, instituting even a culture of re-runs (KOMPARE, 2004) destined to the child audience still not as understood to television study specialists. In this context, on one hand, the hosts would capture children's attention in a *transmedia* universe – making use of different platforms for promotion (GOSCIOLA, 2014, p. 9) – extrapolating television through disks, live shows, films and all kinds of licensed products. On another hand, these channels would invest a lot into a popular TV host, but would tirelessly exploit the same cartoons, a lot of times acquired with low costs, for years in a row.

In this sense, the late 1990's had instituted a model of children shows in Brazil that would had the following patterns: a playful presentation performed in live action (which could be led by men, such as Sérgio Mallandro, women, such as Xuxa, children, such as in *Disney Club* and even people dressed up in animal costumes, as in *TV Colosso*), intersected by cartoons. This model dominated big slots of the television scheduling of broadcast television and helped consolidate the

11 The success of the show yielded versions for other countries also recorded by the presenter, such as *El show de Xuxa*, broadcast in 1991 in 17 countries in Latin America by the Argentinian channel Telefe, and *Xuxa*, broadcast in 1993 in 100 American channels, which covered the incredible mark of 85% of that countries territory.

Brazilian broadcast television as a fundamental space of children media consumption.

Presence of children shows around the world

Even though we are still lacking more dedicated studies to the Brazilian children shows in broadcast TV, there are some diagnostics that say that, currently, this content is apparently scarce. Some researches point towards the expressive raise of subscription channels specialized in children shows (HOLZBACH, 2018) and the reduction of funds destined to child publicity, which would have led to the change in focus of the audience in time schedules of channels (GAMBARO; BECKER, 2016; SILVA, 2017). In addition to that, the television schedule coexists with the arrival of technologic innovations and digital platforms, which present other challenges for the television field (NANTES, 2018b, p. 6) and which would be pulverizing children media consumption.

However, we understand that these facts indicate important reconfigurations of child schedule in television, but do not prove that this content is disappearing. That is because when we observe other contexts in a compared perspective, the observation on the Brazilian TV is complexified. Thus, for example, a quick research on television schedules in the United States show that their biggest broadcast channels, NBC and CBS, which in other times destined many hours to child schedules, entirely eliminated this product from their schedule, in a much bigger proportion than what happens in Brazil. And that is considering that this country lives for 40 years with a solid market of TV subscription and was more precocious in the multiplatform development. In other words, these two elements do not explain, alone, the contemporary changes in scheduling. Furthermore, the justifications for such changes in the child schedule do not count with the most important bond of this chain: the everyday practices of children. In this sense, it's interesting to have in mind that the child audience may be transforming their habits in such a way that certain channels cannot cater for their demands for media content. Children can be spontaneously abandoning these channels,

so much so that the reduction in these schedules for children shows would be a natural response to a new social practice, and not the other way around.

This article, although it does not intend to understand children's media practices, wants to diagnose the place of children schedules in broadcast television beyond the Brazilian case. That will allow us to insert the Brazilian television and children's schedule in a wider context, considering possible changes in the core of a cultural phenomenon, and not solely as something resulting from particular issues. Because of that, in the search for a global observation of children content in television schedules, we perform a mapping of broadcast television around the world, in a total of 16 countries and 30 channels, to know the place of children shows in these spaces. The channels we've analyzed were the following:

Table 1 - Countries and TV channels analyzed

País	Canais de TV analisados
África do Sul	e.tv
Alemanha	RTL
	SAT.1
Argentina	Eltrece
	Telefe
Austrália	Nine Network
	Seven Network
Brasil	Rede Globo
	SBT
Chile	Chilevisión
	Mega
China	TVB Jade (TVB)
Colômbia	Caracol
	RCN
Coréia do Sul	MBC
	SBS
Espanha	Antena 3
	Telecinco
Estados Unidos da América	CBS
	NBC
França	M6
	TF1
Hungria	RTL Klub
	TV2
Itália	Canale 5 (Mediaset)
	Itália 1 (Mediaset)
México	Canal de las Estrellas (Televisa)
	Azteca uno (TV Azteca)
Rússia	Canal 5
	CTC

Source: Created by the authors.

Methodologically, after we've selected the countries, we detained ourselves in two broadcast channels of a bigger audience of each place because we understand that leaves the analysis more consistent than analyzing only one channel, considering that in many channels, there

are a competitiveness between channels. We excluded, however, public television channels because we consider that they demand complementary discussions that did not fit into this article. Then, we collected television schedules from January 2nd to 8th, 2019, a neutral week that did not have big events that may interfere in the routine of these channels. The only exceptions to this period were Australia, China, United States and Italy, in which it was not possible to collect a retroactive material of the schedules, resulting in the analysis of the period from February 11th to 17th, 2019. The schedule was mainly collected in official websites of these channels and websites specialized in television.

The difficulty in finding a reliable material demanded us to exclude from the research previously selected channels, which especially comprised countries of the African and Asian continents. In fact, the ephemerid of the schedules which, in general, are only available for a couple of weeks – is certainly a fairly problematic element because it causes the systematic erasure of an unmeasurable register of television content throughout time. Even so, we try our best to find materials from all inhabited continents, balancing, as far as possible, our world map.

The first challenge we found was the definition of a “children show”. For this purpose, in addition to watching a wide variety of shows broadcasted in the schedules (normally through excerpts published on YouTube), it was necessary to search in websites and specialized critics to have a grasp of the objectives and the type of audience of these shows. This problem does not happen only in schedules of countries that are geographically and culturally distanced from Brazil, it was necessary to create criteria even for the Brazilian schedule. That happened, for instance, with the series *Chaves* and *Chapolin*, shown by SBT and other Latin American channels. We know that, although many times they are broadcast inside shows clearly geared towards and consumed by children, such as *Circo Patati Patatá*, these contents have a big adult audience. In addition to that, in the specific case of SBT, *Chaves* is commonly used to “fill holes” in the TV channel’s schedule, found in the most different times in different moments of the year, including the

Table 2 - Fragment of the table of data collection

Observação: as horas indicadas debaixo de uma emissora, pontuam a primeira e última emissões privadas do país.
 URL: <https://www.governo.br/pt-br/contato>, acesso em 29/05/2019

08/01/2019 (quarta-feira)		04/01/2019 (sexta-feira)		05/01/2019 (sábado)		06/01/2019 (domingo)		07/01/2019 (segunda-feira)		08/01/2019 (terça-feira)	
Horário	Programa	Horário	Programa	Horário	Programa	Horário	Programa	Horário	Programa	Horário	Programa
02:10	Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (retransmissão)	02:10	24 Leaky	02:30	24 Leaky	02:30	US Sync Battle	02:30	Canção Brasileira	02:30	Canção Brasileira
03:00	24 Leaky	03:00	US Sync Battle	03:20	US Sync Battle	02:35	SWW Reunited	02:40	Cool Cat Laboy	04:00	Misses
03:50	US Sync Battle	03:50	US Sync Battle	03:45	SWW Reunited	03:25	SWW Reunited	02:45	e-i-ent	04:50	e-i-ent
04:00	Cool Cat Laboy	04:00	SWW Reunited	04:30	SWW Reunited	04:30	SWW Reunited	02:55	Judge Judy	05:00	Just For Laughs: Gags
05:25	Judge Judy	05:00	Grassroots	e-i-ent	My Father's Son: Mosaiah Rapper	e-i-ent	Joseph Prince - New Creation	03:00	The Morning Show	05:00	The Morning Show
05:45	Power Penguin And His Partners... (sem anúncio)	05:30	Couples Court With the Cutlers	Cool Cat	Joseph Prince - New Creation	Cool Cat	Cherry TV	03:00	Morning News Today	05:00	Judge Judy
06:45	Just Wright	05:50	e-i-ent	06:05	Rocky Pig	06:00	Am Still Medicus	06:30	Quelco Ha!	06:25	e-i-ent
08:30	Quelco Ha! (retransmissão Indiana)	06:55	The Young Bunch Back To The Ice Free	06:35	Cool Cat	06:25	e-i-ent	08:30	In Plan Sight	08:30	Quelco Ha!
09:30	In Plan Sight	06:55	Making Mr. Right	06:50	PJ Mates	06:30	Family Fuel US	09:30	Days Of Our Lives	09:30	In Plan Sight
10:30	Quelco Ha!	07:00	Quelco Ha!	06:45	Jelly Jam	07:00	Grassroots	11:05	Infomercials	10:30	10:30 Days Of Lives
11:15	Infomercials	07:00	Days Of Our Lives	07:30	Worship, Lollipop/ Delinquent	07:30	Hilobs	11:20	Infomercials	11:20	Infomercials
11:20	Infomercials	11:15	Infomercials	08:00	Stashbox	08:02	Peeps Pig	11:30	Rhythm City	11:30	Rhythm City
11:30	Rhythm City	11:20	Infomercials	08:30	Ultimate Spoken Word	08:07	Cool Cat	12:00	Spacall	12:00	Spacall
12:00	Spacall (bolsa deopos - surdofona)	11:30	Rhythm City	08:30	Ultimate Spoken Word	08:30	Ultimate Spoken Word	12:30	Infomercials	12:30	Infomercials
12:30	Spacall (bolsa deopos - surdofona)	12:00	Rhythm City	09:00	Grassroots	08:30	Grassroots	13:00	Infomercials	13:00	Infomercials
13:00	e-i-ent	12:30	Infomercials	09:30	Grassroots	09:30	Grassroots	13:30	Infomercials	13:30	Infomercials
14:25	Infomercials	13:30	Steve Harvey	11:45	Infomercials	10:00	Rhythm City Omnibus	14:30	Peeps Pig	14:30	Peeps Pig
14:35	Cool Cat	13:30	Steve Harvey	12:10	Infomercials	11:50	Infomercials	14:35	Cool Cat	14:35	Cool Cat
15:00	Monopony The	14:30	Spacall (bolsa deopos - surdofona)	12:30	Infomercials	12:30	Infomercials	14:35	Cool Cat	14:35	Cool Cat
15:15	PJ Mates	14:35	Spacall (bolsa deopos - surdofona)	13:25	Family Time	13:00	Infomercials	15:00	Peeps Pig	15:00	Peeps Pig
15:30	Sub Struck	15:00	Family Fuel US	13:30	6Shocks	13:25	Infomercials	15:00	Peeps Pig	15:00	Peeps Pig
16:25	Just For Laughs: Gags	15:15	ALVINNI! and The Chipmunks	14:00	M. Bambi Holiday	13:15	Sheak (time)	15:00	Peeps Pig	15:00	Peeps Pig
17:15	Days Of Our Lives	15:30	Ma And Me	14:00	The Song	15:05	Feat. (time)	15:05	Peeps Pig	15:05	Peeps Pig
18:00	Judge Judy	16:25	Crab Word Live	18:00	Forensic Files	17:00	Steve August's Broken Skull	15:15	Peeps Pig	15:15	Peeps Pig
18:30	Days Of Our Lives	17:15	Days Of Our Lives	18:05	e-i-ent Headlines	18:00	Forensic Files	15:25	Peeps Pig	15:25	Peeps Pig
19:00	Forensic Files	18:00	Just For Laughs: Gags	18:30	Forensic Files	18:05	Little Big Shots	15:30	Peeps Pig	15:30	Peeps Pig
19:30	Days Of Our Lives	18:30	Concerts Count With the Cutlers	19:00	Rhythm City	18:05	Minute To Win It	15:30	Peeps Pig	15:30	Peeps Pig
19:30	Days Of Our Lives	19:00	Spacall	19:30	Minute To Win It	19:00	e-i-ent	15:30	Peeps Pig	15:30	Peeps Pig
19:30	Days Of Our Lives	19:30	Spacall	19:30	e-i-ent	19:00	Chicago Med	15:30	Peeps Pig	15:30	Peeps Pig
20:00	Spacall	19:30	Spacall	20:00	Chicago Med	20:00	Chicago Med	15:30	Peeps Pig	15:30	Peeps Pig
20:00	e-i-ent	20:00	Spacall	20:00	Chicago Med	20:00	Chicago Med	15:30	Peeps Pig	15:30	Peeps Pig
20:30	Spacall	20:00	Spacall	20:30	Minute To Win It	22:50	Demons From Her Past	16:00	Peeps Pig	16:00	Peeps Pig
21:00	Spacall	20:30	Spacall	21:00	The Powerball Draw	21:00	The Powerball Draw	16:00	Peeps Pig	16:00	Peeps Pig
21:30	Spacall	21:00	Spacall	21:00	Spacall	21:00	Spacall	16:00	Peeps Pig	16:00	Peeps Pig
22:00	The Challenge (movie?)	21:30	The Challenge	21:30	The Challenge	22:00	Almost News With Chester Manning	16:00	Peeps Pig	16:00	Peeps Pig
23:45	In Plan Sight	23:45	The Challenge	23:45	The Challenge	23:00	Peeps Pig	16:00	Peeps Pig	16:00	Peeps Pig

Source: Created by the authors.

Table 3 - Fragment of the table of data collection with the description of children shows.

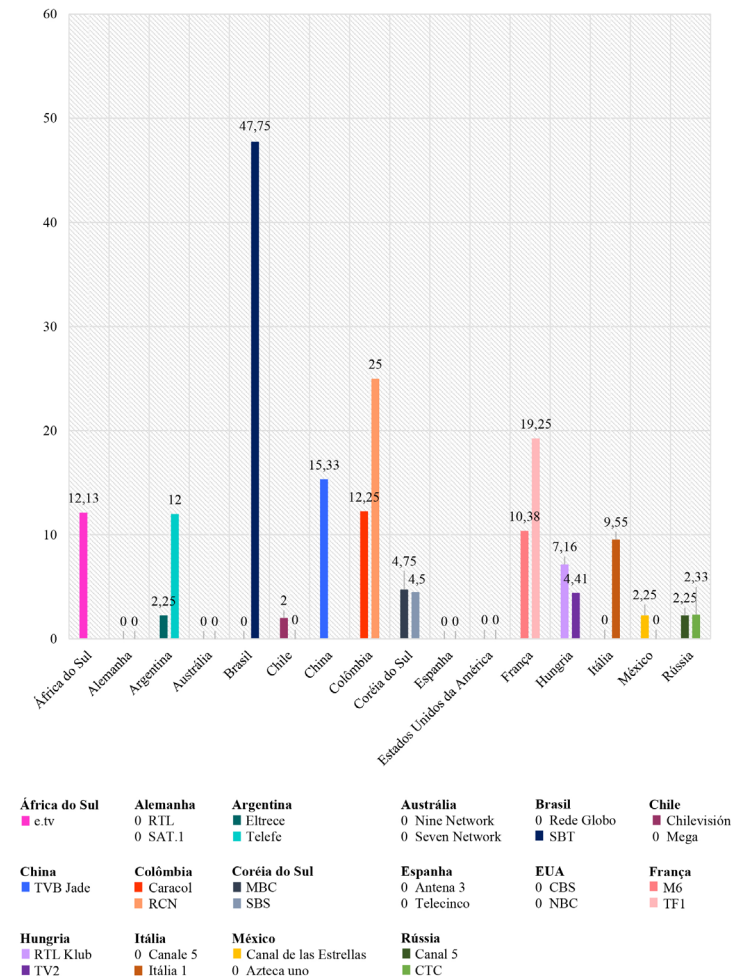
África do Sul		
Quantidade total: 17		
Programa	Tipo	Nacionalidade
Peppa Pig	Desenho animado	Reino unido
Cool Catz	apresentado por personagens fantasiados de gatos + animações com esses personagens	África do Sul
Monchhichi Tribe	Desenho animado	Estados Unidos
PJ Masks	Desenho animado	Reino Unido e França
Supa Strikas	Desenho animado	África do Sul e Malásia.
Thomas & Friends	Desenho animado	Reino Unido
The Jungle Bunch: To The Rescue	Desenho animado	França
ALVINNN!!! And The Chipmunks	Desenho animado	França e EUA, franco-estado-unidense
Mia And Me	Live action CGI animated television series	Itália, Alemanha e Canadá, Italian-German-Canadian
Jelly Jamm	Desenho animado	Reino Unido; Estados Unidos; Canadá; Espanha; britânica-americana-canadense-espanhola
Be Cool, Scooby-Doo!	Desenho animado	EUA
Voltron: Legendary Defender	Desenho animado	Estados Unidos e Coreia do Sul
Ultimate Spider-Man	Desenho animado	EUA
Trolls: The Beat Goes On!	Desenho animado	EUA
Sofia The First	Desenho animado	EUA
GGO Football 2: International...	Desenho animado	China
Pokémon The Series: Sun & Moon...	Desenho animado	Japão

Source: Created by the authors.

late night (when television schedule is not generally aimed to children). Thus, the main criteria to define “children show” which guided our observation were:

- Analysis of the content of these shows
- Explicit age indication of the product as destined for the child audience in official websites of channels or websites specialized on television.
- Observation of preceding and subsequent shows to check if they were also considered adequate for children.
- Advertisement associated with the shows;
- When there was an age rating, we only considered shows suited for all ages or recommended for children.

From these criteria, we gathered cartoons, variety shows – for instance, educational shows, game shows or culinary shows – and serial fiction, such as *Chaves*, *Chapolin*, *Chesperito* and child telenovelas. We chose not to include movies in the analysis because they were not fixed in the schedule and they were not primarily directed to children, but rather for the “family”. Graphically, the schedule mapped by us had the following characteristics:

Graph 1 - Presence of children schedule, in hours, in television schedules shown in the period of a week.¹²

Source: Created by the authors.

¹² Most of the analyses focused on the period from February 2nd to 8th, 2019. In the cases of Australia, China, United States and Italy, the collection was made from February 11th to February 17th, 2019.

Presence/absence of children shows

Two of the first elements that stand out in Graph 1 are the significant amount of countries that do not broadcast any children shows in broadcast television and, in opposition, the great disparity that Brazil occupies in this scenario. Considering that Germany, Australia, Spain and United States do not have any children schedule in the analyzed channels, there seems to have a tendency of absence of children shows in historically richer western countries. However, we believe that the conventional political/geographical categorization – which dichotomizes the world between east vs west, rich vs poor, Anglo-Saxons vs Latino, for example – may be overly simplistic to explain contemporary phenomena.

That becomes evident when we pay attention to countries in which only one of the selected channels broadcasts children TV shows. Brazil, Chile, Italy and Mexico. Although most of these countries have a recent past of major economic difficulties, they cannot be perceived as a homogenous group. So, while Chile and Mexico have almost 0 children TV shows also in the second channel, Brasil (SBT) and Italy (Itália 1) have a significant presence of children content in the second channel that is analyzed. In addition, richer countries such as France and Hungary present a wide variety of children content, as well as their supposedly poorer companions, Colombia and Argentina.

The same way, “Eastern” countries cannot be perceived as similar, considering, for instance, that China and South Korea present children content, but the first, even with one only channel analyzed (due to the other channel being public) has almost double the amount of content in relation to Korea. Specifically about the presence of children schedule, South Korea is closer to Hungary, while China is more similar to South Africa. And, finally, Russia, which geographically occupies Eastern and Western territories, broadcasts children TV content in both channels analyzed, but in a modest manner: only 5 weekly hours total.

This problematization is essential to understand the place of Brazil on Graph 1. Although there is a certain perception that child content is sparse in broadcast TV, that is only confirmed if we look exclusively

to Globo, channel that currently do not present any TV show geared towards children. When we analyze the second channel with the most audience, SBT, the schedule becomes not only significant, but transforms Brazil into the country that shows the biggest amount of children content. In the week we analyzed, we found 47.75 hours of children shows on SBT, almost 2 whole days of this type of content. This major disproportion between Globo and SBT certainly has contextual reasons, related to TV show choices from Globo and, especially, to strategic answers from SBT, which historically develop its television schedule considering, amongst other elements, the audience that is less favored by their main competitor.

What do countries broadcast as children shows?

In addition to quantifying the presence of kids schedule in 30 broadcast programming mapped, the analysis identified some particular characteristics of this material, starting by the nationality of the programs. The idea was mainly to better understand the presence of foreign content in different broadcast programming and to measure some characteristics in the way different countries deal with the relationship between local and global contents.

This goal has a relationship with a contextual aspect, since we know that Brazilian children programming was greatly influenced by foreign content and formats. This happened mainly with television cartoons, whose importation is partly explained by the low production of animations in Brazil (HOLZBACH, 2018), and, also, by some program formats, especially regarding SBT. The channel had, for many years, contracts with media conglomerates, such as Disney, Televisa and Warner, which enabled the creation, for instance, of the kids show *Disney Club* (1997-2001). With a popular audience in the first year of release, the format was presented by children and broadcasted with exclusivity in broadcast TV American cartoons, such as *Goof Troop*, *Hercules* and *Timon and Pumbaa*.

In the current schedule of SBT, foreign animations are still predominant. In the period analyzed, the channel broadcasted three shows that present groups of cartoons. *Bom Dia & Cia*, *Sábado Animado* and *Sessão Desenho*. The first one of them is the most long-lasting kids show in Brazilian television – it's on air since 1993 – and it was responsible for 29 hours of kid's programing in the researched week, approximately 60.73% of this type of content. Hosted by Silvia Abravanel, the show has games giving prizes to children through telephone or videocalls, in addition to animations almost exclusively original from the United States, with the exception of the Russian production *Masha and the Bear*. The same happens in *Sessão Desenho*, which broadcast only three animations¹³, all of them American. In turn, *Sábado Animado* brings animations from that countries and others with a more diversified origin, such as *Barbie Dreamtopia* (produced by Mattel in USA with the animation of Snoball Studios, from Israel), *Rainbow Ruby* (co-produced by South Korea, China and Canada) and the only exception of national animation broadcast by the channel, *Zuzubalândia*¹⁴.

SBT's broadcast programming presents serial fictions, filling 18.75 hours of the week. *Chaves* (from Mexico), *Henry Danger* (superhero comedy from the United States) and re-runs of the remakes of telenovelas *Carrossel*, *Chiquititas* and *Cumplices de um Resgate*. Even though these last two are nationally produced by the channel, they are adaptations of scripts coming from other countries in Latin America – especially Mexico, since the channel has a long partnership with Televisa, from which they buy original products and formats for adaptations. These children production have been receiving investment from SBT since 2012, making the channel the only Brazilian channel that currently produces telenovelas geared towards this audience.

In only 5 of the 30 channels we analyzed all products are originally from the country:

13 *Ben 10*, *Kung Fu Panda* and *Tom & Jerry*.

14 *Zuzubalândia* was based on the book *Jujubalândia* (1997), by Mariana Caltabiano, and also in the children's show with the same name that had puppets as characters and it was broadcasted by SBT in 1998.

- Channel 6 (Russia)
- Canal de Las Estrellas (México)
- M6 (France)
- RTL Klub (Hungary)
- SBS (South Korea)

In most cases, however, the amount of hours destined to these products are modest, indicating that local production is still under development, with one exception: the French channel M6, broadcasting over 10 weekly hours of original children shows¹⁵. The biggest part is composed by animations, including the famous production Alvin and the Chipmunks, broadcast from Monday to Friday, in the early morning. The French case may be related to the still strong presence of public television, which historically invests in educational productions for children and is fairly consumed in this country. The public channel France 2 is the second biggest in the country, being more watched than the channel M6, which motivates a competition that especially values the production of content for children. That also makes TF1, the most watched channel in France, dedicate the mornings to children, including weekends, in a total of almost 20 weekly hours of children content.

Thirteen channels have stations that broadcast shows with different nationalities.

- Caracol and RCN (Colombia)
- Chilevisión (Chile)
- CTC (Russia)
- e.tv (South Africa)
- Itália 1 (Italia)
- MBC (South Korea)
- SBT (Brazil)
- Telefe and Eltrece (Argentina)
- TF1 (France)
- TV2 (Hungary)

15 Some Productions were made in co-authorship with other countries.

-- TVB (China)

Apparently, there is not a standard of product origin; some concentrate most productions from their own country while others present products with different regions. However, we noticed in some cases the preference for some products coming from countries with geographic or language approximation. For instance, e.tv from South America broadcasts mostly animations coming from countries with English language, one of the official languages of the country, such as United Kingdom and the USA, being the last one the origin of 5 out of the 17 productions of the channel. In TVB, Chinese channel in which most of the children programming are cartoons, out of the 13 productions that compose the period studied, 12 are from Asian countries (China and Japan) and only one show is from France.

We saw that, out of the 18 countries that broadcast children programming, 17 present cartoons in the schedule, which allow us to say that cartoons are the main children content in broadcast TV throughout the world. The exception is Canal de Las Estrellas, from Mexico, which only broadcasts *Chapolin*. We also saw the curious presence of vintage cartoons such as Tom & Jerry, created in 1940, in channels such as CTC (Russia), SBT (Brasil), TV2 (Hungria) and Itália 1 (Italy), and *Popeye* created in 1930, broadcasted by SBT. That probably has relation with the children appeal of these contents that may have a timeless effect, in addition to the already commented affection that children hold for re-runs.

Even though there is a certain heterogeneity in the products broadcasted, it is accentuated the presence of cartoons from the United States. In addition of being the main exporter of animations, we identified in nine channels productions or co-productions from the United States: Chilevisión (Chile), CTC (Russia), e.tv (South Africa), Itália 1 (Italy), MBC (South Korea), SBT (Brazil), Telefe (Argentina), TF1 (France) e TV2 (Hungary). On the other hand, countries like China and France, in addition to Korean and Russian channels, represent an interest opposition insofar as they either do not have any American content (China)

or show a great amount of national content (France). There is also the occurrence of exclusively national content, as it is the case of Channel 5 from Russia, which only broadcasts as children content *Masha and the Bear* (in the unusual time slot from 5 to 5:25 AM). Despite the soft presence in the Russian programming, this animation has a good circulation and appeared in the programming of Chilevisión (Chile), SBT (Brazil) and TV2 (Hungary).

Final considerations

If on one hand the proposition of this article is seductive, on the other, we know it is about something as complex as it is limited. Seductive because, when mapping the child programming of different channels around the world, we believe to fill part of a profound gap existing in TV studies related, on one hand, to the place children fill as consumers of television products, and on the other, to the role of broadcast programming as a conjunctural element of television. We know, however, that the complexity of the theme allows us only to suggest in this article some characteristics of this programming that need to be analyzed in subsequent researches, because any analysis that is self-declared “global” is immediately defined as a proposition filled by limitations. In our case, we know that it was impossible to comprise, for instance, profound analyses of the 30 channels we’ve analyzed, because in addition of comprising a big amount of material, each one of the 16 countries incorporates contextual elements, which would demand debating social/cultural and media characteristics of each channel we’ve analyzed.

Still, we defend that the mapping performed inserted Brazilian broadcast television in a wider context, in a way of offering new information, such as the contents that different countries show in their channels, in addition to encouraging different gazes about already known phenomena, such as the exclusion of children content performed by Globo. Our study showed that, far from exiguous, the children programming in Brazilian broadcast television is one of the biggest in the world, and that there is still a relation between this programming and the American

programming. We could see these elements when we looked at Globo through a global perspective, which inserted this channel in the midst of others, and a contextual perspective as well, also considering SBT, one of their main Brazilian competition.

We saw the dominion of cartoons in the schedule and the importance that imported productions represent in a good part of the world's channels. That happens not only with American cartoons, who travel the world and institute themselves in countries like South Africa, Australia, Brazil and Hungary, but also in the way that other countries, such as Russia, export their cartoons, or ignore the American product, such as France and China. Furthermore, we highlight the countries that invest in the exhibition of children shows, such as Colombia, and the countries whose channels do not invest, such as Germany, Spain and United States. In fact, it is, at the very least, ironic that the United States are the biggest exporter of cartoons, but they do not stimulate this product in their own broadcast television.

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