ANALYSIS OF ANIME PROGRAMMING ON GENERALIST TELEVISION IN SPAIN (1990-1999)

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years there has been a growing interest in anime among Spanish academics. There have been numerous studies that analyse the genre from historicist perspectives (Horno López, 2012), others that consider the context of production (Mangirón, 2012), and still others that focus on the text, both in terms of representation (García Pacheco and López Rodríguez, 2012; Pérez Guerrero, 2013; De Pablo Rodríguez, 2014) and in relation to the aesthetics of the genre (Horno López, 2013) or its narrative (Hernández Pérez, 2013; Loriguillo-López, 2018). With regard to their introduction in Spain, Mas López (2005) analyses the process of translating anime series into Catalan, while Torres Simón (2008: 3) focuses on the characteristics of the manga reader and the appearance of the first anime series. Madrid and Martínez (2010 and 2011) study the arrival in Spain of Japanese popular cultural products, focusing especially on manga

and anime, while Montero Plata (2012) and Santiago (2012) analyse their insertion into the Spanish market. All this research, conducted mainly over the last decade, has helped compensate for "the shortage or complete absence of formal academic documentation" (Horno López, 2013: 7) on anime in Spain. However, in relation to reception, there has been no detailed, systematic analysis of the way that anime has been programmed on Spanish networks.

The first anime television program to appear on Spanish television was *Kimba the White Lion* (Jungle Taitei, O. Tezuka, Fuji TV: 1965), broadcast in Spain in the late 1960s as *Kimba, el león blanco* and later known as *El emperador de la jungla*. In 1976, anime had its first ratings topper with *Heidi* (Alps no shōjo Heidi, I. Takahata, Fuji TV: 1974), "a veritable national event that was broadcast on Saturdays at 3:30 p.m." (Palacio, 2008: 93). In early 1977, 3000 Leagues in Search of Mother (Haha wo tazunete sanzen ri, Nippon Animation, I. Takahata, Fuji TV: 1976; Spanish title: *Marco*) premiered on Spanish television, followed by *Mazinger Z* (G. Nagai, Fuji TV: 1972-1974) in March 1978. During the first years of Felipe González's Socialist government (starting in 1982), anime represented 4% of children's programming (Paz Rebollo, 2018: 725); by the late 1980s and early 1990s it had increased its presence "thanks to regional generalist channels" (Madrid and Martínez, 2011: 56). Notable in this period was *Dragon Ball* (A. Toriyama, Fuji TV: 1986-1989), broadcast in Spanish as *Bola de dragón* and premiering on Galician TV on 8 February 1990 as *As bolas máxicas* (Montero Plata, 2012: 50), a series that can be considered a major milestone in anime broadcasting in Spain (Estrada, 2012).

But it was not until the 1990s, with the creation of private television networks under the new regime of open competition established by the Private Television Act (*Ley de Televisión Privada*) enacted on 3 May 1988, that anime became a regular feature on the television schedules of channels with national coverage. In a context of change and uncertainty marked by skyrocketing production costs (Contreras and Palacio, 2003: 116-117), anime programming proved especially profitable because, compared to US and European productions, "it was a cheaper product and its serial format won over a loyal audience" (Mateos-Pérez, 2012: 537).

The beginning of the 1990s brought with it the advent of what Palacio, extrapolating the terminology of John Ellis to the Spanish context, refers to as an age of abundance for Spanish television (2006: 318). And this abundance, a consequence of the larger number of channels and the increase in daily broadcasting hours, led to an increased concern about the effects that television consumption could have on children, as explored by Mateos-Pérez (2012: 526) in the introduction to his study analysing children's programming in the first half of the 1990s. In a context of testing and experimentation, programming and counterprogramming, the consolidation of anime on Spanish television gave rise to a certain degree of alarm that was reflected in the press of the time.

This period has been studied extensively by some of the authors cited above, such as Contreras and Palacio (2003), who focus on programming, and Palacio (2008), who explores the history of television in Spain. There are also studies focusing on Spanish programming from its origins until well into the 1990s (Gómez-Escalonilla, 1998), and others that examine the context of competition in the television market since 1990 (Artero, Herrero and Sánchez Tabernero, 2005), or that analyse children's programming after the appearance of private television networks under the regime of open competition (Mateos-Pérez, 2012).

Notable among these studies is the monograph edited by Montero Díaz (2018), which offers an overview of audiences and television programming since 1956. The book's epilogue describes the programmatic context of the first five years of the 1990s and defines the elements of change to the television model following the introduction of private television networks and the evolution of programming for children and youth since then (Mateos-Pérez and Paz Rebollo, 2018: 839-845).

This article offers an analysis of programming in the 1990s, focusing specifically on anime series broadcast on Spain's national networks.

CONTEXT

In order to fully understand the implications of anime programming in Western countries, it is necessary to take into account a series of characteristics of this type of animation that distinguish it from other animated series entering Spain from Europe or the United States.

Firstly, anime was traditionally conceived as a product for domestic consumption (Madrid and Martínez, 2011: 56). When introduced to foreign markets, it has always passed through a phase of resistance in the receiving country before being accepted (Yui, 2010a: 48 and 2010b: XXIII). In Italy, its arrival caused a profound impact (Pellitteri, 2004: 20) that affected not only the audience's per-

ception of Japanese cultural forms but even Italian cultural production itself (Pellitteri, 2006). And although its success in Italy coincided with the boom in anime programming between 1978

and 1984 (Pellitteri, 2014), "the 'Japanese wave'" reached Spain later than it did in other European countries (Madrid and Martínez, 2011: 58). While Catalonia played an important role in its introduction in Spain (Llovet Ferrer, 2018) and the regional channels were the country's main broadcasters of anime in the 1980s, the establishment of private networks in 1990 resulted in a quantitative increase in anime programming at the national level. With this in mind, this analysis focuses on anime programming on national channels from 1990 to the end of the decade, which would lead to the explosion of the manga market in Europe at the beginning of the 21st century (Bouissou, Pellitteri, *et al.*, 2010: 255).

Another aspect to take into account is the classification of manga and anime in Japan according to the demographic characteristics of its consumers. Cho, Disher, et al. (2018) classify anime according to nine variables, the first of which is target audience. Based on this approach, anime is subdivided into five basic genres (Torrents, 2015: 163): kodomo (aimed at children), shōnen (targeting male adolescents), shōjo (for female adolescents), seinen (for a young adult male audience) and josei (for women). This taxonomy serves to contextualise the main hypothesis on which this research is based: of all the anime programmes broadcast in the 1990s in Spain, those aimed at children (in their original Japanese context) represented a relatively small percentage, while productions intended for male audiences were the most common during this decade.

ANIME WAS TRADITIONALLY CONCEIVED AS A PRODUCT FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION

In this period, anime programming was consolidated in Spain and experienced a boom on

> national networks; Spanish television was filled with Japanese animation productions, all of them aimed at children, which led to a series of problems reflected in the press of the time.

This problem of reception stemmed from a lack of knowledge of these genres (or subgenres within the anime genre, as Denison (2015: 2) points out when highlighting the difficulties of classifying anime as a genre or as a type of audio-visual production encompassing diverse genres), their norms and conventions. Such knowledge is indispensable not only for classifying the different anime productions or theorising about them, but also for audiences to be able to make sense of them. Indeed, this is a fundamental aspect of the conception of genre itself (Neale, 2004: 1).

Although Creeber (2004) offers a broad and meticulous overview of the most important aspects of television genre studies, he does not include an in-depth analysis of the subdivisions that can be established within a genre as specific as Japanese animation. Donnelly (2004: 73-75) discusses adult animation and its proliferation in Western countries during the 1990s (as well as the success of anime as early as the mid-1980s), while Wells (2004a: 107) refers to its growing popularity, reflected in children's programming in the North American context that the author describes. However, in spite of references to the different audiences that animation may target (in relation to the adult/child dichotomy), and even to the censorship resulting from the presence of violence and/or content associated with "potential sexual confusion" (Wells, 2004b: 104), none of these studies connect this issue to the ignorance in Western nations of the five genres into which anime is demographically subdivided in Japan.

This lack of knowledge is linked to the problem of reading and understanding the audiovisual text and its relationship with the audience (Morley, 2005: 195-199). A decontextualised text can have its meaning distorted, resulting in a misguided reception, and the receiving culture may reject "certain inherent elements of the source culture" (Richard Marset, 2009: 137). The meaning originally proposed by the authors is lost due to the ignorance of the audience targeted by their productions, because the text needs to be understood in its context (Casetti and Di Chio, 1999: 293-294). The dominant reading becomes a reading negotiated at the moment of translation and in the programming of the different productions on the television schedule, making the reception of the final viewer problematic.

In view of the above, the objective of this article is to determine the time slot that anime was most frequently assigned, the subgenre that was programmed the most, how anime programming evolved in the 1990s, and the differences between public and private network programming, all with a view to analysing how this content was received in the decade under study.

SOURCES AND RESEARCH METHOD

This study has involved the analysis of television programming from 1 January 1990 to 31 December 1999 on all five national networks: two public (TVE1 and TVE2) and three private (Antena 3, Canal + and Telecinco). The data on this programming was obtained from the daily TV schedule pages of four national newspapers (*ABC*, *El Mundo, El País* and *La Vanguardia*), alternating between newspapers each month and referring to two or more sources whenever a possible anomaly was detected. Included as part of children's variety programmes that featured several series, if on specific days a series was not listed in the newspaper schedules, the same series broadcast on previous and subsequent days has been counted, except when the series was not listed for periods lasting longer than a week. The study does not include region-specific broadcasts on national public networks, which included anime programming from the very first days of 1990 (e.g. *Princess Knight*, broadcast as *La Princesa Caballero* [Ribon no Kishi, O. Tezuka, Fuji TV: 1967-1968] on 8 January on TVE2 in Catalonia), or films broadcast on national networks.

This research has resulted in a database consisting of 21,834 entries, each corresponding to the broadcast of an episode, classified according to nine variables:

- 1 Year of broadcast.
- 2 Month of broadcast.
- 3 Day of broadcast.
- 4 Date of broadcast.
- 5 Start time.
- 6 Television network.
- 7 Title.
- 8 Genre: kodomo, shōnen, shōjo, seinen, josei and co-production (between Japan and other countries).
- 9 Notes (this section includes anomalies such as the multiple names with which some anime series are known in Spain).

Of these 21,834 entries, 9.42% are broadcasts of co-productions between Japan and countries such as Italy, France or the United States. Due to their unique characteristics, although some could be classified in the categories of kodomo or shonen, these eleven series do not fit entirely within the anime genre, so they have been omitted from the analysis, leaving 19,777 entries. In addition, this analysis is complemented by recordings from the period (author's personal files) and a data search in the four newspapers that were used to create the database covering the period under study. Around twenty articles have been analysed to determine whether anime was characterized in a positive or negative way and whether press publications might have influenced the composition of the television schedules.

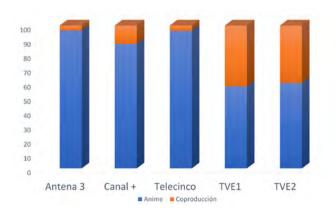
RESULTS

Although anime broadcasts have been identified right from the beginning of 1990, both in region-specific broadcasts on national networks and on different regional networks, it was not until Antena 3, a "pioneer in offering 'animated breakfast television'" (Mateos-Pérez and Paz Rebollo, 2018): 841), began regular programming on Thursday 25 January, that an animated series produced in part by a Japanese studio appeared on national television: *Jinete Sable and los Comisarios Estrella* (Sei Juushi Bismarck, World Event Production, Nippon Television Network, 1984-1985), a US-Japanese co-production originally broadcast in the US as *Saber Rider and the Star Sheriffs* and in Japan as *Sei Juushi Bismarck*.

For research purposes, the decision to eliminate these co-productions¹ from the global total resulted in a 3.47% reduction in entries for Antena 3, 3.80% for Telecinco, 12.95% for Canal +, 42.66% for TVE1 and 40.26% for TVE2. These figures reveal the first difference identified between private and public television programming: co-productions were much more common on the public networks, although the difference in the number of broadcasts is much smaller than the different percentages may suggest: 529 more co-production episodes were broadcast on the two public networks than on the three private networks combined.

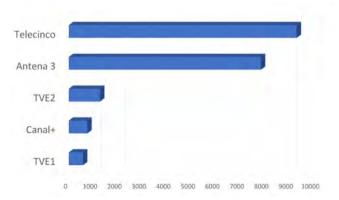
It was not until March, with the launch of Telecinco, that the first anime appeared on national television. Starting its broadcasts on Friday 3 March with an inaugural gala special, that same weekend its schedule would include Story of the Alps: My Annette (Alps monogatari watashi no Annette, K. Kusuba, Fuji TV: 1983; Spanish title: Las montañas de Ana), and Grimm's Fairy Tales (Grimm Meisaku Gekijou, H. Saito, N. Fujimoto, Y. Yamamoto, TV Asahi: 1987-1988; Spanish title: Soñar con los ojos abiertos). And while anime programming on Telecinco would be daily, it would not be until April that an entirely Japanese animation production would appear on any other networks. However, from that first weekend in March. at least one anime series would be broadcast every day throughout the rest of the decade, with the sole exception of Saturday, 4 October 1997, when the television schedules were altered for the broadcast of Princess Cristina's wedding.

The early appearance of anime on Telecinco can be explained the fact that it was "created following the model of Italy's Canale 5, owned by Silvio Berlusconi" (Cascajosa and Zahedi, 2016: 61), which exported much of the content that had already been broadcast in Italy, including anime.



Percentage of co-productions per network in relation to total *anime* series

Anime broadcasts by television channel



The early appearance of anime on Telecinco, together with its availability and its adoption of the Italian television model, resulted in it becoming the network with the most Japanese animation content in its programming in the 1990s. With a total of 9,309 broadcasts, Telecinco positioned itself as the leader in this type of content, followed by Antena 3 with 7,851, TVE2 with 1,276, Canal + with 759 and TVE1 with 582.

On 5 March 1990, the first Monday in Telecinco's programming history, the network—with Miguel Durán as president and Valerio Lazarov (previously responsible for Canale 5) as general director—took a decision that has itself entered the annals of Spanish TV programming history: it scheduled *Captain Tsubasa* (Y. Takahashi, TV Tokyo: 1983-1986; Spanish title: *Campeones*) in the same time slot as TVE1's flagship news program

TELECINCO POSITIONED ITSELF AS THE LEADER IN THIS TYPE OF CONTENT

Telediario. Although the anime series did not beat the TVE1 program in the ratings, it gained considerable public attention (Contreras and Palacio, 2003: 75). These broadcasts would continue to occupy the 8.30 p.m. time slot (which marked the beginning of prime time in those days) until September 1991. Captain Tsubasa, a shōnen focusing on the world of football. would be the first anime series to occupy this time slot-a time slot that would feature at least one anime series for the rest of the period, except for a stretch from July to mid-September 1990 and a few weeks in July 1991. Despite the show's success, "it aroused a lot of criticism among adults for the competitive spirit of its protagonists" (Mateos-Pérez and Paz Rebollo, 2018: 843). Captain Tsubasa would be followed by Ganbare, Kickers! (Ganbare, Kikkāzu!, N. Nagai, Nippon Television Network: 1986-1987; Spanish title: Supergol), a series with a similar theme that was presented as a

sequel (although totally independent, the translation of the Italian dubbing had characters in this series referring to characters from Captain Tsubasa). The repeat broadcast of these two series was followed by Touch (M. Adachi, Fuji TV: 1985-1987; Spanish title: Bateadores) and Attacker You! (S. Koizumi, TBS: 1984-1985; Spanish title: Dos fuera de serie), dealing with the world of baseball and volleyball, respectively. All these series have sport as a common denominator, and most of the broadcasts, between 5 March 1990 and 2 July 1991, were of the series whose main theme is soccer. They also belong to the shonen genre, targeting a male adolescent audience, with the exception of Attacker You!, a shojo series which only occupied this time slot between 26 August and 13 September 1991.

On the other private networks there was an attempt to cover this time slot on Sundays between 9 September and 11 November 1990 on Antena 3 with Ashita no Joe (Ashita no Jō, I. Kajiwara, Fuji TV: 1970-1971; Spanish title: *El campeón*), dealing with the world of boxing, and from 1 February to 5 April 1995 at 8:05 p.m. on Canal + with Maple Town (Maple Town Monogatari, C. Asakura, TV Asahi: 1986-1987; Spanish title: *La aldea del arce*); but these were occasional appearances without much significance.

While in 1990 anime programming was quite widely distributed across different time slots, with 20.59% of the broadcasts in the morning time block (before 1 p.m.), 26.06% between 1 p.m. and 5 p.m., 36.75% between 5 p.m. and 8 p.m. and 16.59% after 8 p.m., the morning soon became the preferred block for programming not only of Japanese animation but of all kinds of children's content, as shown by the average time-slot distribution of broadcasts for the decade (79.13%, 8.73%, 10.1% and 2.03%, respectively).

As for the subgenres of anime broadcast on national networks, the total data for the decade show that at no time was content targeting adult women (*josei*) programmed. The other subgenres are all represented, with *shōnen*, aimed at an au-

Percentage of broadcasts by year and demographic genre

	Kodomo	Shōnen	Shōjo	Seinen
1990	41,52	29,7	24,93	3,82
1991	39,94	33,84	22,97	3,22
1992	33,88	29,89	24,56	II,65
1993	36,61	49,97	13,15	0,25
1994	28,8	56,85	11,24	3,09
1995	29,54	31,66	24,87	13,92
1996	41,65	22,82	14,5	2 1,01
1997	44,49	47,65	5,96	1,89
1998	43,76	48,17	5,98	2,07
1999	36,32	50,65	13,01	0

dience between 12 and 20 years of age (García Pacheco and López Rodríguez, 2012: 126), being the favourite of programmers with a total of 7,977 broadcasts (40.33%). This is logical, as it is also the most popular anime subgenre in its home country, where its production far surpasses the rest (Drummond-Matthews, 2010: 62). Kodomo represented 37.19%, while *shōjo* and *seinen* accounted for 16.09% and 6.37%, respectively.

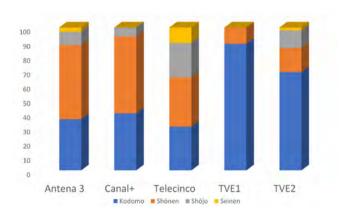
Although in some years the percentage of *kodomo* exceeded 40%, it was only in the middle of the decade that it was the subgenre with the most broadcasts, and at no time did it reach 50%.

Of the subgenres broadcast, *seinen* is the one aimed at a more adult audience. With 1,261

broadcasts, this genre represented 6.37% of the total number of anime broadcasts between 1990 and 1999. Lupin (Lupin Sansei, M. Punch, Yomiuri TV, Nippon Television Network: 1971-1985) was the most popular series in this subgenre, with 798 broadcasts (representing 63.28% of all seinen broadcast in Spain in the period studied²). Between April 1991 and June 1998 it was broadcast in various time slots: in the morning (between 8:00 and 10:30 a.m.); the afternoon (between 2:30 and 3:15 p.m.); and in the evening (between 6:00 and 7:00 p.m.). It was used to replace both non-Japanese animated productions and kodomo, shonen and shōjo series, constituting a clear example of the common conception that all animated series were merely children's products.

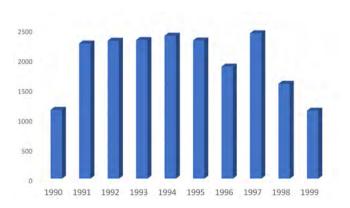
The number anime broadcasts per year practically doubled from 1990 to 1991 (from 1,151 to 2,263), despite the fact that the percentage of broadcasts of content aimed at children and young people did not experience such a pronounced increase (Mateos-Pérez and Paz Rebollo, 2018: 840). These numbers would remain stable until 1998, when they fell to 1,588 broadcasts, and 1999, when they fell to a lower figure than the one for 1990: 1,137 broadcasts.

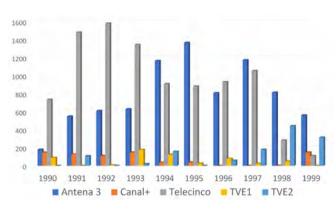
This decrease is mainly due to a decrease in the number of anime series present on Telecinco's schedule. While it started with 732 broadcasts in 1990, the annual figure from 1991 to 1997



Percentage of broadcasts by genre and television network

Anime broadcasts per year





Anime broadcasts per network and per year

ranged between 909 and 1,582; however, in 1998 it fell to 282 and in 1999 it would fall to 110. This decrease was not due to a decision to eliminate anime from the network, but to a reduction in children's programming, with the cancellation of daily morning programmes aimed at children in parallel with the introduction of more news content on the network.

In terms of its reception, anime generated controversy among Spanish viewers, as reflected in the press of the time. In 1994, Elba Astorga wrote an article published in *El País* with the headline: "The Japanese export to the world the cartoons they forbid their own children to see." In this article, Astorga suggests that "Japanese children do not watch trashy cartoons. The kings of animation [...] are attentive to every detail of the products they consume at home. Violent, competitive and destructive series are for export only."

This concern for the content broadcast in time slots assigned to children's programming has of course been patent practically since television began, as is well documented in an article published in *ABC de Sevilla* in 1978, "*Mazinger Z*, a robot that is influencing your children" (Fernández, 1978). However, in the 1990s newspapers were filled with all kinds of references to the impact of Japanese animation on young people. In 1993, Expósito published an article in *ABC de Sevilla* about violence in children's programming, while in 1995 *El País* started a campaign against Ranma ½ (Ranma Nibun no Ichi, R. Takahashi, Fuji TV: 1989-1992). This shonen, which premiered on Antena 3 in March 1993, was the subject of two articles on the same page of *El País* on 4 January 1995. In the first, Albert (1995: 44), in addition to quoting Neil Postman, describes the complaint raised against Ranma 1/2 by Spain's Association of Television Viewers and Radio Listeners (ATR). which decried it as an "anti-educational and antisocial" series. In the second, Pérez de Pablos (1995: 44) compiles the opinions of children between the ages of five and eleven about the series: "it is a little strange that some characters turn into girls"; "he [Ranma, the protagonist] spends his time spying on Akane when she's having a bath"; "Ranma is good because he hits people but he doesn't kill them"; "when Chen sees white knickers he gets strong and always wins." The following day, 5 January 1995, El País published an anonymous article titled "Ranma is no longer on the air" (1995: 47). A series that had been on Spanish TV for almost two years thus disappeared in January 1995 and would not reappear on a national network for the rest of the decade.

Although such concern, complaints and negative associations in response to anime were commonplace, there were also less alarmist views expressed in the press of the time and even humorous defences of the genre. One example of this is the article by Peirón (1995: 3) in *La Revista de La Vanguardia*, titled "Ringleader of the Dragon Ball organisation arrested", which reports that "the Dragon Ball terrorist group began operating in February 1990" and that «Son Goku is facing numerous charges of wanton corruption of children in broad daylight."

THE MORNING SOON BECAME THE PREFERRED BLOCK FOR PROGRAMMING NOT ONLY OF JAPANESE ANIMATION BUT OF ALL KINDS OF CHILDREN'S CONTENT This debate seems to arise from a conception of animation as a product strictly for children and from the programming of series intended for older audiences in children's time slots. And although this practice was common on all networks, the public television stations exhibited a greater awareness of this issue, programming a higher percentage of kodomo. On the other hand, in 1998 and 1999, TVE2's broadcasts of the *shōjo* series *Marmalade Boy* (W. Yoshizumi, TV Asahi: 1994-1995; Spanish title: *La familia crece*) was included in a programme aimed at youth rather than pre-teen viewers.

CONCLUSIONS

This research reveals a boom in anime broadcasts during the 1990s on Spain's national television networks, as well as a widespread conception of all Japanese animation as products for children's consumption.

With a wide disparity between networks in the number of broadcasts, Telecinco maintained its position as the biggest broadcaster of the genre in Spain until 1998, when its number of anime broadcasts fell considerably and it gave up first place to Antena 3. In 1999, TVE2 reached its highest annual figure ever and Canal + recovered ground. Thanks largely to Telecinco's relationship with the Italian television market, 1990 was the year in which anime series arrived in Spain to stay.

Several points are worth noting in relation to the subgenres into which anime can be divided. Firstly, *josei*, aimed at adult female audiences, made no appearance on Spanish national television networks. Of the remaining four subgenres, there was an unequal representation on the different networks. While *kodomo*, aimed at children, was the predominant subgenre on public television, the global total shows that *shōnen*, for male adolescents, had the biggest proportion of broadcasts, while *seinen* (young adult male) was absent from Canal + and TVE1, being broadcast mostly on Telecinco.

Kodomo represented only 37.19% of anime programming in Spain in the period studied. Of the remaining 62.81%, 74.37% was made up of series aimed at male viewers (teenagers and adults), while only 25.63% consisted of series targeting (adolescent) females. Therefore, in addition the priority given to broadcasts not originally aimed at a child audience (under twelve years old), there was a clear orientation towards male viewers.

In the references to anime found in the Spanish press of the period, there is notable concern about the *shonen* series, and particularly about issues related to violence and gender (there are complaints about the confusion generated by the male-female duality of the protagonist of *Ranma* $\frac{1}{2}$, but not about the sexism present in *Lupin*, which was originally aimed at an older audience than *Ranma* $\frac{1}{2}$). 80% of the references found reflect unfavourable opinions and, in the case of the aforementioned articles on *Ranma* $\frac{1}{2}$ published in *El País* in January 1995, it is noteworthy that after their publication the series never reappeared on any national network in the period analysed.

In the first years of the decade, there is some evidence of experimentation by the networks with their programming, as they tried to determine the most appropriate time slots for each type of content and took decisions related to scheduling and counter-scheduling.

Particularly noteworthy is Telecinco's decision to schedule an anime series at 8:30 p.m., in competition with TVE1's news programming, as well as the choice of the type of animation to program in this time slot. In a country with an obvious football obsession, the anime productions scheduled between March 1990 and July 1991 were *shōnen* series about football. With the exception of the summer school holidays (when, curiously, children's programming decreased, in contrast with the pattern in later years), young viewers were

THE PUBLIC TELEVISION STATIONS EXHIBITED A GREATER AWARENESS OF THIS ISSUE, PROGRAMMING A HIGHER PERCENTAGE OF KODOMO

able to sit down in front of the television to follow the adventures of a bunch of football-playing cartoon characters. And later, between July and September 1991, they would again have the chance to watch stories that took sport as their theme unfold on their TV screens.

While such experimentation would typify these early years, most anime programming soon shifted to morning time slots, on both weekend and weekday programs for viewing at breakfast time before school. Although anime was still present on the children's variety programmes scheduled on the networks during the break time between morning and afternoon classes, and in the time slot right after school hours when children arrived home for their afternoon snack. it was the morning time block that contained the highest percentage of Japanese animated series. This scheduling trend in 1990s Spain was similar to the pattern in Japan until 2003, as reflected in the last report by the Association of Japanese Animation (AJA). This report shows a predominance of anime in the so-called daytime block targeting children and family audiences, with eight times as much anime programming in this time block than in the late night block for adult viewers in the year 2000, falling to three times as much in 2003, and continuing to drop until 2015, by which time the late night block had overtaken the daytime block (Masuda, Hikawa, et al., 2019). In Spain, late night programming of anime would be dominated by Telecinco, apart from very few attempts by other private networks, while the public networks would never schedule Japanese animation in this time block.

In short, anime, which had made its first appearances on Spanish television in the late 1960s and had enjoyed great success nationally during the second half of the 1970s with *Heidi*, became a common and recognisable audiovisual product, not without controversy in many cases. Assimilated into Spanish audiovisual culture, its daily presence on Spanish television in the 1990s contributed to the construction of the imaginary of an era, which also explains the profusion of studies on anime carried out in recent years by Spanish researchers. ■

NOTES

- The list is completed by Alfred J. Kwak (H. van Veen, 1 VARA: 1989-1990), Banner y Flappy (Seton Dôbutsuki Risu no bannâ, F. Kurokawa, TV Asahi: 1979), Dogtanian and the Three Muskehounds (Wanwan Sanjushi, C. Biern Boyd, TVE1: 1981-1982; Spanish title: D'Artacán y los tres mosqueperros), Galaxy High (C. Columbus, CBS: 1986), Inspector Gadget (B. Bianchi, A. Heyward, J. Chalopin, France 3: 1983-1986), Around the World with Willy Fog (La vuelta al mundo de Willy Fog, C. Biern Boyd, TVE1: 1983), Mega Man (Capcom, Syndication: 1994-1996), Reporter Blues (M. Pagot, G. Pagot, RAI 3: 1991-1996), Sherlock Holmes (Meitantei Hōmuzu, M. Pagot, N. Pagot, H. Miyazaki, TV Asahi: 1984-1985) and Vicky the Viking (Chîsana baikingu Bikke, Nippon Animation, ZDF: 1974-1976; Spanish title: Vickie, el vikingo).
- 2 If we include Emergency Departure Rescue Kids (Kinkyuu Hasshin Saver Kids, M. Punch, TV Tokyo, 1991-1992; Spanish title: Niños al rescate), Monkey Punch's work represents 76.44% of all seinen broadcast in Spain.

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ANALYSIS OF ANIME PROGRAMMING IN GENERAL TELEVISION IN SPAIN (1990-1999)

Abstract

The nineties began with the expansion of the Spanish television scene through the incorporation of three new channels of private ownership (Antena 3, Telecinco and Canal +). In a context of uncertainty and changes in broadcast programming, *anime* became an economic product for the networks, producing a boom in their televisión broadcasts. The present investigation analyzes *anime* programming in Spain between 1990 and 1999, for which a database of TV broadcast programming of the decade has been prepared, consisting of a total of 21,834 records. Complemented by a hemerographic analysis, the research concludes that Telecinco (and its relationship with the Italian Canale 5) has great importance in the implementation of *anime* in Spanish networks, that all Japanese animation is considered a product of child consumption and that the morning schedule is the one that concentrates most anime broadcasts.

Key words

Anime; Reception studies; Television programming; Children's television programming; Spain; nineties.

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Article reference

Ferrera, D. (2020). Analysis of *anime* programming in general television in Spain (1990-1999). L'Atalante. Revista de estudios cinematográficos, 29, 25-38.

ANÁLISIS DE LA PROGRAMACIÓN DE ANIME EN LA TELEVISIÓN GENERALISTA EN ESPAÑA (1990-1999)

Resumen

La década de los noventa comenzó con la ampliación del panorama televisivo español mediante la incorporación de tres nuevos canales de titularidad privada (Antena 3, Telecinco y Canal +). En un contexto de incertidumbre y cambios en las parrillas televisivas, el *anime* se convirtió en un producto rentable para las cadenas, produciéndose un auge en sus emisiones. La presente investigación analiza la programación de *anime* en España entre 1990 y 1999, para lo que se ha elaborado una base de datos de las parrillas televisivas de la década que consta de un total de 21.834 registros. Complementada con un análisis hemerográfico, la investigación concluye que Telecinco (y su relación con el Canale 5 italiano) tiene una gran importancia en la implantación del anime en las cadenas españolas, que toda la animación nipona es considerada producto de consumo infantil y que la franja matutina es la que más emisiones de *anime* concentra.

Palabras clave

Anime; Estudios de recepción; Programación televisiva; Programación infantil; España; Años noventa.

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Referencia de este artículo

Ferrera, D. (2020). Análisis de la programación de *anime* en la televisión generalista en España (1990-1999). L'Atalante. Revista de estudios cinematográficos, 29, 25-38.

Edita / Published by



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ISSN 1885-3730 (print) /2340-6992 (digital) DL V-5340-2003 WEB www.revistaatalante.com MAIL info@revistaatalante.com