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online era: a comparison between the UK and Germany**

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CHILDREN'S PUBLIC SERVICE BROADCASTERS
AND THEIR CHALLENGES IN THE ONLINE ERA
A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE UK AND GERMANY

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Abstract

This thesis aims to establish the differences and similarities in how publicly-funded public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany negotiate challenges and opportunities related to the transition from broadcasting to a multi-platform provision for children. The substantive subject of this research is the transition from public service broadcasting to public service multi-platform media for children under 13 years in the United Kingdom and Germany, where public service broadcasters offer content and services on multiple platforms, including traditional TV, audio, online and mobile media. The research focuses on the publicly-funded broadcasters SWR, BR (ARD), BBC and ZDF and ARD/ZDF's joint children's channel KiKA, while the original research further narrows the focus down to those services on new online and mobile platforms.

The research applies a qualitative comparative approach based on a triangulation of literature study, document analysis and semi-structured expert interviews with broadcasters, producers and stakeholders in the policy-making process. The thesis consists of three parts and a conclusion. The thesis concludes that, although there are some similarities, the BBC and the German public service broadcasters under review differ in regard to how they understand the challenge of the multi-platform transformation, the main sources and characteristics of that challenge and the purpose of the multi-platform provision.

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Declaration

I declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work.

Acronyms

ARD	Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BR	Bayerischer Rundfunk
CBBC	BBC children's channel
CBeebies	BBC children's channel for preschool-children
Das Erste	Erstes Deutsches Fernsehen, ARD's joint national channel
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DST	Drei-Stufen-Test (market/public impact approval test)
GVK	Gremienvorsitzendenkonferenz der ARD
IP	Internet Protocol
ITV	Independent Television
KiKA	(also KI.KA, KiKa, Kika, Kinderkanal), ARD/ZDF children's channel
MDR	Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk
NDR	Norddeutscher Rundfunk
Ofcom	Office of Communications
PSB	Public Service Broadcasting
PSBs	Public Service Broadcasters
PSM	Public Service Media
PVT	Public Value Test (market/public impact approval test)
SWR	Südwestrundfunk
VOD	Video-on-demand
WDR	Westdeutscher Rundfunk
ZDF	Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen

Part One

Public service broadcasting for children

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

This chapter acts as an introduction to the main issues of the thesis, the present debate about public service broadcasting and children's multi-platform media, and the scope and relevance of this research. It also explains the structure and draws an outline of the thesis.

1.1 Introduction to the thesis and research

1.1.1 Children's public service broadcasting in the online era

Public service broadcasters are acting in a media environment that is characterised by continuous technological, social, regulatory and institutional change. These changes are also affecting how child audiences interact with media. Although during the time of this research people were watching more television than ever before (AGF/GfK, 2011; BARB, 2012) and television was still the number one medium for many children, at the same time children and young people were also adopting several other media platforms for their entertainment, information and communications purposes (Marsh et al., 2005; Ofcom, 2012a). The computer, the Internet, interactive applications and games, online video and audio, social media, mobile communications and traditional radio and television are part of the daily lives of children and young people in Europe and many other parts of the world. In the UK, for example, half of all 12-15-year olds who own a smartphone, are now reported to miss their smartphones and the Internet more than television (p. 4). In the US, it is argued, that older children have begun to lose interest in traditional broadcast technologies and increasingly consume TV content on new media platforms (Rideout et al., 2010).

Provision for children is regarded as a key remit of public service broadcasting and it is not disputed that public service media have an important role to play in catering for children. Children's television has been 'at the heart of the UK's public service broadcasting system for over fifty years' and in that period 'the UK has built a reputation for producing some of the most distinctive and high quality children's programming in the world' (Ofcom, 2007a). PSBs in Germany have also provided for children since they first launched and have created a range of popular and high quality children's content during their history (see Chapter 3).

However, with the rise of online and mobile information and entertainment media, the role of PSB is being redefined and adjusted at many different levels (Trappel, 2008; Humphreys, 2010; Woldt, 2010a; Jäckel, 2010). The emergence of digital and online media technology and the fragmentation of the media landscape and audiences have not only raised questions about the necessity of public service broadcasting, but have fuelled protests against PSBs' assumed privileges, existing media policies and regulatory procedures pertaining to public service media throughout Europe (Barnett 2006; Iosifides, 2007; Iosifides, 2010; Woldt, 2010a). Public service broadcasting in Western Europe has traditionally been seen as a vital part of democratic culture by providing plurality and quality in information and entertainment; but in an increasingly fragmented media environment public service media are losing legitimacy in many areas of provision, and are 'facing a growing necessity to justify their operations and performances as a means of improving credibility and legitimacy' (Picard, 2003: 30). During these times of rising pressure to justify the existence of PSB, broadcasters have created a provision for children across multiple platforms.

The diversification and fragmentation of the media environment are bringing new opportunities and challenges that require new approaches to content development, exploitation and regulation for all services, including those for children. In response to the multi-level changes, public service broadcasters in both countries are adapting their strategies in order to reach and serve their audiences. PSBs began to offer content and services on new platforms and introduced new types of content for children (see Chapters 5-7). Both the BBC and the German public service broadcasters launched digital channels, websites, interactive content and on-demand video and audio, and by the time of this research offered a diverse range of content accessible on TVs, computers, tablet PCs, mobile phones, Smart TVs and games consoles. By offering these different types of content and services, broadcasters like the BBC, ARD and ZDF are transforming from being broadcasters into multi-platform providers; and yet, their transformation shows differences and similarities.

1.1.2 The subject of research

The substantive subject of this research is the transition from public service broadcasting to a public service multi-platform provision for children under

13 years in the UK and Germany, with a focus on the publicly-funded public service broadcasters, BBC, ARD and ZDF. The activities, experiences, challenges, strategies and perceived role and remit of public service broadcasters for children in a multi-platform era are the focal point of study. The period under examination extends from the start of the first public service online services in the mid-1990s until the present.

The research focuses on the challenges and strategies employed by the broadcasters during the multi-platform implementation. The audience perspective and children's media consumption will only be discussed contextually. The focus of interest in this thesis will be on how broadcasters adapt to new technologies, changing media consumption, to audience demands and other factors.

The research undertaken utilises a qualitative comparative approach to the subject of children's public service media in two different European countries, based on a review of primary and secondary literature, document analysis, and semi-structured interviews with stakeholders involved in children's public service broadcasting production and regulation.

1.1.3 The relevance and purpose of the research

The substantive aim and purpose of the research is to gain a better understanding of the characteristics of the transformation from public service broadcasting to a public service multi-platform provision for children, by analysing the approaches and perspectives of public service broadcasters in Germany and the UK during their implementation of multi-platform services for children. The thesis aims to establish the differences and similarities in the challenges and strategies of publicly-funded broadcasters in Germany and the UK. Steemers (2010b: 39) shows that '[b]y examining the broader field of production, including institutional and competitive relationships, dependencies, key players, and professional practices, we can better understand media outputs and the internal and external factors that determine these'.

It is the aim of this thesis to create a policy-relevant study, one that enriches the public debate about public service media by providing a clearer understanding of the broadcasters' perspective and their challenges and strategies in the online era. Identifying the challenges and strategies of

public service broadcasters and the situations they face in the online era and clarifying how they understand the purpose of the children's multi-platform provision may be highly relevant for the future development and evolution of public service broadcasting, because the provision of children's content is regarded as a key part of the public service remit in Germany and the UK. The restriction of PSB for children to traditional media and media platforms, or confining it online to specific content, could be the beginning of the end for PSB. It is argued that if public service media fail to engage with their audiences of children and young people over new media platforms, then they run the risk of losing them as adults, which ultimately undermines the justification for PSB as a whole (D'Arma and Steemers, 2010a).

Also because of the 'wider symbolic importance and emotional force of childhood', some see children's media, therefore, as the 'key site in the struggle to preserve public service broadcasting' (Buckingham et al., 1999: 7). That it may become a central argument for retaining public service media in the online era is indicated by developments at the BBC during its 2010 strategy review, when children's provision was defined as one of the BBC's five editorial priorities (BBC, 2010; BBC Trust, 2010b).

There is a second reason for the importance of understanding the broadcasters' perspective. It may be relevant to current ideas on public service provision for children. A provision directed at children is not only a provision directed at future public service viewers, it is also one made for consumption by a considerable part of society today. If one assumes agreement on a need and role for public service media in today's societies, of which children are part, understanding the challenges and strategies of broadcasters, as well as understanding some of their struggles in achieving a contemporary provision for children, is key to the present provision and for its wider regulatory context.

For the purposes of this research, public service broadcasting is regarded as a media policy tool (Humphreys, 2008), a policy tool intended to support the provision for children, and ultimately to present the assumed benefit of public service media to society and democracy in general. The relevance of public service multi-platform provision as a policy tool is often only considered after the failure or withdrawal of other policy tools that had previously ensured a provision for children. For example, when advertising-funded broadcasters reduced their historically strong commitment to the

child audience, the BBC was left as the main commissioner of children's content in the UK (D'Arma and Steemers, 2010b). Public service media for children are also often considered in the context of negative regulation, to safeguard children from certain content. This research, however, builds on the idea of public service media as a tool for *positive* regulation, for ensuring a contemporary provision for children with certain content and services.

1.1.4 Comparing PSBs in the UK and Germany

The research compares the BBC, ARD and ZDF in their transformation towards a multi-platform children's provision, because they represent three highly respected public service broadcasters, who share many cultural and historical similarities, but where also some interesting differences can be perceived. First, there are structural and organisational similarities. All three broadcasters (an association of broadcasters in the case of the ARD) are publicly-owned broadcasters funded by a licence fee (a concept of publicly- and privately-owned public service broadcasting exists only in the UK, for public service obligations of German commercial media, e.g., see Schröder et al., 2011). Second, they both have a funding model based on the licence fee with commercial arms generating additional income from commercial activities (e.g., see BBC, 2012a). In Germany, broadcasters also generate additional income from advertising (e.g., see KEF, 2011). Third, as broadcasters acting within two of the biggest European TV markets of similar size, around £11bn TV industry revenue in 2010 (Ofcom, 2011c, see also 2010), they are not only players in a national media environment, but in a globalised one, where competitors are not confined to domestic commercial media, but include well-resourced US media conglomerates and Web-based companies, serving a child audience who can choose from a variety of national and international media offerings.

Fourth, the broadcasters share a similar history in serving children. All three public service broadcasters are achieving high audience shares, have a long tradition in children's public service broadcasting, and face strong lobbying from private competitors also in regard to their children's propositions. Many similarities derive from the fact that the BBC functioned as a role model for German PSB in a structural and ethical sense from its outset throughout its history (Hickethier, 1998: 63-65; Humphreys, 1994:

129, 154; Steemers, 1989). The BBC was also referred to as a role model at certain stages in the history of German children's PSB (see Chapter 4). After World War II several broadcasters were set up by the Allied nations in different states in Germany (Hickethier, 1998: 64-65) with the goal 'to provide independent and pluralistic programming' (Schulz et al. 2002: 6) and 'a public service orientation with a broadcasting set-up independent of direct governmental control' (Potschka, 2012: 30). To ensure these broadcasters remained independent and pluralistic in their governance, organisation and output '[e]specially the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) served as a model for German public broadcasters' in their early history (Schulz et al. 2002: 5).

However, the services for children in the two countries at the time of this research remain very different in terms of scope, funding, content production, definition of remit, public accountability, legislation and in the extent of involvement in multi-platform media for children beyond traditional broadcasting. The research examines reasons for some of these differences. For example, public service broadcasting in the UK from early on evolved as a centralised undertaking through the founding of the single broadcaster BBC (Potschka, 2012), different to the German situation, where several publicly-funded broadcasters with a public service remit were established in different federal states. Later these broadcasters formed a network of independent broadcasters, the Association of German Public Service Broadcasting Corporations, ARD (Schulz et al. 2002). Therefore, the fact that Germany is a federal country 'is strongly reflected in broadcasting' (Potschka, 2012) when it comes to regulation as well as corporate strategies.

This research showed that public service broadcasting in the two countries in the multi-platform era also largely differs in that regard that 'German public service broadcasters have continued to benefit from a stable and comparatively generous financial underpinning' (Humphreys, 2010: 14) and also witnessed increasing online budgets during the time of the research (KEF 2011), whereas the BBC faced rounds of considerable budget cuts including a 25% reduction of the online budget (BBC Trust, 2011b). On the other hand, in regard to the PSB remit German broadcasters appear disadvantaged, because, although sharing the same overall remit with the BBC - to inform, educate, and entertain (and *to advice* in Germany) (see, Royal Charter, 2006; 12th Broadcasting State Agreement/12. Rundfunkänderungsstaatsvertrag, 2008), their entertainment remit appears

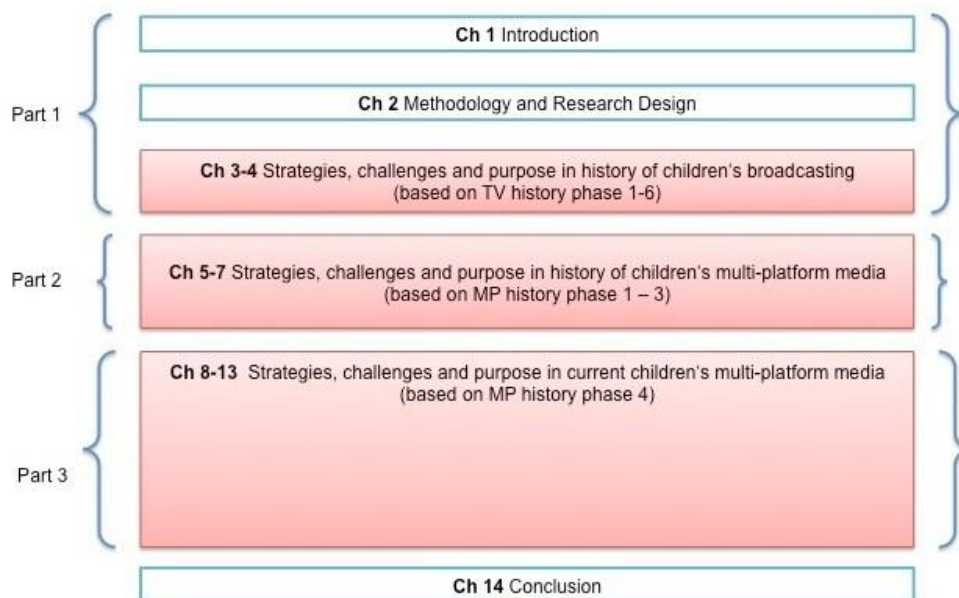
less established and much more disputed.

A research with a comparative approach looking at the BBC, ARD and ZDF can illuminate differences in the strategies and their underlying rationales as well as in the specific challenges (both in historical and cross-national comparisons) and, by doing so, identify the characteristics of the two public service systems, in order to provide valuable material for further debate and research on the role, remit and regulation of public service media in the online era.

1.2 Thesis structure and definitions

1.2.1 Thesis structure

The macro-structure of the thesis consists of three parts and a conclusion. Part One provides the context, including introduction, methodology, research design, and literature review. Parts Two and Three consist of the original research.



The substantive subject of this research is the transition from public service broadcasting to public service multi-platform media for children under 13 years in the UK and Germany, where public service broadcasters offer content and services on multiple platforms, including traditional TV, radio, online and mobile media. The research focuses on the publicly-

funded broadcasters ARD, BBC and ZDF, while the original research further narrows down the focus to those services on new online and mobile platforms.

The substantive aim of the research is to establish the differences and similarities in the challenges and opportunities the broadcasters perceive and the strategies they apply during the implementation of a multi-platform provision for children.

The central question of the research is:

How do publicly-funded public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany perceive and negotiate challenges and opportunities related to the transition from broadcasting to a multi-platform provision for children?

1.2.2 Definitions: Public service media for children

I have chosen to concentrate on services for children under 13, because broadcasters' services for children in the UK and in Germany target children in this age range. The digital channels in question are: CBBC, intended for 6-12 year-old children, CBeebies for 'children aged 6 or under', and KiKA for children 'between 3 and 13 years' (BBC Trust, 2010c; 2011a; KiKa, 2012).

When this thesis addresses public service broadcasting or public service media for children, it addresses content and services made for children (Buckingham et al., 1999; D'Arma and Steemers, 2010a). Children's media in the context of this research are not media that are used, watched or played by children (children use, enjoy and learn from programmes, content and services made for adults, as well as programmes and services made for children). For the purpose of this research, children's media are defined as media that are produced for children to use, watch, play or listen to them. This research understands children's programmes or content not as a programme genre, but draws on the approach that it is the 'target audience, not a particular language, topic or format' that defines them (D'Arma and Steemers, 2010a: 117).

Therefore, the areas under scrutiny in this research are the content and services produced by public service broadcasters for children, distributed on television, radio, online and mobile media. My research will concentrate

on television, not on radio broadcasting. Services and content relevant to this research include television channels (radio only contextually) distributed on linear or non-linear platforms; websites and portals offering content ranging from images, texts and feeds to games and video players or downloads; online on-demand repositories; representations on third party platforms; tools for playing, listening, creating, searching or exchanging digital content, including tools for user-generated content or social and interactive media, such as blogs, chats and multi-player games.

1.2.3 Definitions: Public service media covered in this research

For the research, the multi-platform products and services for children of the BBC and six German public service outlets and channels were examined, ARD, Das Erste, SWR, BR, ZDF and KiKA (three public service broadcasters, a network of broadcasters, two jointly produced channels).

The specific PSB set up in Germany with a group of nine regional broadcasters under the ARD umbrella and the ZDF, which offer regional and nationwide TV channels (for details on German PSB system, see Schulz et al., 2002; on media system, see Schröder et al., 2011), led to the fact that during the period covered in this research German PSBs had been offering several separate and very different propositions for children.

At ZDF, one stream of online products and services developed under the cross-platform brand ZDFtivi. At ARD, four streams of online media developed alongside each other. First, a stream of some ARD-broadcasters' general children's propositions, often under a genre section called 'Children'. Second, a stream of the ARD-broadcasters' online children's brands specifically set up for the Internet and not linked to any TV/radio brand or programming slot (e.g., SWR's Kindernetz, BR-Kinderinsel). Third, a stream of websites related to a specific children's TV or radio programme (e.g. tigerentenclub.de, wdrmaus.de), which showed parent broadcaster branding and affiliation to varying degree. Fourth, a stream of products and services offered by ARD's overarching bodies, such as ARD Online or Das Erste. In this research, four propositions represent this range of different ARD-broadcasters' services for children.

kinder.ard.de (ARD, SWR), checkeins.de (Das Erste, BR)

Kinder.ard.de (part of a range of thematic website portals on ARD.de, some of which created by SWR), represented the ARD-broadcasters' children's online offerings (for details, see ARD, 2010). It was created by ARD Online (based at SWR in Mainz) and had no equivalent in the TV era. By the end of the period covered in this research, kinder.ard.de did 'not offer autonomous content, but [...] a central access' (Rundfunkrat des MDR, 2010: 65) with links to selected children's websites produced by federal ARD-broadcasters and KiKA.

National TV channel Das Erste, jointly run by ARD-broadcasters, offered a separate online children's outlet checkeins.de from within Das Erste's online department (based in Das Erste headquarters at BR in Munich). It represented the ARD-compound's branded children's television slot, Check Eins (scheduling/planning at WDR, Cologne; editorial at HR, Frankfurt). The online offering included programme-related text-based websites and embedded 'selected television programmes in a safeguarded environment' (Programmdirektion Erstes Deutsches Fernsehen, 2010: 88).

Also ARD Digital (ard-digital.de, produced by RBB), which published ARD Text and EPG data (ARD, 2010: 30), offered information for children under thematic sections and links to broadcasters' websites (kika.de, kikaninchen.de) and programme websites (e.g. sesamstrasse.de). It did not offer links to on-demand content for children.

Kindernetz (SWR), BR-Kinderinsel (BR)

SWR's Kindernetz ('Children's Web') is an example for the second stream of online services, a comprehensive successful proposition (Breunig, 2002) more closely linked to the children's television department (based at SWR in Baden-Baden), offering non-programme related content and content related to radio and TV programmes of SWR, KiKA and ARD-broadcasters. SWR's Kindernetz was targeted at preschool and school children, had a focus on news, information and knowledge content (Rundfunkrat des MDR, 2010: 65) as well as on participation, interaction and media education. Kindernetz offered a variety of text-based websites, games, social media applications, animated videos, news feeds, games and embedded video and audio content (ibid.). Central participatory element was Germany's longest-running public service social media platform for children, launched in 1997.

Towards the end of the research, Kindernetz provided a central online access point with links to ARD-broadcasters' news offerings and news programme websites for children.

BR-Kinderinsel ('Children's Island') is an example of a less comprehensive proposition with much smaller budget than the SWR service with close ties to BR's radio content for children. As a website produced by BR's online department together with the radio department, and part of the Department Multimedia and Youth, it consisted mainly of text-based websites, some games and embedded audio and video for children of all ages.

ZDFtivi (ZDF)

ZDF offered to children the comprehensive Web proposition tivi.de (pronounced 'TV', based at ZDF in Mainz) with the aim to 'accompan[y] and deepe[n] the themes of the television programmes of the ZDF channel family and the partner channels' (ZDF, 2010a: 37). ZDF launched tivi.de (sometimes referred to as ZDFtivi.de) in 1998, as a cross-platform brand for children closely linked to ZDF's weekend TV slot for children, ZDF tivi, a brand that ZDF had introduced a year before (ZDF, 2010a: 37; ZDF, 2012; Breunig, 2002). According to interviewees, tivi.de catered for children aged 3 to 14, some sources referred to a target audience of 8 to 12 year-olds (ZDF, 2012). ZDFtivi was conceptualised as a ZDF 'portal', similar to the 'portals' ZDFheute (news) and ZDFsport. Content and services on ZDFtivi.de could be regarded as concomitant to programmes produced, commissioned or acquired by ZDF, as tivi.de offered content related to TV programmes aired on ZDF, aired on both ZDF and KiKA and those aired solely on KiKA. Previously part of the department New Media, the ZDFtivi online teams had merged with the children's television department shortly before the time of the interviews, sign-off for the online services now lay within the editorial department Children and Youth.

Tivi.de also incorporated an extensive video-on-demand offering, displayed as 'ZDF tivi videos' with on-demand and catch-up video produced, acquired or commissioned by ZDF, both aired on ZDF and KiKA. Different to other propositions such as Das Erste's videos section for children, ZDFtivi's interface resembled more an on-demand application like iPlayer.

Kika.de, Kikaninchen, KiKAplus (KiKA, ARD/ZDF, MDR)

Children's channel KiKA, jointly produced by ARD and ZDF (based at MDR in Erfurt), broadcast programmes produced by KiKA, ARD-broadcasters and ZDF. As PSB's central children's TV outlet, many programmes that were produced by the ARD-broadcasters and ZDF were solely produced to be aired on KiKA. As this research shows, for services other than traditional linear television KiKA's remit was less clear at the time of the research, as it offered a different portfolio online than on television. It will be argued that during the time of the research, in the multi-platform era, the children's channel brand KiKA did not represent the central public service children's brand that it had been representing in the broadcasting era. Until 2010, KiKA had offered a comprehensive and among children successful website, kika.de (Landtag von Sachsen-Anhalt, 2010: 26), with programme-related and unrelated content, games, message boards, on-demand video and live-streams. In 2010, a separate preschool portal, Kikaninchen.de, and a separate on-demand and catch-up application, KiKA.plus, launched (ARD, 2012c). KiKA's services on new platforms were produced by KiKA's online department, with close ties to KiKA's television department.

CBBC, CBeebies (BBC)

By the time of this research, the BBC offered two children's propositions across TV and the Internet with videos, games, news, interactive applications and a range of channel-related interactive content offered on bbc.co.uk/cbbc and bbc.co.uk/cbeebies. CBeebies and CBBC had been established as two separate cross-platform brands with the launch of the BBC's two digital children's channels in 2002 (BBC, 2002a: 13; Marc Goodchild, cited in Cineuropa, 2008). Comprehensive on-demand and catch up content for child audiences were offered on the general iPlayer service and, from 2008, on separate children's versions of the iPlayer, accessible through the CBBC and CBeebies channel websites (BBC, 2008a). The first BBC website for children was launched in 1995 (Buckley, 2011a) followed by websites relating to specific TV programmes such as *Teletubbies* in 1997 (Marc Goodchild cited in Cineuropa, 2008). In 1998, the BBC launched the 'CBBC Website' with site name 'BBC Online - Children's BBC' and 'BBC Kids' with games, short videos, news, programme information and message boards (bbc.co.uk/cbbc snapshot 20 May 1998, 02 March 2000, Wayback Machine, 2012). The BBC's cross-platform

services were produced by the interactive department of CBeebies and CBBC with close ties to the television production departments (since 2011 based at BBC in Manchester/Salford).

1.3 Thesis Outline

The thesis consists of three parts and a conclusion, fourteen chapters overall. Part One (Chapters 1-4). Part Two (Chapters 5-7). Part Three (Chapters 8-13).

Part One provides the literature review and helps to situate the research and its subjects in previous academic endeavours and findings. Parts Two and Three form the original research.

Following the introduction to the research in **Chapter 1**, **Chapter 2** develops the methodology and the research design.

Chapters 2 answer the following review questions:

What constitutes an appropriate 1) methodology, 2) conceptual framework (research design), and 3) methods for answering the research questions related to the substantive aim?

What are the strengths and limitations of the chosen methodology (qualitative comparison of media systems, thematic analysis, constructive analysis) and methods (semi-structured interviews and document analysis) for this research?

In Part One, Chapters 3 and 4, I examine public service broadcasting for children over several periods in the broadcasting past, in order to evaluate the contemporary discourse (in Parts Two and Three) about the transformation of children's public service broadcasting to a multi-platform provision.

Chapters 3-4 answer the following review questions:

What does the literature reviewed suggest about how these public service broadcasters negotiated challenges in the broadcasting past?

What does the literature reviewed suggest about how these public service broadcasters understood the purpose and remit for children during the broadcasting past?

I want to gain an understanding of the past strategies and perceptions of broadcasters and their relationship with the child audience. This will enable me to contrast and compare them with the challenges and opportunities perceived by broadcasters, and the strategies applied, during the contemporary phase of technological, economic, regulatory and social change. The historical perspective is valuable for my further research, because several key issues in the discourse about children and (public service) media have consistently informed debates:

From Chapters 3-4 derive research questions RQ1, RQ2, RQ3:

RQ1: *How do publicly-funded public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany undertake the transition from broadcasting to a multi-platform provision for children? (**strategies**) (= **tools and decisions**)*

RQ2: *How do publicly-funded public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany perceive the challenges related to the transition from broadcasting to a multi-platform provision for children? (**challenges**) (= **obstacles**)*

RQ3: *How do broadcasters perceive the opportunities related to the transition from broadcasting to a multi-platform provision for children and define the purpose of children's multi-platform services? (**purpose and opportunities**) (= **rationales and aims**)*

Parts Two and Three form the analysis and results of this research. They draw together the findings from the qualitative research, including document and policy analysis and fieldwork interviews with broadcasters, producers and stakeholders in the policy-making process. Part Two looks at the history of public service multi-platform provision from the mid 1990s until 2010. Part Three focuses on the development of the provision between 2010 and 2012. For a structured comparison, the history of PSB has been divided into several time periods, where certain developments mark changes in the provision. The results of this structured comparison are organised thematically within the chapters and point to similarities and differences between the two media systems in regard to these themes.

Part Two, Chapters 5-7, set out the history of children's multi-platform public service media. They summarise the findings on the similarities and differences of past strategies, and the perceived challenges and purposes relating to the broadcasters' new media activities. The period under examination extends from the start of the first online services in the mid 1990s until 2010.

Chapters 5-7 provide the first set of answers to research questions RQ1, RQ2 and RQ3.

Part Three, Chapters 8-13, analyse the broadcasters' strategies, challenges and definitions of the purpose at the time of the research, 2010-2012.

Part Three, Chapter 8 will analyse how broadcasters viewed the child audience and the purpose and opportunities of the multi-platform provision for children while serving this audience. It will look for differences and similarities in the broadcasters' understanding of the audience, and of the purpose and opportunities of a multi-platform provision.

Chapter 8 aims to answer research question RQ3:

RQ3: *How do broadcasters perceive the opportunities related to the transition from broadcasting to a multi-platform provision for children and define the purpose of children's multi-platform services? (purpose and opportunities) (= rationales and aims)*

Chapter 9 will compare the strategies of UK and German broadcasters to create a multi-platform provision for children, and will point to the differences in their approaches to serve the child audience. This chapter will also compare the ways in which broadcasters described and understood the general transformation during the period.

Chapter 9 aims to answer research question RQ1:

RQ1: *How do publicly-funded public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany undertake the transition from broadcasting to a multi-platform provision for children? (strategies) (= tools and decisions)*

Chapters 10-13 will compare the different contributory factors at play in the two countries during the implementation of a multi-platform provision, and also the different challenges faced by public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany while implementing a multi-platform provision. **Chapter 10** will compare some contributory factors in the broadcasters' environments. **Chapters 11-13** will compare the challenges grouped into certain categories (introduced in Chapter 3): **Chapter 11** covers the challenges related to the area of Broadcaster; **Chapter 12** the challenges related to the area of Regulation and Competition; and **Chapter 13** the challenges related to the area of Products/services and Audience.

Chapters 10-13 set out to answer research question RQ2:

RQ2: *How do publicly-funded public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany perceive the challenges related to the transition from broadcasting to a multi-platform provision for children? (challenges) (= obstacles)*

Chapter 14 forms the closing summary and conclusion of the thesis. It will synthesise the findings of Part 3 and link them to review findings of Part 1 and research findings of Part 2. It will summarise the differences and similarities in the challenges the broadcasters perceive and the strategies they apply during the implementation of the multi-platform provision for children (RQ1/2); and will summarise the differences and similarities in their understandings of the public service multi-platform purpose and remit for children (RQ3).

Chapter 14 aims to synthesise the findings in order to answer the central research question:

How do publicly-funded public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany perceive and negotiate challenges and opportunities related to the transition from broadcasting to a multi-platform provision for children?

Summary

This chapter has described the aims, function and relevance of this research and has outlined the structure of the thesis. The next chapter will discuss the methodology, the research design used, and the methods applied during the research.

Chapter 2 – Methodology and Research Design

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Chapter 2 – Methodology and Research Design

2.1 Overall research design

The overall research design of this research is based on a triangulation of literature study, document analysis and expert interviews. The main sources for the research are: secondary literature; primary literature from broadcasters, regulatory bodies and interest groups; press coverage on PSB and children's media; over 30 semi-structured interviews with representatives of broadcasters, regulators, interest groups and academia; fieldnotes taken during interviews and attendance at conferences and seminars relevant to the research.

2.2 Theoretical framework

2.2.1 A qualitative, comparative, constructivist approach

For this research, I take a qualitative, comparative, constructivist approach building on different strands of research. The research draws upon theories and perspectives from media research as well as from other academic fields. It combines approaches in media and communication studies with organisation studies and narrative analysis (Gabriel, 2008; Czarniawska, 1997; 1999) and cognitive linguistics (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008).

This thesis aims to deliver accessible research by situating the research within a combination of theoretical perspectives, but at the same time using a specific and clearly set out conceptual framework to lead the methodology of the research.

2.2.2 Comparative analysis

This research utilises comparative analysis. Inspired by Iosifides (2008: 103), who shows the advantages of approaching research 'crossroads with caution by looking in the rear mirror to view the past, and the side mirror to take account of foreign experience', this research applies more than one comparative level. It not only compares broadcasters in two countries, but also compares these broadcasters' present with their past.

It is argued that many media policy studies do not overcome 'container thinking' (Hepp and Couldry, 2009: 32). For example, Iosifides (2008: 184) finds it 'very rare that debates over the future shape of UK Public Service Broadcasting look beyond Britain'. Similarly, Hallin and Mancini (2004: 2) argue that in countries with the 'most-developed media scholarship', most literature is 'highly ethnocentric'. They hold that features of one's own media system are 'assumed to be "natural," or in some cases are so familiar that they are not perceived at all', and therefore see the biggest strength of the comparative approach in its ability to 'denaturalize' (ibid.). They show that 'comparison forces us to conceptualize more clearly what aspects of that system actually require explanation' (Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 2).

According to Hallin and Mancini (2004: 1), comparative analysis is valuable in social research, 'because it sensitizes us to variation and to similarity, and this can contribute powerfully to concept formation and to the refinement of our conceptual apparatus'. A comparative approach can produce a valuable canvas for reflection and conceptualisation by carving out 'things we did not notice and therefore had not conceptualized' (p. 3) and thus makes the comparative analysis a clarifying tool for a closer look at national public service media.

Several theoretical frameworks have been deployed to compare public service broadcasters. Many researchers, for example, have looked at the present challenges of public broadcasting, some across national borders (Donders and Moe, 2011; Humphreys, 2008; Humphreys, 2009b; Iosifides, 2007; Iosifides, 2010; Jakubowicz, 2003; Michalis, 2010; Steemers, 1989; 2001a; 2002; Steemers, 2010a; Woldt, 2006). Some of these research examples have been helpful as reference points to construct a conceptual framework for this research, others by showing the importance of both the systematic description and the systematic comparison as stages of the comparative analysis. The examples showed that in order to study and compare empirically how broadcasters negotiate challenges during a certain period, the comparative analysis, as Thomaß (2007c: 26) explains, must support the 'epistemological interest in similarities and differences'. In media and communications studies, Thomaß' (2007a) and Hallin and Mancini's (2004) framework for comparing media systems proved beneficial as reference points. Thomaß (2007c: 15) utilises what she calls a pragmatic concept of systems, borrowed from systems theory without 'corresponding with all its definitions and differentiations'. A system here is understood as a complex system of organisations formed for a specific purpose and time-

frame, characterised by 'target-oriented and specialised action' (ibid.).

Hallin and Mancini's (2004) model, was less beneficial for this research task, because of the emphasis on the role of the press and the political dimension of media systems. It acted as a reference point in so far as it shows the importance of studying the 'historical development of institutions' (p. 14). Both approaches, Thomaß (2007c) and Hallin and Mancini (2004), show that an effective comparison has to build on a systematic approach to developing the analytical framework and applying it to the subject of research. Dunleavy (2003) added to the conceptual framework by showing that analytical concepts have to be simple enough to be commonly understood. With an analytical structure in place and a systematic description of those elements to be compared 'by way of classification and typologisation', Thomaß shows, 'complexity is being reduced' (Thomaß, 2007c: 26). For example, Iosifides (2007), compares the strategies of European PSBs in the digital era by way of comparing national case studies across certain categories, such as 'General characteristics of the TV market', 'The regulatory framework', 'Funding' and others.

2.2.3 Qualitative, constructivist analysis

This research will draw its conclusions from a qualitative, constructivist analysis within the systematic comparison. The qualitative approach opens up to social researchers other research tools and methods that the quantitative approach cannot offer, namely, 'to discover a phenomenon in all its textures and nuances, to focus on and explore' (Rapley, 2011: 285). Bryman (2004: 4) argues that 'methods of social research are closely tied to different visions of how social reality should be studied'. To understand social realities, both quantitative and qualitative research are important contributors to knowledge, and also to the field of public service media. Academic research on the goals, performance and strategies of broadcasters would be less substantial if it lacked quantitative data on, for example, total and specific budgets, minutes of programme output, viewing times and media use. However, this research project aims not to create figures from the comparison, but as qualitative research using thematic analysis, what it aims to develop out of the data are themes, concepts, categories, and their relation to each other (Bryman, 2001: 292).

It is from a constructivist researcher's perspective that this research examines how public service broadcasters negotiate challenges and opportunities related to the transition from broadcasting to multi-platform media for children. The research establishes the differences and similarities in the challenges, opportunities and strategies, assuming that these social phenomena and categories have no technical definition with formal properties, nor exist independently from social actors (individuals or institutions) that shape and interpret these categories. Constructivists build their work upon the 'assumption that knowing is not matching reality, but rather finding a fit with observations' (Pasztor, 2004: 320).

Lakoff and Johnson's (2008) theory of 'embodied realism' delivers another element of the theoretical framework. Human experience and metaphor are building stones of their theory. They claim that our minds are inherently embodied and that we can organise abstract reasoning only within the limits of our sensory-motor systems. Lakoff and Johnson (2008), therefore argue that metaphors, drawn from how we have been experiencing the world around us, are a central element of most abstract, conceptual systems and form a key to our understanding of abstract phenomena.

Metaphors provide excellent tools for the comparison, because they are understood as comparative tools for theorising similarity between two different types of activity by projecting characteristics of something concrete on to an abstract concept or by using spatial orientation of, for example, up and down, front or back (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008: 270). Metaphors can help to structure complex concepts with the help of other concepts to describe a phenomenon. For example, *story*, *quest* or *challenge* are such metaphors that help organise the way we think, communicate and collaboratively or individually find solutions to problems. This research uses the concept of metaphor for the conceptual framework as a tool to structure the investigation, as well as during the thematic analysis of the research material, by using it as a key to understanding the broadcasters' perspective, and institutional and subjective reasoning.

2.2.4 The researcher's own position

Two main themes have informed my self-conception as a researcher. First, throughout the research, from data gathering and analysis to the writing up phases, I tried to uphold a self-reflective understanding of the researcher's position as a distinct viewpoint, and remind myself 'to recognize and acknowledge that research cannot be value free' (Bryman, 2001: 23).

Secondly, I tried to uphold a general openness to the research field and the themes and issues that occurred. I followed Rapley's (2011: 279) advice: who argues, 'when undertaking analysis you need to be prepared to be led down novel and unexpected paths, to be open and to be fascinated. Potential ideas can emerge from any quarter – from prior and ongoing reading, your knowledge of the field, from engagements with your data, from conversations with colleagues, and from the life beyond academia – and from any phase in the life-cycle of the project'.

There can be many reasons to start a research project. Some research is motivated by concerns about problems, inequalities, or underperformance of democratic structures. Others can be motivated by curiosity about phenomena, some 'emerge out of the researcher's personal biography' (Bryman, 2004: 5). The motivation to embark on this research project is perhaps a strong belief in the importance of media and communication in democratic societies, considered as important for a flourishing civil society and for a flourishing creative and journalistic production landscape.

I set out to undertake this research with the presupposition that media for children are an important provision in the public interest; and, as carriers of stories, knowledge and culture, the media are as important in children's lives as they are for adults. It was thus a belief in the need for a strong and sustainable public service and an innovative and prospering production landscape that pre-informed my research perspective, the formulating of research aims and research questions.

2.3 The conceptual framework

Thesis and research consist of two explanatory dimensions, an analytical and an argumentative dimension. To organise the thesis and research, I have used a matrix pattern, consisting of (A) an analytical and (B) an argumentative dimension (building on Dunleavy, 2003; Thomaß, 2007c).

2.3.1 Analytical and argumentative dimensions

The first concept for the analytical dimension is (A) the story metaphor, a narrative sequence that functions as an overarching theoretical concept, enabling a systematic approach to the comparative analysis. 'Story' is regarded as both a structural and ontological metaphor and is used here to describe phenomena related to public service broadcasters (building on e.g., Gabriel, 2008; Czarniawska, 1997; Lakoff and Johnson, 2008). The second concept is that of the history of public service media as an ongoing cyclical narrative, seeing periods come and go over many decades. Therefore, one turn of the story cycle is a specific time period in the long-term narrative in the history of public service media.

For the argumentative dimension the research and thesis utilises (B) the comparison as an argumentative tool. This leads to a historicised and periodised comparative approach, with the concept of story at its centre.

Using these two devices of story/narrative sequence and time periods, I looked at the periods of children's broadcasting and multi-platform provision. In this construct, the period on which the research interviews are focused (2010-12) forms only one of many periods in the history of public service media. The different elements of a story cycle provide the different categories for classification within the research (strategies/ risks/ challenges/ aims/ purpose/ obstacles/ contributory factors). It is on the level of these categories, that I have then compared the BBC with the German PSBs. This structure was used throughout for comparative research for Chapters 3-4, 5-7, 8-13. The written thesis then details the main themes that have arisen in the comparison within these categories.

2.3.2 Analytical dimension 1 – story cycle/narrative sequence

The analytical device of the story is here understood as a form of narrative, characterised by 'predicaments, trials and crises which call for choices, decisions, actions and interactions, whose actual outcomes are often at odds with the characters' intentions and purposes' (Gabriel, 2008). The story cycle represents a closed narrative sequence with beginning and end.

The choice of device builds on the view that

a) stories are constructs which connect events to a sequence, process or narrative (Gabriel, 2008; Czarniawska, 1997).

b) stories can function as 'structural metaphors' to make sense of certain phenomena and processes; metaphors are cognitive devices to structure our thinking (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008).

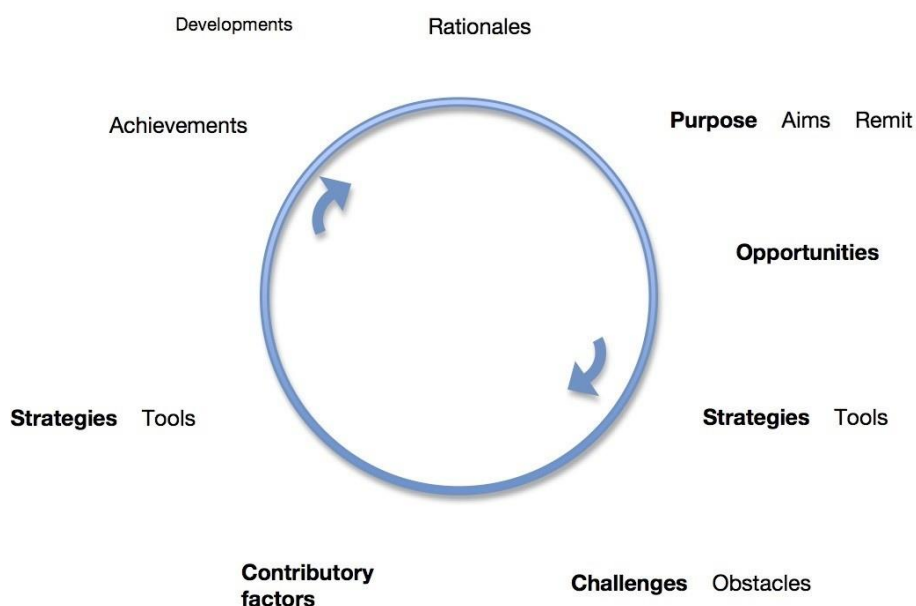
c) story and the metaphor 'process as quest/challenge' may be accounted to the 'root or core metaphors' in Western approaches to sense-making (Gabriel, 2008); one can therefore assume that they are widely understood and applied.

d) both metaphors, the 'process as quest/challenge' and the 'story/narrative', are important in our understanding of organisations.

The story/narrative sequence is employed as a structural analytical device in this research and is understood as part of an ongoing cycle of sequences (periods) with the same categories, but with changing and continuing themes during the history of children's public service broadcasting. The analytical categories set out in the research aim are regarded as elements of this narrative sequence (see diagram): developments, rationales, aims/purposes, strategies/tools, opportunities, challenges/obstacles, contributory factors, achievements, contextual developments.

Conceptual Framework: Analytical Tools

The Story Cycle



2.3.3 Analytical dimension 2 – periodised historical account

The historical comparison consisted of several periods, in each of which the analytical categories (strategies, challenges etc.) were used in a similar way. Accordingly, the period under scrutiny, namely, the ‘transition from public service broadcasting to public service multi-platform media’, was regarded as only one period in a sequence of many periods during the history of public service broadcasting.

The original research therefore aims to provide qualitative data about moments in the history of the overarching organisational narrative of children’s public service broadcasting, placing these moments and periods in the context of previous moments and periods.

The research divided the PSB history into three macro periods, the broadcasting past (Chapters 3-4), the multi-platform past (Chapters 5-7), and multi-platform present (Chapters 8-13). For the comparative analysis, the macro periods were divided into micro periods, phases. For the multi-platform history these periods were Phase 1 (from mid 1990s to 2000), Phase 2 (from 2000/1 to 2005), Phase 3 (from 2006 to 2009) and Phase 4 (from 2010 to 2012). Also the broadcasting past was divided for this research into six phases.

2.3.4 Argumentative dimension – comparison

On the level of each of the above-mentioned categories (strategies, challenges, purpose, contributory factors) the second explanatory dimension is to be found, the comparison. This argumentative dimension is delivered as a comparison of the BBC and the German PSBs (differences and similarities). On the level of each of these categories the thesis points to several themes, from which differences and similarities emerged from the source material.

Chapters 3-4, 5-7 and 8-13 compare the broadcasting past, multi-platform past and multi-platform present in the UK and Germany, dividing the PSB history into three macro periods and several micro periods, which created the space for the analysis and the main argumentative dimension relevant to the written thesis, in order to identify themes and the related similarities and differences.

Argumentative dimension (comparison UK / GE)	BBC	German PSBs
Analytical dimension (elements of narrative/story)		
purpose and opportunities	theme 1 theme 2 theme 3	
strategies	theme 1 theme 2 theme 3	
contributory factors	theme 1 theme 2 theme 3	
challenges	theme 1 theme 2 theme 3	

Part One mirrors the approach of argumentative and analytical dimensions used in the original research (Part Two), by comparing the Broadcasting Past UK – GE, using the same categories. Chapters 3-4 look at how broadcasters have negotiated challenges in the broadcasting past, with the aim of contextualising the present challenges (during the multi-platform implementation).

Part One also introduces classifications for certain groups of challenges experienced by the broadcasters, grouping challenges under several headings: Broadcaster, Regulation, Audience, Products/services, Competition, Other External Factors. These headings are employed in the final conclusion of the thesis.

The Conclusion (Chapter 14) draws together the findings from the previous chapters. Here, the secondary argumentative dimension (Present – Past) (changes and continuities) is important. It links the findings on the main argumentative level (Chapters 8-13) (multi-platform present: UK – GE) to those of Chapters 5-7 (multi-platform past: UK – GE) and Chapters 3-4 (broadcasting past: UK – GE).

2.4 Practical elements of the research

2.4.1 The research questions

The following research questions are discussed through literature studies, document and policy analysis and expert interviews:

RQ1: *How do publicly-funded public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany undertake the transition from broadcasting to a multi-platform provision for children? (**strategies**) (= **tools and decisions**)*

RQ2: *How do publicly-funded public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany perceive the challenges related to the transition from broadcasting to a multi-platform provision for children? (**challenges**) (= **obstacles**)*

RQ3: *How do broadcasters perceive the opportunities related to the transition from broadcasting to a multi-platform provision for children and define the purpose of children's multi-platform services? (**purpose and opportunities**) (= **rationales and aims**)*

2.4.2 Methods and practicalities of data collection

During the first phase of research, I was mainly engaged with the literature review. The second phase included the study of documents and policies. The semi-structured expert interviews took place in 2011 and 2012 both in the UK and Germany, with the main bulk of interviews having been undertaken by April 2012 and a final phase of interviews in late 2012.

The interviews, together with the documents and policy documents, have been the most important source of data for answering the research questions with regard to the strategies and perceived challenges and opportunities faced by public service broadcasters in their transition to a public service multi-platform media provider for children.

I chose the semi-structured expert interview method and a qualitative approach, because this allowed me to produce research findings based on immediate practical specialist knowledge (Bogner, Littig and Menz, 2009) and 'the world views of research participants' (Bryman, 2001: 332). Expert interviews are an appropriate tool for this research project, because it is

assumed that expert interviewees are 'in a position to actually put their own interpretations into practice' (Bogner, Littig and Menz, 2009: 7) and at the same time represent 'a wider circle of players' (p. 2). This research understands experts as stakeholders who have access to information about decision-making processes and are responsible for implementing decisions, strategies and solutions (Meuser and Nagel, 1991). As a method expert interviews provide not only the advantage that respondents have special insight, responsibilities and knowledge, but also that the interviews can be an 'efficient and concentrated method of gathering data' in those social fields where access may be restricted (Bogner, Littig and Menz, 2009: 2).

One issue to be considered in a research that uses field interviews and document analysis is access and the selection of an appropriate sample group of interviewees. Gaining access to stakeholders in the media who are relevant for this research can be regarded as one of the most difficult steps of the research (Bryman 2001: 292). Access to different relevant stakeholders varied, ranging from interview requests being denied to a timely scheduling. Overall the research was regarded by respondents as relevant research in the field. Some interviewees who agreed to take part in the interviews, asked for their anonymity to be protected and many interviewees asked for parts of their contributions to be anonymised when sensitive topics were discussed. In view of recent examples of qualitative research about public service multi-platform media based on anonymised interviewees (see, Bennett et al., 2012) and the aim to find a fit between research objective and enabling participants to openly discuss topics including those regarded as sensitive the decision has been made to anonymise interview quotes throughout the thesis. For the reader the group of interest of the interviewees is indicated within the text, interviewees are referred to by number throughout and show if quotes derive from interviews held and fieldnotes made in Germany or in the UK ('D'-prefix or 'UK'-prefix, e.g. D21, UK51). For a list of interviewees, please see Appendix II.

Interviewees have been selected from three groups of interest: (1) producers (both TV and online), including editorial, audience research, and interactive technology and design, (2) governance, and (3) civic interest groups. There is a larger sample of interviewees from Germany than the UK, because the research set out to examine the internal perspective of three broadcasters and six outlets in Germany to cover the federal ARD-network's and ZDF's provision vis-à-vis only one broadcaster in the UK, the BBC. The

first group of interviewees consisted of senior interactive and TV executive producers, technology leads, heads of interactive departments and children's departments, senior research executives at BBC, CBBC, CBeebies, BR, KiKA, SWR and ZDF. The second group consisted of senior policy executives of ARD, BBC and ZDF and governing bodies Ofcom, State Chancelleries and former and active members of German broadcasting councils. The third group consisted of civic groups and former children's producers both in Germany and the UK.

The selection of the interviewees was done in a systematic manner and after careful assessment by identifying key personalities who were likely to make a useful contribution to the research based on their professional knowledge and experience. The aim from the researcher's perspective was representativeness and comparability. To ensure representativeness of the interview material a balanced selection was undertaken of relevant interview partners with instrumental involvement and senior roles in the multi-platform public service provision for children, in longer-term strategic planning and in the context of public service policy and governance and interest groups. To ensure comparability of contributions of people with similar levels of authority and insight in decision-making processes, interviewees with similar (former or current) roles and responsibilities were selected in the UK and Germany. Furthermore, a certain amount of structure has been applied to the interviews. They have been conducted using an interview guide with broader interview areas, some specific questions, and room for discussion of further important points which emerged during the interview.

With some exceptions, the interviews were held in person and audio recorded. The interview areas and questions were tailored to each interviewee to some extent, ensuring that the questions flowed well throughout the interview, focusing on special areas of professional expertise and experience, allowing the interviewees' viewpoints to arise naturally, as well as leading to certain subjects. The interviews were audio recorded with the consent of the participants and later transcribed using the software Scrivener, which was also used for the literature review and document analysis. The interviews lasted from one to one and a half hours. Fieldnotes were recorded by hand during and after interviews. I used Kvale's list of qualification criteria for interviewers as reference point, which stresses the importance of the attributes of an interviewer as knowledgeable, structuring, clear, sensitive, open, steering, critical, remembering and interpreting, without imposing meaning (Kvale, 1996, cited in Bryman, 2001: 318).

Following an approach to data collection suggested by Rapley (2011), which he calls 'rounds of cycles of fieldwork and office work' (p. 285), I found it ideal to alternate between phases of fieldwork and writing and office work, where the one phase informed the other. A qualitative researcher ideally performs an ongoing reflection on the research process. Rapley (2011) describes this process as where 'emerging data and ideas about it suggest further criteria for selecting additional cases, texts or settings, and you specifically seek more data to develop those ideas' (pp. 285-6).

2.4.3 Methods and practicalities of data analysis and writing up

As an analytical method I have chosen the thematic analysis (Thomas and Harden, 2007, Braun, 2006), because it seems most appropriate for examining challenges and strategies in the field of children's public service media qualitatively through interview and document analysis. Thomas and Harden (2007: 3) argue that the thematic analysis or 'synthesis', as they refer to it, is an important tool 'for the evidence-informed policy and practice movement which aims to bring research closer to decision-making'.

Thematic analysis uses an inductive approach, where major themes emerge from data through a close reading of interview transcripts and documents. At several stages of re-reading, data is repeatedly analysed and reduced to themes with data reduction as an 'ongoing activity' (Rapley, 2011: 83). This process leads to the re-ordering of data from descriptive to analytical themes.

The thematic analysis and synthesis was undertaken in four stages using a mix of deductive and inductive analysis: transcribing and reading, initial coding through highlighting and labelling, categorising and indexing, and analytical coding.

First of all, the interviews were read and transcribed and major themes were detected deductively in interview material and documents using the categories of the story metaphor introduced by the conceptual framework and the review and research questions (strategies/ risks/ challenges/ aims/ purpose/ obstacles/ contributory factors). Where possible, the material was broadly grouped into these categories.

Then, an inductive analysis was conducted, coding 'each line of text according to its meaning and content' (Thomas and Harden, 2007: 8). The material was coded and analysed for common themes and concepts, chunks of texts were assigned to codes and key words and a "bank of codes' (p. 9) was created to be available for further analysis and comparison. Some examples of these initial codes and key words are legalistic debate, public concern, bureaucracy, cordialities, restrictions, minefield media politics, phantom war, competitors' complaints, legislator, boundaries, legal complexity, undefined legal terms, legislator, court cases, understanding rules, accept regulation, sceptical observation, depublication, uncertainty about online availability periods, programme-relatedness, rules and purposes, games without programme-relation, three-step-test, different extent of scrutiny, broadcasting councils, etc.

Afterwards, the codes were reviewed, similar codes were merged, repetitions deleted, themes identified, related codes were then grouped into 'descriptive themes' and arranged in a hierarchical list of codes of meta-themes, themes and sub-themes. Then the coded material of the UK respondents and documents was compared with the German material within the above mentioned categories. Meta-themes emerged within these categories such as challenges related to specific rules for online provision, challenges related to understanding of rules, challenges related to public debate, challenges related to governance, challenges related to how rules were interpreted and implemented, challenges related to communication between broadcasters and departments about rules and regulation, etc.

Then, these descriptive themes and categories were reviewed again in relation to the research questions and literature review. Now more abstract, analytical themes were developed from the initial themes by way of interpretation, refinement and 'judgement' (Thomas and Harden, 2007: 10). Themes that emerged in the category 'Challenges' were classified by the types of challenges introduced in the literature review (Broadcaster, Products/Services, Audience, Regulation, Competition, Other External Factors). At the end of the process, the analytical themes linked to selected quotes were then incorporated into the comparative argument in relation to the research questions of the thesis chapters (Braun and Clarke, 2006), in order to make the findings about the differences and similarities between the UK and Germany available to the reader. Examples of analytical themes are 'Challenges in category Broadcaster', e.g. 'Coordinating the old and the new world', 'Collaboration and communication' and 'Challenges in category

Regulation', e.g. 'Regulation as constraint', 'Rules for on-demand/catch-up and online provision', 'Legal uncertainty', 'Legalistic warfare', 'New system of governance'.

Writing was key to the research. In the process of qualitative social research writing is regarded not as a tool 'for the final stage of analysis' but as 'an essential practice at all stages of the analytic trajectory' (Rapley, 2011: 287). A continuing process of evaluation and rewriting formed an important basis to the analysis and the development of themes. Rapley points to 'the focus that writing enables' and describes it as 'a rich and analytic process as you find yourself not only attempting to explain and justify your ideas, but also developing them. [...] Making your ideas "concrete" enables you to reflect, to see gaps, to explore' (p. 286). Thus, as Silvermann (2011: 11) adds, 'good qualitative data analysis is expressed in how well we write'.

2.4.4 Weaknesses

Firstly, I had to acknowledge that any research is influenced by various factors, which may affect the choice of a theoretical framework and research tools, formulation of research questions, practical considerations. My personal subjectivity, values and attitudes are only a few of these factors. As Hesmondhalgh and Toynbee (2008: 3) argue, '[t]o attempt to understand a society is actually to write a story about it, which is shot through with your own subjectivity and cultural values'. Values can 'reflect either the personal beliefs or the feelings of a researcher', and although it is expected that research practitioners should be 'value free and objective in their research' (Bryman, 2001: 22), this research acknowledges the writer's own research experiences. Values and preconceptions can intrude on any research and at various research stages and any approach to interpretation and abstraction can be problematic. It is therefore important for the researcher to keep up an awareness of the interpretative nature of the analysis and the limitations within it.

The thematic analysis is also seen as critical by some, because its outcome very much depends on the level of insight and knowledge of the reviewer and of those interviewed (Thomas and Harden, 2007). Another problem of the thematic analysis is that the process of pulling out segments of texts risks social setting and context being lost (Bryman, 2001: 401). Several re-reading rounds and a careful deconstruction and interpretation of the texts

according to emerging themes, and a careful identification of the original position of the 'chunks' within the original transcript, can be employed to enable the development of relevant and significant material.

The complexity and scope of the data form a weakness in the approach, as well a strength. The strength of the comparative periodised approach has been discussed in detail. A weakness could lie in the greater amount of literature to review and the complexity of the data-gathering and analysis.

For this research, the selection of interviewees can be seen as an obvious intervention by the researcher. Overestimating the cohesiveness of institutional discourse drawn from a small number of individual interviewees in itself carries the risk of simplification (Buckingham et al., 1999). Therefore, to take into account the small number of interviewees, a careful, aware and transparent selection process is crucial, as it may impact the findings. Due to the selective nature of small samples, and the various factors that can influence semi-structured expert interviews, the generalisability of qualitative research is viewed as critical by some (see Bryman, 2001: 283). However, this qualitative research does not aim to create statistical data. The objective of the qualitative researcher seeks less the generalisation than an understanding of concepts, behaviour, values, themes and beliefs in the context of the area of research (p. 285).

Summary

Chapter 2 has clarified the methodology, the research design and the structure of this thesis. The next chapter looks at the broadcasters' challenges and strategies in the broadcasting past.

Chapter 3 – Challenges and strategies in the history of children’s public service broadcasting

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Chapter 3 – Challenges and strategies in the history of children’s public service broadcasting

Introduction

This chapter examines the relationship between public service broadcasters and children during several periods of broadcasting history. It seeks to gain an understanding of past challenges faced by public service broadcasters in serving children, and how they negotiated those challenges. The research will concentrate on television, not on radio broadcasting.

This review will provide the historical context and help to analyse the broadcasters’ strategies and challenges during the contemporary multi-platform era and, where helpful, contrast it with those of earlier periods. It will also create an awareness of those strategies, challenges, purposes that have been associated with children’s public service media in the past and those that are new to the multi-platform era.

3.1 New media

3.1.1 Facing the new

Public service broadcasters and their predecessors have provided content for children ‘from the outset of broadcasting’ (Ofcom, 2007a; for West German history of broadcasting, see Hickethier, 1998; for BBC history, see Briggs, 1985). When television was launched, television itself was a new medium, which had to be set up alongside an established and popular medium, radio broadcasting (Home, 1993).

In the early days of the provision, there was a lack of technical reach, precarious public viewing environments (e.g., children watching in pubs and shop windows) (Stötzel and Merkelbach, 1991; Hickethier, 1991), technical production challenges (e.g., live repeats) (Hickethier, 1998: 133), a lack of experienced staff (Home, 1993: 18) and a lack of established formats for the screen (Kübler, 2001; Buckingham et al., 1999). A child television audience, as such, had obviously not existed before, and was brought into being when broadcasters started to think about children and television and about

providing relevant content. Also, the specialised analogue and digital channels, introduced in the 1990s/2000s, can be seen not only as the introduction of a new broadcasting platform, but also as a new form of provision and to some extent as a new medium, because it brought into being a content provision almost continuously available to children. This kind of continuous provision had not existed before. That the new media not only brought challenges for broadcasters with regard to children is shown, for example, by the opportunity perceived by German PSBs, when they set up a channel specifically for children, broadcasting at a time when most children watched TV: 'The great chance is that we can reach children [...] also during times, where we don't have any possibility in the context of the main channels, namely between 5pm and 8pm.'¹ (Ernst Geyer, cited in Internationales Zentralinstitut für das Jugend- und Bildungsfernsehen, 1995: 5).

3.1.2 Experimenting with the new

In both countries, the initial strategy in response to the new medium of television in the 1950s was to adapt established radio formats to the TV screen (Oswell, 2002: 46-47), and to identify which formats were most suited to the new audio-visual medium and its different ways of production and perception (Hickethier, 1991: 147). Television was not set up as an accompanying medium to radio, but because of its initial link to radio, some of the early children's characters, brands and programmes did exist across radio and television (Home, 1993: 16). The most notable difference between the BBC, ARD and ZDF is that the BBC broadcasters seemed to have experimented with the opportunities offered by the new audio-visual medium much earlier and to a greater extent. This led to the fact that the BBC's provision for children was regarded by some as a 'microcosm of television forms', a mix of different genres, styles and content (Mary Adams, cited in Oswell, 2002: 48). Notably, the literature demonstrates that for early BBC programmes the concept of children's programmes as a 'miniature' of the general audience schedule (Oswell, 2002: 23) generated a much wider range of genres to 'mirror that of the service as a whole', from fictional entertainment to factual information programmes (Buckingham et al., 1999: 17-18). For that reason, the BBC's early TV provision for children has now gained retrospective recognition, and is described as a 'golden age' of children's TV (Home, 1993). It is also noteworthy that researchers describe

the earlier radio provision in a similar way – as ‘a site of constant innovation’ and ‘a laboratory of experimental practice’ (Oswell, 2002: 21). After the broadcasters had moved away from the concept during the phase of early commercial competition, in the late 1960s, the idea of the ‘miniature BBC’ was re-instated and the diversity of programmes was increased (Buckingham et al., 1999: 29, 33, 85). By then covering drama, light entertainment, sport, news and current affairs, documentaries, magazines, films, cartoons, puppets and preschool programmes, this period was described as ‘the second golden age’ in the UK (Home, 1993: 38).

Many TV producers were inexperienced in the early days, when TV became a mass medium after the war (Home, 1993). It may have originally been seen as an advantage that, in West Germany, broadcasters could draw from a pool of experienced TV production staff when they started in 1951, the TV service having remained on-air for most of the war (Hickethier, 1998: 64). However, it is likely that this may actually have been a constraint in terms of the renewal and innovation of the medium, and for setting out some kind of founding ethos for children's TV similar to the BBC. In sharp contrast to the founding ethos referred to in the British context, the West German early provision is described as being programmes ‘continued in the same fashion as they had been broadcast on national socialist radio and television’² (Kübler, 2001: 2). It was characterised by the strategy to hold on to the popular radio concepts and creative staff of the 1940s (Hickethier, 1991: 95), almost ignoring the fact that the new TV medium now had a very different role to play in the newly formed democracy.

3.1.3 Building a founding ethos of children’s PSB

Two different factors seem to have played a fundamental part in establishing the role and ethos of children’s provision by the BBC: the scarcity of status and funding (see below), and the early commercial competition. It is argued that to compensate for the financial limitations and reputational shortcomings faced by children's programme makers in the 1950s, both the concept of children's television as a miniature of the BBC and the concept of the children’s broadcaster as a ‘noble occupation’ were born (Buckingham et al., 1999: 27).

During BBC television’s early days, US content was sometimes screened,

but producers displayed a deep dislike of American programme imports and it was feared that Americanisation would undermine national cultural traditions (Buckingham et al., 1999: 21-22). When commercial competitor ITV launched in 1955 (Buckingham et al., 1999), Oswell (2002: 133) argues, '[c]hildren's broadcasters at the BBC sought to shape themselves (to the press, government, and the public) as defenders of tradition and the welfare of the child'. Concerns towards children's television constructed around Americanisation, violence and commercialisation impacted the way in which the BBC built their own public service profile – namely, by contrasting these concerns with the responsible broadcaster that provides to children in a responsible and ethical manner (Oswell, 2002: 21: 144).

The concept of children's provision as a miniature version of the main broadcaster, which can be regarded as a key element of the founding ethos of PSB for children at the BBC, was not emphasised in the West German context. Although public service broadcasting in West Germany is built on similar ideas and aims as those of the BBC, the German literature shows that the children's provision was thought of as a rather detached service of the main output for the general audience. This approach may have been influenced by the continuation of another early concept of provision for children. A producer suggested that the provision during the NS time was deliberately designed to be detached from the main service to keep children away from the real world (see Obrig, 1950; for context, see Hickethier, 1991). In view of the observation that TV staff continued to work in children's TV 'in the same fashion' after the war, this attitude, therefore, may have also been taken over into the next period.

That this characteristic may have impacted later periods is suggested by the fact that a news programme directed at children took much longer to become established as one of the (currently) firm elements of children's PSB, even though, in the 1970s, information content for children was regarded as the 'weakest point of [...] children's television'³ in West Germany (Schmidbauer, 1987: 77). *John Craven's Newsround* was evaluated at ARD broadcasters then, but plans for a similar programme were dismissed (Schmidbauer, 1987). For example, ZDF's news programme *logo* gained a secure and regular time in the schedules only in the 1990s (Kübler, 2001: 11-14).

On the other hand, in post-war West Germany, there appeared to be a

greater readiness, financial need or other rationales to screen US content, which may have pushed aside its own creative processes. As early as the 1950s, US programming was offering an entertaining weekend programme in contrast to the more conservative PSB educational in-house productions screened on week days by the regional stations that constitute the first PSB network in Germany (Stötzel, 1991: 76, 175). Similarly, American fictional content acquisitions like *Flipper* and *Lassie* were important in the early days of children's provision by public service broadcaster ZDF's existence, when ZDF launched as the second national PSB network in West Germany in 1963 (Stötzel, 1991), and initially replaced what some called a lack of vision for a ZDF children's provision (Müller, 2001b). In the history of West German PSB, both ARD broadcasters and ZDF took advantage of the popularity of US content to reach children. In the early days, the importance of US American content, as well as some aspects of previous periods, and a lack of a construct of national or home-grown content emerging in the early days from media discourse in the UK, have characterised the provision in Germany and may not have allowed a distinct founding ethos of a children's public service broadcasting tradition to manifest itself at that time.

3.2 Federal collaboration and competition

The West German PSBs faced challenges relating to the federal structure of broadcasting, and issues of collaboration and of competition arose between ARD's federal broadcasters, as well as between ARD and ZDF. In the UK, broadcasters were also aware of the challenges regarding a federal children's provision. After ITV had challenged the BBC's children's provision in the early period, the BBC's central structure quickly proved to be an advantage, through establishing long-running series and a recognisable schedule. Some argue that ITV was less successful in establishing long-running series, due to its non-centralistic structure and a challenging 'relationship between the major and the regional companies' (Home, 1993: 45), which together formed ITV. In the 1960/70s, the commercial competitor struggled to build up a competitive and recognisable children's schedule (Buckingham et al., 1999: 85).

In West Germany, limited production budgets provided an early reason for the ARD regional broadcasters to join forces in the 1950s specifically for children and to create content together (Schmidbauer, 1987: 12). The co-

ordination of joint efforts for children therefore formed an early element of public service broadcasting in West Germany, and made productions possible which otherwise would have been too expensive for individual ARD stations in view of the meagre budgets for children's provision, compared with those for the general audience (Hickethier, 1998: 76). However, the internal competition between ARD stations also proved challenging at times. For example, after 1959, with the policies of greater investment in children's provision and greater collaboration for a more consolidated approach to children's provision, the federal system showed – what may be seen as both its weakness and its strength – the diversity of perspectives and voices at ARD. Broadcasters sometimes struggled to agree over the children's provision, not least because they differed in their educational approach (Löhr, 1991: 49).

It soon became apparent that at times the ARD's federal set-up formed a disadvantage in regard to children's provision: firstly, with regard to ARD itself, when the advertising pre-primetime slot (PSBs remit allowed adverts in the afternoon and pre-primetime) proved more successful in creating (and funding) popular content for children than the federal children's departments (see Schmidbauer, 1987: 81, 150-151); and, secondly, when ARD faced new competitor ZDF's more centrally-organised provision in 1963, which quickly found ways to reach the majority of children with popular content and long-running series (many of which were imported). In the late 1970s, it was argued that '[t]he weakness of the ARD is the strength of the ZDF'⁴ (Rainald Merkert, cited in Schäfer, 1991: 35). Like Home's analysis of the differences in structure of the BBC and ITV (1993: 45), it was held in Germany that 'the programme planning [of ZDF] is centralised, one can plan schedules more structuredly, set priorities and screen long-running series. Not least, therefore, ZDF programmes are generally known better by the children'⁵ (Rainald Merkert, cited in Schäfer, 1991: 35).

While the ARD broadcasters soon chose to collaborate over children's provision, the review clearly showed that ARD and ZDF, throughout their history, saw each other as competitors in their efforts to provide content for children. Strategies were often formulated in response to the competitor's strategies (Löhr, 1991: 52; Schmidbauer, 1987). Most notable, therefore, is the fact that much later in the history of children's broadcasting, in response to increasing competitive pressures from outside the public service realm and an overhaul of the television landscape towards multi-channel television, ARD and ZDF joined forces for children to an unprecedented

extent and set up a joint analogue TV channel (Kinderkanal / later KiKA) (Bachmair and Stötzel, 1999). At that point, ARD and ZDF both focused and arguably subordinated their own children's output to that of the newly created joint children's channel.

3.3 Lowly status

3.3.1 As the stick to the lolly

The low priority of children's programmes within the broadcasting institutions emerged from the literature in both national contexts (e.g. Home, 1993: 35; Mundzeck, 1973: 85). As a manifestation of this low priority, the scarcity of funding, is a characteristic of children's broadcasting that both the UK and Germany share. For some, paucity of funding 'appertains to television for children as the stick to the lolly'⁶ (Müntefering, 1998: 59). Related to its lowly status, Schmidbauer (1987: 12) finds German children's television throughout its history 'chronically underfinanced'⁷. The same is reported in the literature about the BBC history (see, for example, Buckingham et al., 1999). The period when ZDF launched in 1963 is also described as a time when children's provision enjoyed a low reputation (Schäfer, 1991). The moment when children's provision dipped to its lowest status in BBC history was, arguably, in the 1960s, when the children's department merged with Women's Programmes to become a Department of Family Programmes (Home 1993: 63). The event has become part of the 'collective memory' in BBC's children's broadcasting (Buckingham et al., 1999: 27). It is understood to have created for generations to come 'an enduring sense of the precariousness' of the children's provision (Buckingham et al., 1999: 27).

3.3.2 Deliberation about the low status

However, there is a considerable variation in the literature with regard to the deliberation and complaints of individual staff members that the children's provision at the BBC was merely an adjunct to the main service. This emerges from the very early period of children's broadcasting in the 1950s (Buckingham et al., 1999: 17), and continues throughout the early period. In Germany, on the other hand, similar complaints only appear more regularly

in sources from the later periods, the late 1960s and 1970s, and then continue throughout the time covered by this research (see, for example, Mundzeck, 1973). In 2007, it was still held that '[a] great part of children's television is not in danger of disappearance, it already has disappeared, in thinking, planning and public demand'⁸ (Müntefering, 2007).

In the late 1990s, some of the sources revealed that children's programme producers were held in low esteem, because of the place of children in German society. The former head of ZDF's children's department held:

'Unfortunately, in Germany it is the case, and that is, I think, one of the basic problems, that as little as children are fully accepted in society, also children's programme makers or children's film producers are not really taken seriously. That is completely different in other countries'⁹ (Susanne Müller, cited in Internationales Zentralinstitut für das Jugend- und Bildungsfernsehen, 1995: 6).

Yet, in one period, the 1970s, the status and role of public service children's television seemed to have inspired considerable internal debate within PSBs. Some departments now saw the PSB departments as playing an important role in the lives of children, and emphasised their responsibility towards them. For example, one ZDF department suggested that another ZDF department (which also commissioned children's content) was actively involved in further marginalising children in society by creating a kind of ignorance towards the child's real life through a provision that existed mostly of fun and light entertainment, creating an 'alibi of a golden ghetto of child-friendliness'¹⁰ (Ingo Herrmann, cited in Müller, 2001b).

In contrast, in Britain it is argued that the early and continuous internal deliberation at the BBC about the (too low) status of children's television led those involved in producing it to establish a strong ethos of children's public service broadcasting very early in the BBC's history. It is argued that they constructed children's broadcasting as a responsible and important vocation, informed by the perceived 'contrast between the responsibility and intrinsic importance of their vocation and its lowly status in the large world of television' (Buckingham et al., 1999: 27).

3.3.3 The paradox of low status, but high value

The literature showed that the early launch of the children's channel in Germany (1997) was not primarily evidence for a growing status within PSB.

Also, the obvious status boost of launching a distinct children's channel proceeded with the same unfortunate tradition of being created on 'scarce financial resources'¹¹ (Müntefering, 1998: 59). For many, the launch was seen as a consequence of the increasing competition with commercial channels (Bachmair and Stötzel, 1999: 85). A public service children's channel was now seen as a 'necessary counterweight in a commercialised media market' (Christian Rohde, cited in Blickpunkt: Film, 2006). For others, there were also other rationales at work and the launch of the children's channel to some extent, therefore, functioned as a means to another end: 'With the Children's Channel, ARD and ZDF could and wanted to enforce an entitlement for the realisation of specialist channels. So, you [Kinderkanal] became a planned child, but with ulterior motives/hidden agenda'¹² (Müller, 2001a: 173). As similarly put by senior executive Biermann, later head of ZDF children's:

'The ARD and ZDF Children's Channel. Through it, not only were the needs of children and parents answered, but also in regard to media policy the public service broadcasters' entitlement for their own special interest channels was manifested as its best with an especially important example: a quality programme, that stimulates and is fun and does not reduce its viewers to consumers.'¹³ (Biermann, 2007).

This can be seen as one indication about the actual role of children's provision towards the end of this historical account, and explains why, despite the ARD and ZDF's common endeavour to launch a specialist channel for children, commentators argue that, greatly in contrast to the British situation, the status of German children's broadcasting was absent from executive planning and its relevance was continuously decreasing (Müntefering, 2007).

3.4 Competition

3.4.1 Commercial competition

With regard to commercial competition the review showed that there were more similarities between the UK and German context than the very different historic media environments of the broadcasters would suggest. Although the literature points to the fact that advertising-funded television was introduced to the German TV landscape only in the 1980s and therefore much later than in the UK, researchers showed that the challenge of

commercial competition and competitive thinking formed an early characteristic of the public service provision for children in both countries. While in the UK, the launch of commercial broadcaster ITV in 1955 ended the BBC's monopoly on broadcasting (Oswell, 2002: 133) and quickly challenged the BBC to adopt more popular strategies for children (Home, 1993: 34; Buckingham et al., 1999: 21), German PSBs did not have to face any commercial competition from other broadcasters until the 1980s and competition from another PSB only from 1963, when ZDF soon had a greater lead among child audiences with international entertainment series (Löhr, 1991: 52). However, another form of commercial competition arose very early from within the ARD in form of the pre-primetime advertising slot (Schmidbauer, 1987: 81). The 'advertising frame programme' ('Werberahmenprogramm'), a mixture of commercials, animation and many children's entertainment programmes, attracted children and became the 'family television time'¹⁴, and was referred to as the 'secret children's programming'¹⁵ within public service and aired many children's favourites. It formed a phenomenon characteristic of German public service children's television until the late 1990s (Schmidbauer, 1987: 13; Hickethier, 1998: 136). While ITV 'was winning 3 to 1 in terms of children', when it first launched (Home, 1993: 35), also the German public service pre-primetime advertising entertainment programmes regularly reached 50% of the 7 to 13-year-olds (Schmidbauer, 1987: 81-85; Kübler, 2001: 10).

3.4.2 Public service competition

Public service broadcasters in both countries had strong public service competitors in regard to their children's provision. In both countries, the same concept of a well-functioning duopoly of children's public service broadcasting in the late 1960s, 1970s and 1980s emerged. In Germany, the duopoly of several publicly-funded broadcasters under the ARD-umbrella, vis-à-vis the ZDF, competed for success with the child audience (Löhr, 1991: 52). This period is recognised as a time of higher investment in children's programming and a comprehensive children's provision in the history of children's public service broadcasting (for Germany, see Kübler, 2001: 6). In the UK, the duopoly of commercially-funded ITV and publicly-funded BBC forms an important element of the history, in which they were described as two committed providers of children's content, and as competitors, when commercial broadcaster ITV took over characteristics of

a public service broadcaster (Buckingham et al., 1999: 385: 32). In both contexts, literature carries the idea of a 'relative stability' and positive competition brought about by this duopoly, in the UK sometimes called the 'regulated duopoly' (Buckingham et al., 1999: 32), because it had been 'shaped and safeguarded by a public service ethos and a specific set of institutional and regulatory arrangements' (D'Arma and Steemers, 2010b: 174).

The period is referred to as the 'golden age' of public service television, when '[t]he BBC kept ITV honest; ITV kept the BBC on its toes' (Ofcom, 2004: 2), and specifically the late 1960/70s are regarded as an innovative period (Bachmair, 2008a) and a golden age also of children's television ('the second golden age' in the UK, see Home, 1993: 38). In the UK, the 'regulated duopoly' in children's PSB is regarded as an item of history, in Germany as well to a certain extent, since ARD and ZDF have set up a joint children's channel and have successively withdrawn children's content from their main channels (as has the BBC).

3.4.3 Being part of a commercial multi-channel landscape

Overall the history of children's public service broadcasting is characterised by a fragmentation of the media environment in which broadcasters had to adapt to a multiplication of competing outlets of both public service and commercial channels (free-to-air and pay-TV), amplified by cable and satellite and later digital television added by the expansion over IP (see Humphreys, 2008). The end of this historical account, the late 2000s, is characterised by an increasing number of specialist children's channels (Ofcom, 2007a: 20; Gangloff, 2005). Public service broadcasters under the ARD-umbrella and the BBC started out with a monopoly on children's broadcasting, then witnessed public service competition and an ever-increasing commercial competition in a converged, fragmented digital multi-platform media market by the late 2000s. Children were catered for by a growing media provision, more content was specifically made and distributed for children at the end of the historical account compared with the earlier periods (Buckingham et al., 1999: 88). Not only did children have more TV programmes to choose from (for UK, see ITC, 2003), but since the 1990s, children in British and German households have also had a greater range of entertainment equipment (for UK, see Gunter and McAleer, 1997).

By the late 1990s, half of the children's viewing time in Germany was directed towards three commercial channels (Feierabend and Windgasse, 1996) and in the UK almost two-thirds of the viewing time of children up to nine years was spent on cable and satellite channels (Gunter and McAleer, 1997: 5). However, in both countries with the multiplication of distinct content also came an increasing gap between screened and originally-produced content (D'Arma and Steemers, 2010b). Furthermore, D'Arma and Steemers (2010a: 116-117) argue that the deregulatory move brought about by the 2003 Communications Act and the abolition of quotas for commercial public service broadcasters led also to popular children's broadcaster ITV's 'drastically reduced investment' in children's programming and has therefore moved Britain 'closer to countries like Germany that rely primarily on publicly-funded organisations to achieve public service goals'. Therefore, over time, the BBC, ARD and ZDF increasingly acted in a similar commercial media environment, where they played similar roles as the main providers of original and home-grown children's content.

3.5 Marketisation

3.5.1 An ambivalent relationship

Children's public service broadcasting has over time developed and further established an ambivalent relationship with the concept of commercialisation and marketisation. Steemers (2001a) describes the 'many different aspects of commercialism which affect public service broadcasting' both in Germany and the UK. On the one hand, non-commercial content and social and cultural as opposed to market rationales and aims form core pillars of public service children's content and services in both countries. Commercial and public service media are often held as antagonists and, specifically in Germany, PSB is regarded as a 'counterweight' to commercial media (Christian Rohde, cited in *Blickpunkt: Film*, 2006). On the other hand, PSB underwent a structural commercialisation to a certain extent throughout its history, and adapted rationales and aims characteristic of profitability-driven commercial media for it to act in a media economy. PSBs were also impacted by developments in the whole television ecology, where media production became linked to concepts of a free market and choice and flexibility (see Oswell, 2002: 151).

3.5.2 Generating additional income in the public interest

Additional commercial funding, or mixed funding, was part of children's public service broadcasting from early on, but only more recently it is argued that children's public service television has moved away from 'the principle of public service to a more commercial, market-led system' (Buckingham et al., 1999: 45). For example, this development has been driven by the multiplication of outlets and fragmentation of audiences and funding, which led to a 'reorientation of the [BBC's] public service culture to accommodate a more commercial children's media environment' (Steemers, 2010a: 5). The BBC's remit towards generating further additional income from international distribution and co-production through a commercial subsidiary forms one aspect of the marketisation of PSB as a whole that was reflected in children's broadcasting (Steemers, 2010a: 5). While the BBC had exported children's programming formats like *Play School* since the 1960s also to German PSB (Home, 1993: 74; Stötzel, 1991) and ZDF's provision in the 1970/80s was characterised by the production of light entertainment formats that were marketable, the creation of *Teletubbies* in 1997, a programme directed at toddlers, for some, marked a 'changing production ecology' in preschool programming (Steemers, 2010a: 38) with a major international sales success. Some argue, a new emphasis at the BBC was to promote programming that promised additional income and fund new programming by producing high on-screen value preschool programmes, hoping to 'place the BBC in a global marketplace' (Steemers, 2010a: 38).

3.5.3 Segmenting the audience

Finally, with the creation of specialist channels, children were accepted by PSB as a distinct and separate audience segment. It made a more specific segment out of the previously more loosely conceptualised child audience. That children were best served as a distinct audience group was initially not a public service concept. By creating specialist children's channels, the broadcaster utilised '[t]he private structure model – but with public service content'¹⁶ (Müller, 2001a: 173; for the BBC rationales about separating preschool audiences, see Steemers, 2010a: 38).

Also, over time, broadcasters gained better knowledge about which programmes children watched. With the increasing availability of market and audience research data during the history of children's PSB, broadcasters in the early days moved from not knowing but assuming what children needed and demanded as a TV audience, to ignoring available research (Buckingham et al., 1999), to being 'very vulnerable' to these figures, when they failed to improve (in the mid 1960s) (Home, 1993: 35). Knowledge about the child audience influenced the nature of public service broadcasting in many ways. It is argued that from the 1990s, it formed a challenge for children's provision, because public service broadcasters focused on ratings in the same way as their commercial competitors did, although they did not rely (or, as in the case of ARD/ZDF, not as much) on advertising revenues (Erlinger, 1998). At the end of the history covered in this review not only children's viewing habits, but also '[c]hildren's individual opinions have come to be increasingly valued by broadcasters trying to maintain a competitive advantage in this marketplace' (Messenger Davies, 2001: 99).

3.5.4 Commercial rationales as benefit and constraint

The development towards a market-led system must be seen as a multi-level process, where developments pull in different directions. Public service goals are not necessarily given up by adopting 'aspects of commercialism', as 'not all [...] are necessarily incompatible with a public service remit' (Steemers, 2001a). Whether the commercial rationales at play challenged or benefited the PSB provision depends on the understanding of public service content, the nature and role of additional commercial revenues within a public service institution and how they fund public service activities, and many other concepts that underlie public service (for an analysis of commercial tendencies in regard to the justification of the public service remit, see Steemers, 2001a). The examples in this research show that public service and commercial rationales have been intertwined in children's provision throughout its history. Some elements of this multi-level process are regarded as challenging for a public service broadcasting provision, some elements are regarded as having greatly benefited the provision for children. For example, the ARD/ZDF strategy in the 1950s and 1970s towards larger acquisitions of programme or distributional rights from external copyright holders out of competitive considerations or financial

necessity are by some understood to have in later periods generated challenges for German children's public service broadcasting. This was because they had not created a recognisable stock of public service programming brands, which later allegedly threatened the broadcasters' independence from the market (Müntefering, 1998: 52). Meanwhile, pre-school formats that were sold internationally in the late 1990s, *Teletubbies* and *Tweenies*, greatly contributed to the reputation of the BBC's children's provision (Steemers, 2010b).

An example from the late 1970s, where commercial rationales arguably benefited the provision of original children's programming, was when, despite an agreement to keep children away from advertising, the children's departments followed a policy of co-operating with the commercial subsidiaries of the ARD, who also financed children's content at the time (Schmidbauer, 1987: 150-1). Public service commercial airtime screened some of the most popular children's programmes, which regularly reached 50% of the 7 to 13-year-olds, such as Astrid Lindgren's *Michel aus Lönneberga* and *Die Abenteuer von Tom Sawyer und Huckleberry Finn* (Schmidbauer, 1987: 85). This strategy arguably benefited the public service provision of original high on-screen value children's content and probably produced a loyal PSB audience among children at the time, yet at the same time acquiesced with the model of an advertising-funded public service provision for children (a concept PSBs later explicitly distanced themselves from, see next chapter).

3.6 Public concern

3.6.1 As old as broadcasting itself

Public debate and concern towards children's media, television and the alleged effects on children and family life continuously formed part of the children's public service debates in both countries. This challenge, derived from debates about possible effects of media on children, was inspired by both sceptics and proponents of the media and some argue that they were 'as old as broadcasting itself'¹⁷ (Riedel, 1999). For example, many of the early broadcasts on Sunday afternoons caused 'some anxiety in ecclesiastical circles' (Home, 1993: 16). In the UK, early concerns included Americanisation, commercialism, violence and the loss of 'educational

functions of children's television' (Buckingham et al., 1999: 9), with criticism directed at commercial television, as well as the BBC (Oswell, 2002: 144). In Germany, research points out the concerns in regard to physiological and mental harm, distortion of the intimacy of the family, and the loss of children's 'insouciance and cheerfulness'¹⁸ (Stötzel and Merkelbach, 1991: 150). For example, Messenger Davies (2001: 47) mentions this 'earlier state of anxiety amongst policy-makers and opinion formers about the impact of new technology' prevalent in the late 1950s.

The range of critics was considerable. Although television was popular, academics of all disciplines and churches began to declare the harmful effects of television viewing on the development of children in both countries in the 1950s (see Schmidbauer, 1987: 12; for Britain, Buckingham et al., 1999). Some academics declared that children under ten, nine or under seven must not watch television at all (Mundzeck, 1973: 68). Newspapers also began to publish their concerns about children's television (Oswell, 2002). Some academics declared: 'The dangers of the medium can be regarded as proven' (Heribert Heinrichs cited in Mundzeck, 1973: 67).

These early voices were the beginning of a series of concerns that could be heard throughout the 1950s in both countries, and further throughout the history. Public concern impacted on the environment of children's public service broadcasting, but also on the children's public service provision itself, when broadcasters reacted to it. At different time periods, public concern functioned in different ways. Sometimes it appeared to have had a positive impact on the provision, sometimes it led to the limitation of the provision. Sometimes it seemed to have counteracted broadcasters' strategies, sometimes concern appeared to have helped them.

3.6.2 Impact of public concern

As a positive example, in the 1990s, concerns about commercial television formed a central rationale for creating a public service children's channel in Germany (Müntefering, 1998: 52). Kinderkanal (later KiKA) launched in 1997. The increase of commercial children's programming was seen to have 'led to an erosion of the public service children's television'¹⁹ (Müller, 1997: 201) and a 'radical change' (retrospectively comparing it to radical changes in the digital 2000s (Blickpunkt: Film, 2006). Some described the

launch of commercial channels a “‘declaration of war“ on West German public broadcasting’ (Peter Glotz, cited in Dyson, 2005: 167). Therefore, arguably, the crisis helped the children's provision to progress, because stepping up seemed inevitable. German PSB managed to launch a specialist channel much earlier than did the BBC. The head of ZDF children's television summarised the effect the debate had on the launch of the children's channel:

‘The children were to be safeguarded from a flood of commercial purchasing incentives through advertisements and from too much violence on TV. In this climate of debate the considerations for a public service children's channel could ripen²⁰ (Müller, 1997: 201).

Broadcasters point to the fact that both the climate of crisis and anxiety and the 'weaknesses of the commercial providers in the field of children's programming'²¹ served as a better environment for pushing towards a policy change in Germany than any pedagogical rationale and were probably the reasons for the approval 'rather than any pure appreciation of the programming work' at the PSBs and, therefore, helped ARD and ZDF to argue for expansion 'in spite of a considerable resistance'²² (Müntefering, 1998: 51-2).

Other examples show that concerns about television often also had a strongly constraining impact on the public service provision for children. In the 1950s, concerns led to the implementation and readjustment of the youth law, which included regulation about young children's access to cinemas, restricting children under 6 years from going to the movies (Schmidbauer, 1987: 12). And, by the end of the 1950s, the ARD had apparently given in to public concern, and changed their strategy on children's television insofar as they discontinued the provision for under-eight-year-old children, despite the obvious limited impact of such a strategy on the actual viewing behaviour of children (Schmidbauer, 1987: 12). Researchers regard this as a strategy unique to the German public service context (see Schmidbauer, 1987; Stötzel and Merkelbach, 1991) and some also hold it 'factually never resulted in an exclusion of younger children'²³ (Kübler, 2001: 7).

Meanwhile, the BBC were creating programmes specifically intended for young children. As a side effect of this self-limitation, Heidtmann (2002) observes a strengthening of children's radio in Germany in this period. Radio for young children became 'the only non-print media that continuously

offered them programmes'.²⁴ Children's radio was therefore regarded as the 'central childhood medium'²⁵ of the period (Heidtmann, 2002), and probably finds the roots of its popularity among German PSBs here. At the time of this research, children's radio was appearing as a more substantial element of the public service provision in Germany (in the ARD-network) than at the BBC.

The BBC also responded to concerns. The early efforts to introduce some kind of regulative age-related scheduling that reduced possible harmful effects, aiming to prevent younger children watching content for older children, is one example (Buckingham et al., 1999: 19; Oswell, 2002: 78). The application of the concept of children's developmental stages can be traced back to this period of concerns, which evolved into a common understanding of children (See Chapter 4).

3.6.3 Configuration of concerns and interests

However, two very different developments emerged. In Britain, something took place during the early period of children's PSB that Oswell (2002: 146) describes as an 'emerging configuration of interests and concerns'. These interests and concerns led to further organised forms of concern – the lobbying for and against children's media. The roots of lobby groups still active at the time of the implementation of multi-platform media go back to this period. For example, one of the lobby groups in Britain at that time, The Council for Children's Welfare, submitted their concerns – that the 'Westerns' and crime series, particularly on the commercial channel ITV, would lead to an 'accumulation of violence' – to a commission scrutinising broadcasting at the time, the Pilkington Committee. Another group, the National Viewers' and Listeners' Association (NVLA) was also formed in the mid 1960s (Oswell, 2002: 146).

In Germany, the early debates about children's broadcasting were described as debates that remained enclosed within separate expert circles of academics, politicians, churches. Also in the 1950s, according to Stötzel and Merkelbach (1991: 156), children's television was 'not the subject of a broad public debate'. A debate in the 1990s, which built on children's television as an integral part of child culture is regarded as the continuation of the historic debate that utilised established concepts of quality children's

television (Bachmair, 2008a: 3). However, this debate, too, stayed in a circle of specialists. Some believed the debate to be inspired by Catholic and Protestant churches (Müntefering, 1998: 53). Churches had also been long-term stakeholders as producers and investors in the children's public service media landscape in Germany (for the role of churches in public service broadcasting, see Herbig, 1999, for involvement in PS children's content, see companies EIKON and Tellux, Kinderfilm, Cross Media). Others saw it inspired by the publisher of a media pedagogy journal and the newly created research institute at Bayerischer Rundfunk, IZI (Kübler, 2001: 12), creating a debate to which churches, academia, programme makers and regulators then joined (Bachmair, 2008a: 1; see also Kübler, 2001).

3.6.4 Commercial concern

The concerns of commercial competitors also played a part in the public debate about public service children's provision. In Britain, Barwise (2004: 90) finds a trend of '[a]ggressive anti-BBC lobbying'. In both countries, PSBs faced critics demanding measures 'to keep their commercial activities and expansionary ambitions in check' (Steemers, 1999: 46). Competitors had for some time lobbied against what was perceived as a boundless expansion of public service broadcasters. For example, when the BBC launched specialist children's channels, companies such as Nickelodeon, Fox Kids and Disney were reported to 'fear that the BBC is trying to put them out of business' (Sherwin, 2002). Observers described a 'bitter row with the BBC over the launch of the Corporation's children's channels' (Wynn, 2001). Although at the BBC it was held that 'there's no real evidence that we're adversely affecting the commercial sector' (Nigel Pickard, cited in New Media Markets, 2002), some commercial channels felt that regulatory processes were in breach of the Communications Act (epd Medien, 2001a). One argument was that they were not given enough time to reply during the public consultation period (Wynn, 2001).

Similarly, when ARD and ZDF launched the Kinderkanal in 1997, observers reported 'accusations of unfair competition from commercial rivals' (Screen Digest, 1998). Also the then head of ZDF Children's points to commercial complaints and 'judicial actionism' that led to legal complaints against the PSB children's channel at the European Commission (Müller, 1997: 202;

Scheuer, 1997). Later in 2003, when the children's channel extended its on-air time to 9.00 p.m., observers interpreted it as '[a]n obvious declaration of war/fight to competitors'²⁶ (Steinbuch, 2009).

3.7 Child audience

3.7.1 The ambiguous term of children's broadcasting

Serving a child audience can be seen as a challenge in itself. When broadcasting launched, children did not exist as a distinct audience, because, as Oswell (2002: 146: 78) points out, '[c]hildren, teenagers, and adults did not naturally and simply fall into categories and time-slots. As audiences they had to be shaped into audiences.' The concept of the child audience is itself constructed from other concepts, namely the concept of childhood and the idea that children form a distinctly separate section of society (Oswell, 2002). Buckingham et al. (1999: 11) point out that these 'definitions of the child audience have an undeniable power', because they were 'effectively imagining particular kinds of child viewers into existence'. However, serving the child viewer provided the broadcasters with a continuous challenge, because children proved to be a more heterogeneous group of people than sometimes thought, and as Jans (2004: 34) puts it: 'Childhood is highly determined by the spirit of the times.'

Kübler (2001: 15) points to a peculiarity of the provision for children that shows the pitfalls of too narrow an understanding of the child viewer. He argues, '[S]ince television is broadcast, children have been viewing and are viewing not only programmes made and designed for them: children's TV as receptive action and children's TV as programming only partially coincide.'²⁷ The definition of television for children had thus been ambiguous from the early days and provided broadcasters with daily challenges. For example, children's broadcasters realised very quickly that children did not favour the weekday shows which were particularly made for them, but, already at a young age, and increasingly when they become older (Schmidbauer, 1987: 33), watched adventure shows and general audience programmes in the early and late evenings (Löhr, 1991: 47-48) and often preferred them (Kübler, 2001: 2, for children's viewing habits, see Ofcom, 2007a).

3.7.2 A shrinking minority

Another challenge derives from the fact that during the history of children's broadcasting from the mid 1960s until 2000, both countries have witnessed a considerable fall in the number of child births. This has led to the situation that, while an increasing number of channels competed for the children's attention, the child audience was simultaneously becoming smaller. The average number of children per woman fell from 2.5 (West-Germany) and 2.8 (England & Wales) to 1.44/1.94 (1980, West/East-Germany) and 1.8 (1981, E & W) by the 1970/80s, and to 1.38 (2000, Germany) and 1.6 (2001, E & W) at the end of the period (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2011; Office for National Statistics, 2011b). Yet, the idea of children as minority is somewhat misleading, in 1992, children still formed 16% of the total population in Germany (Wurth, 1994); and in the UK 20.6% were under 16 (in 1995) (Messenger Davies, 2001: 32). The decreasing trend in the number of births continued throughout the 1980/90s (Office for National Statistics, 2011c; Statistisches Bundesamt, 2011).

From a German perspective, 'the demographic and demoscopic data' were initially understood as more 'disadvantagous' for private than for public broadcasters, because 'There are just too few children, so that you hardly can reach reasonable ratings with the 'pure' child'²⁸ (Müntefering, 1998: 50). However, the many competing outlets challenged all broadcasters, because it 'subdivide[d] this minority audience into still smaller minorities' (Messenger Davies, 2001: 32). The 'increasing differentiation, segmentation and hybridization of child audiences' (Oswell, 2002: 151) raised the pressure on public service broadcasters to acquire a large enough share of the child audience to stay relevant to children and to society as a whole.

Summary

This chapter showed some of the challenges of children's public service media in the broadcasting past and how broadcasters negotiated them, highlighting some differences and similarities in the two countries. PSBs acted in a constantly changing environment and broadcasters went through several periods of change. However, the children's PSB environment and its development were also characterised by several continuities, such as a low status within the PSB institution, the public concern towards children's broadcasting or commercial competition and marketisation.

The challenges faced by broadcasters in the two countries show some similarities across different time periods, as well as across the two media systems, and can be grouped into several different categories of challenges. Challenges derived from the following areas:

Broadcaster (e.g., institutional challenges; the role of children's provision within the institution)

Products/services (e.g., creation and production of content and services)

Audience (e.g., composition of the audience, children's media use and habits; the number of children in society)

Regulation (e.g., regulation and governance affecting media for children)

Competition (e.g., content and services for children offered by competing media outlets; commercialisation, marketisation of the media environment)

and the remaining *Other External Factors* (e.g., public debate or public concern).

For the purpose of research tasks in Part Three of this thesis, these categories will be utilised as a framework for the analytical and argumentative dimensions and for the main conclusion in the last chapter.

In Part 2, the thesis will look at how broadcasters negotiated the challenges during the transition to a multi-platform provision. It is likely that in regard to the challenges in the multi-platform history, some issues and some similarities and differences from the past will re-emerge and some will be new, and this chapter will help to distinguish between them.

This chapter has discussed some challenges of public service broadcasting for children. The next chapter will look at how the broadcasters' understanding of the opportunities and the purpose of children's public service broadcasting has evolved during different periods in the broadcasting past.

Chapter 4 – The purpose of the public service provision for children in the history of children’s public service broadcasting

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Chapter 4 – The purpose of the public service provision for children in the history of children’s public service broadcasting

Introduction

Chapter 4 will further examine the relationship between public service broadcasters and children in the past. It will review literature on children’s public service media regarding the way in which broadcasters have understood the purpose of media offered to children and how this has changed during several periods in the past.

The aim of this chapter is to gain an understanding of the differences and similarities in how broadcasters viewed the purpose of public service children’s television in the broadcasting past, and how the role of PSB in serving children changed. This chapter will help with the original research to recognise how broadcasters understand the purpose of their provision in the multi-platform era, and it will distinguish older concepts of the purpose of PSB from those that emerged in the multi-platform era and may have evolved through the transformation of the broadcaster into a multi-platform provider or through any other external changes in the broadcasters’ environment.

The literature review has shown that on a macro-level public service broadcasters in both countries had a similar understanding of the overall purpose and role of a public service children’s provision. This purpose can be broadly described with the terms ‘entertain’, ‘educate’, ‘inform’ and, in Germany, ‘advise’ as well (KiKa, 2012); these are also the central concepts found in the legal remit of PSB. On a lower, more detailed level, however, the understanding had been changing throughout the different periods as PSB adapted to developments inside and outside the broadcasters in response to changes in the public and political debate about children and media; in response to debates about commercial media, education and the role of PSBs; in response to regulation and technological advances; and in response to the behaviour of competitors and audiences. Over time, therefore, the purpose covered several concepts, such as education, stimulating learning, participation, information, entertainment, advice, protection, emancipation and empowerment. The emphasis on these aspects has changed over the years, but, more importantly some of the

shared PSB purposes have developed quite differently in the two countries and have emerged at different times.

4.1 Participation

In view of the history of children's PSB in both countries, participation is not a new concept of public service provision in the multi-platform era. However, the concept of participation has different roots in the UK and Germany and from the early days has developed differently within the two public service systems, one of them being more closely linked to political ideas of participatory citizenship than the other.

At the BBC, the concept of participation can be traced back to the 1920/30s, and as part of the founding ideas of PSB is more closely linked to political ideas of citizenship at the time, in several senses: citizenship education; helping form 'children as good citizens' (Oswell, 2002: 26); facilitating citizenship through enabling people to participate and voice opinions; but also in providing an insight for the government into the life of citizens. Buckingham et al. (1999: 49) show that children's services were subject to the same moral purpose and followed the same mission of the 'Reithian trinity' as the BBC as a whole, in delivering education, information and entertainment. Children's TV was regarded as a 'public act' (Oswell, 2002: 49), and participation as an aspect of 'good citizenship' formed one of the early underlying ideas of public service television in its radio days, and from early on also formed an important influence on children's content (see Wagg, 1992).

One concept of participation was that television allowed children to participate 'in those wider public worlds', a space that was believed to be 'far richer and broader than that experienced by children in their day-to-day experiences' (Oswell, 2002: 48-49). The comparably greater diversity in children's programming at the BBC can be traced back to the early understanding of PSB for participation in this wider public space (Buckingham et al., 1999).

This more political rationale underlying participation does not emerge from the literature as one of the founding ideas of PSB after the war in Germany. Here, participation does emerge from the literature on early children's broadcasting, but was not understood in the political sense of public

participation. Children's participation was envisaged as taking place in very restricted private areas, which Hickethier (1991: 112) calls an "exterritorial area" of a children's television ghetto'.¹ How different the idea of participation in the two countries was during the 1950s is exemplified by how broadcasters envisaged ways to 'activate' the 'passive child', most notably, a process described in both countries. A similar belief was held in both countries that at the opposite end of the spectrum of the participating child was the passive child. Passivity was something to fight against, their participation something to stimulate. However, both ideas, that of passivity of children and that of children's participation appeared to mean two different things in the two national contexts.

In Germany, children were prompted to partake in active and meaningful play within enclosed spaces in the private realm. Participation was promoted for things children were expected to do, namely in arranged and directed play, supervised by adults (Hickethier, 1991: 112). This understanding of participation is found in the context of the so-called 'arts education'² and 'conserving pedagogy',³ characteristic of children's television during the early years (Schmidbauer, 1987). Hickethier (1991: 112) argues that this approach – simultaneously – of activation and restriction was rooted in NS ideology brought over into democratic life, describing the approach as a manifestation of 'concepts of conduct and leadership, their structurally interwoven principle is obedience'.⁴

In the UK, a broadcaster from the BBC's early days, Mary Adams, explained the same concept very differently: 'Participation is the enemy of passivity. It can make a private pleasure a public act' (Mary Adams, 1950, cited in Oswell, 2002: 21: 49). Here, television was supposed to be a tool to enable the active child to connect to the outside world and develop what was thought of as 'good citizenship' (Oswell, 2002: 50). Nevertheless, like German PSBs at the time, the view of participation as *joining-in* certainly also existed in the UK. At the BBC, "How To Do ..." programmes helped constitute the children's television audience as one constantly making things' (Oswell, 2002: 49). However, the literature demonstrates that the purpose of the more diverse BBC children's television was twofold: to 'construct a normative ethos for the child' and at the same time to 'connect the child to an external world in an active form of citizenship and public participation' (Oswell, 2002: 49). Over time, this specific 'ethos of participation' at the BBC also changed and evolved into a less political

construct, when 'activity and passivity become redefined in terms of the child's cognitive processing, rather than public acts' (Oswell, 2002: 50).

Reasons for the private, less political construction of participation in the founding years of German PSB, may be found in the way people retreated back into the privacy of the family after the war. While many had suffered during the NS regime and had lost both home and family through deportation, state terror and later the war period, some argue that, for many, the family was the only social institution which had remained intact after the war (Schelsky, 1963, quoted in Schütze, 2002: 71). Television filled gaps created by the war and re-established those constructs (Schönfeldt, 2006). For example, after a period when the role and responsibilities of women and children were strengthened, having experienced relative freedom during the realities of the war, previous patriarchal models of the family were re-instated (Nave-Herz, 2002).

Lacking the political notion in the early days, participation in a wider political understanding in Germany only emerged during the very different political times of the late 1960s and 1970/80s, coinciding with a political climate during which the established power structures of both countries broke up and the relationship between children and adults moved into the focus. German children's television at the time, it is argued, can 'only be understood in relation to the political debates'⁵ at the time (Löhr, 2001). Participatory concepts were then introduced, together with ideas of children's emancipation in adult terms, trying to counteract 'plain-conservative ideas of morality and education',⁶ attributed to some broadcasters (Löhr, 1991: 47-8), pushing for 'libertarian participation rights for children' (Buckingham et al., 1999: 169). Yet, participatory elements of public service appeared to have evolved less as part of the PSBs' historic core remit in Germany. This may have been because a greater political understanding of participatory purposes emerged at different times in PSB history. It may also have been because, in both countries, the 1960/70s are strongly associated with emancipation, empowerment and democratisation, but also with politicised ideological divisions and the misuse of concepts of participation and emancipation towards exploiting those vulnerable.

In the UK, participation in the sense of 'public participation' and 'good citizenship' has been built into many early formats of the BBC children's provision and continued to be built into many of the long-running programmes, such as *Newsround* and *Blue Peter*, which were still being

produced at the time of this research. Irrespective of the criticism that formats like *Blue Peter* have also attracted in the history of PSB, such as presenting narrow-minded discourses to children (e.g. Anglo-centrism, racism, sexism, Christian morality etc.) (Oswell, 2002: 51), and irrespective of the type of participation these programmes may have intended at different times in their existence, what is important for the context of this research is that they were produced and designed to enable children to participate in a wider public space.

4.2 Education and learning

From the outset of broadcasting, content was created with the purpose of educating viewers, including children (Oswell, 2002; Buckingham et al., 1999). However, several rationales for the purpose of education emerged from the literature, and the rationale for education changed considerably throughout the periods in question. Although, over time, television came to be regarded as a medium specifically for children to learn from, reservations towards TV as an educational medium never fully disappeared (e.g., see Kübler, 2001). What broadcasters believed children would gain from educational content continually changed as well. At different times, different aspects of children's learning were emphasised. Some of the views on the purpose of PSB about the education of children were completely given up during later stages. For example, while broadcasters attempted to overcome the 1940s concepts in the 1950/60s, the concepts they developed in the compensatory and emancipatory model of children's television in the 1970s were less relevant for PSBs in the 1990s (Erlinger, 1995: 133). In fact, German literature points to an early disillusioning insight about previous educational approaches, when studies showed little impact of educational content on TV for those children, who were regarded as educationally disadvantaged through their socio-cultural environment (Erlinger, 1995: 141). Therefore, children's television is characterised by the educational concepts dominant at different times (Erlinger et al., 1995; for later periods, see Briggs, 2009).

4.2.1 Protection

An early rationale derived from a more authoritative viewpoint, that of

providing protection and guidance for children while they were watching television. In the UK, citizenship education also formed an important part of the mix (Oswell, 2002; Hickethier, 1991). However, the most characteristic phenomenon of the early periods was the sense of children's vulnerability and innocence on being exposed to the new medium, television, and the urge to protect them from inappropriate viewing experiences. Broadcasters seemed unsure about the role and impact of television. They saw it not only as their responsibility to protect children, but also to provide a specific introduction for children to this assumed dangerous medium. It is likely that they partly ignored the fact that children had been viewers ever since shows were put on screen, whether the programmes were made for children, or not. Similarly, in both countries, television was regarded as a bewitching force (Buckingham et al., 1999: 18) and as the modern *Pied Piper of Hamelin* (Schmidbauer, 1987: 34). It was feared that television would have a damaging impact on children, and although 'children were addressed as a television audience, their status as an audience was constantly evoked as a problem' (Oswell, 2002: 47). In 1953, Freda Lingstrom, then head of BBC Children's TV asked whether 'this powerful, intrusive invention [will] undermine the authority of family life or enrich it' (Freda Lingstrom, cited in Oswell, 2002: 49): '[W]ill the speed with which "pictures" can be understood sharpen perceptions or dull them; will television become a despot, encroaching on the liberty of the mind?' (ibid.).

Regulative scheduling

While German research points more to the external, often academic, criticism of TV (see Stötzel and Merkelbach, 1991), BBC broadcasters were more explicitly described as having developed from early on an awareness of their specific responsibility towards children in regard to the perceived negative impact of television, an awareness that soon led the BBC to establish a specific regulative approach towards children's viewing (Buckingham et al., 1999). The BBC concluded that children had to be safeguarded through design and scheduling of the programming from any possible harmful influence, and therefore children's encounters with television had to be planned and controlled (Oswell, 2002), both by the BBC and the parent. Buckingham et al. (1999: 18) describe these attempts as part of a wider social phenomenon at a time of other regulative 'forms of care, in which welfare and surveillance were combined'.

There are two main differences in how the BBC seemed to tackle the challenge to provide 'safe' TV content for children and protect their viewership, first in regard to the role of parents, second, through the concept of regulative scheduling around age-related developmental stages.

From the BBC's early days, parents were regarded as an important element in the BBC's regulative approach towards children's viewing. Broadcasters were seen at one end of the regulation of children's television, parents 'at the other – parental – end' (Freda Lingstrom, cited in Oswell, 2002: 78). At the BBC, the expectations towards parental control were high, yet the trust in the efficiency of parental control was not comprehensive. It was argued, '[t]he knob is very easy to turn on; the spell fatally strong [...] Parental control is not fully mobilised' (Mary Adams, cited in Buckingham et al., 1999: 18). Broadcasters seemed to have believed strongly in the impact of such a regulative approach, but assumed that it would 'take some time to make this policy effective; it will need the co-operation of parents, and consistency in planning over a period of time' (Mary Adams, 1950, cited in Oswell, 2002: 78).

Not only did the more central role of the parent emerge from the literature, the provision was also shaped by a second concept influential at the time – that children displayed strong age-related differences – connected to a concept of child development along specific stages, to which the broadcaster had to adhere. The BBC tried to prevent conscious or unconscious viewing of what they believed to be age-inappropriate content by age-related scheduling (Buckingham et al., 1999: 19). Also Oswell (2002: 80) argues that television broadcasters constructed their audience 'according to a model of development'. The developmental principles of the time suggested that life was seen as a 'process of growth in which there are successive stages, each with its own character and mind' (Hadow Report, cited in Buckingham et al., 1999: 18). Although, as Oswell (2002: 78) remarks, scheduling as a regulative project was always struggling because of the 'limits of broadcasting as a disciplinary apparatus', television was regarded as 'a moral and developmental guide' throughout these age-related developmental stages of children (Buckingham et al., 1999: 19).

Notably, it is argued that the 'developmental approach to learning and [...] cultural cohesiveness were [...] linked' and 'inserted into a comprehensive philosophy of national public service broadcasting' in the UK at that time (Buckingham et al., 1999: 35). By addressing children's *own* pattern of life

through a concept of developmental stages, broadcasters also thought to 'help them integrate into the *national* "pattern of life"' (ibid., italics not in original).

In Germany, distinctive developmental stages or a specific role in the public service endeavour appear not to have been a dominating concept of the early periods. Only in regard to capabilities of very young children did there seem to have been a similar view on childhood. One visible age boundary that was applied in both countries was the 'toddlers' truce', when television closed down (usually) from 6pm to 7pm, so as to separate children and adult viewing habits (Buckingham et al., 1999: 19). In Germany these scheduling gaps also existed as a 'late afternoon gap'⁷ (Erlinger and Stötzel, 1991: 167).

ITV and the middle-class: Giving up a paternalistic provision

It is notable that the disturbances at the time about how to understand contemporary children and how best to serve the child audience emerged from the literature in both countries about the late 1950s, and yet broadcasters responded to them very differently.

The intention to regulate children's viewing experience was strongly criticised as protectionist and 'paternalistic,' when the BBC faced the first (and quickly more popular) commercial competition (Buckingham et al., 1999: 34). The BBC at the time attracted criticism, because, despite having little evidence of what children valued or liked to watch, and, some argue, showed little interest in the findings of the BBC's own Audience Research Department, producers held strong opinions about what their viewers needed (Buckingham et al., 1999: 20-21). Such conceptions of childhood at that time were commonly described as 'middle class' (Buckingham et al., 1999: 16), a concept that as such does not exist in the German literature, and cannot simply be translated into the German language. It is argued that producers were unable to understand contemporary childhood and answer the interests and tastes of children in the 1950/60s, because they were 'middle class' and produced 'soft and sentimental, sometimes self-consciously middle-class' content (Doreen Stephens, cited in Buckingham et al., 1999: 29). Many of the producers had a professional background in a

form of theatre, popular with the 'middle class' at the time (see Buckingham et al., 1999; Oswell, 2002). The view that someone can be 'too middle-class' to provide successfully for a child audience (Miall, 1997), and that one needs to overcome past protectionist attitudes, pervades UK sources to date (see, for example, The Children's Media Foundation, 2013).

The internal criticism of the BBC's paternalistic and protectionist approach became so strong that the whole purpose of children's television was being questioned. The 'necessity for a children's service – especially of the kind provided by the BBC – became a matter for debate' (Buckingham et al., 1999: 28). This debate led to a point when the children's department stopped addressing children as children, because of the belief that 'children' was 'a word to which most of our viewers are allergic, and which is a breeder of false attitudes' (Owen Reed 1959, cited in Oswell, 2002: 77). As there were now no longer any 'children' to serve, consequently the concept of a separate children's department was given up and it merged into a family department (Buckingham et al., 1999: 30).

In Germany, the literature points to less criticism of PSB's views on childhood in the first phases. Here, it was not criticising a broadcaster representing some kind of aloof middle-class taste. Here, the so-called 'arts education' and 'conserving pedagogy', with their roots in pre-democratic authoritative concepts and a lack of fictional characters emerge from the literature as source of criticism by only a few (e.g., see Ria Minten, 1953, cited in Hickethier, 1991: 107). Wider criticism of protectionist approaches emerged in Germany only during a much later phase – the late 1960s – which was also when Ilse Obrig's formats were discontinued, who had been an influential public service children's producer and presenter from the formative years until the 1960s (as a children's radio producer also in the 1940s) (Hickethier, 1991: 110-3, 108; Schmidbauer, 1987).

Youth protection law and public service provision: Giving up a harmful provision

While the literature shows internal attempts to overcome protectionist and paternalistic approaches at the BBC in response to the popular competitor ITV, because the BBC became to be viewed as outdated, in Germany the

idea of protecting children by keeping them away from television appeared to only now fully evolve into a dominating characteristic of public service children's provision. Thus, the restrictive, protectionist views on the child audience remained a constraint on German children's provision for much longer than in the UK.

In 1958, the idea of protecting children from harmful screen experiences led to a readjustment of the youth law (regulating children's access to cinemas) (Schmidbauer, 1987: 12), and ultimately culminated in PSB completely banning television for children under eight years, which was applied until the late 1960s (Kübler, 2001). This demonstrates the major difference in how public service constructed the different stages of childhood, probably in response to ideas at the time. In Germany, there were largely two stages: a time when a child turned eight and was seen as capable of watching TV, and the time before a child turned eight, when it was not capable of TV viewing without being harmed (for the views on children's viewing capabilities, see Schmidbauer, 1987; Mundzeck, 1973). How and if the ambitious regulative policy and interpretation of contemporary youth protection law displayed by ARD broadcasters at the time was actually translated into the service offered and achieved its aims remains unclear. At the same time, programmes were produced that appear to have been directed at young children. The BBC did not cease to produce programmes for children of specific ages, and also a separate children's department was quickly re-established, because the family department experiment had not succeeded (Buckingham et al., 1999).

Finally, by the late 1960s and 1970s, German broadcasters had also begun to move away from the protectionist approach, labelled in the UK as 'paternalism', in Germany 'conserving pedagogy', towards a new concept of a provision that was more child-centred (Buckingham et al., 1999; Oswell, 2002). Protection of children now was understood more as equipping children with the appropriate tools to cope with whatever they encountered by fostering 'natural growth and development of the mind' (Doreen Stephens, cited in Buckingham et al., 1999: 29). The protectionist approach was finally replaced with the view that television was foremost an educational medium and could benefit the self-regulative independent child (for Germany, see Mundzeck, 1973: 70). According to Home (1993: 41), cognitive and developmental psychology now constituted the child viewer

'as a cognitive subject whose learning is facilitated through the appropriate play-centred environment'.

4.2.2 Informal learning

Whereas the early rationales for education sprang from a more authoritative viewpoint whereby broadcasters aimed at providing protection and guidance, in later periods both countries were affected by the so-called 'pre-school boom', a phenomenon that emerged in many Western societies from the late 1960s onwards. The pre-school boom shaped the children's television landscape considerably, when broadcasters aimed to utilise television both for children's formal and informal learning (Kübler, 2001). Television was now regarded as a medium that could convey specific knowledge particularly well to young children, and they could learn from watching TV. A central view of TV as a learning tool was the concept of 'educational compensation by means of television'⁸ (Kübler, 2001: 8). Learning deficits and a lack of educational provision for some children was regarded as a problem, especially among disadvantaged lower income families at the time (Mundzeck, 1973: 70).

There is a difference between the two countries, in so far that in the UK programmes were built around the dominant idea of the 'playful learner' (Buckingham et al., 1999: 29: 160) and the belief that '[c]hildren learn through play' (Doreen Stephens, cited in Buckingham et al., 1999: 35). Programmes were 'based on sound educational principles', but 'never set out to teach in a formal way' (Home, 1993: 75). Instead, programmes were characterised by 'no directive to learn, but constant encouragement to play' (Monica Sims, 1972, cited in Buckingham et al., 1999: 34). The boom in TV as an educational medium emerged at the same time, when the exchange of formats between broadcasters became more important. For example, not only was the face of German PSB provision for children changed by US format *Sesame Street*, but also the BBC format *Play School*, which built on the idea of the 'playful learner', was sold internationally, including to Germany, where scripts, films and graphics were adapted (Home, 1993: 74).

Unlike the BBC, where many educational formats were being produced under this paradigm, German broadcasters appeared to have acquired

international content to a greater extent. *Sesame Street* is one example, and it became a PSB household name in Germany. Although there was a sharp dispute between supporters of *Sesame Street* and those who despised it (Löhr, 1991: 54), many were impressed by the programme (Kübler, 2001: 7). In both countries, some were worried about damage to children's cognitive skills by being exposed to methods used in advertising to help them remember numbers and letters, some regarded it as too 'authoritarian', and others were worried about damage to the English language (Home, 1993: 42-45; Buckingham et al., 1999: 35; Schmidbauer, 1987: 104). The BBC ultimately decided against acquiring the programme (Buckingham et al., 1999).

However, the literature in the two countries paints two very different outcomes of the pre-school boom for PSB that may have impacted the provision considerably. Whereas, at the BBC, the concept of 'learn through play' in the late 1960s/1970s became a key part of the brand fabric of the BBC children's provision until date, the German motto deriving from this period was 'not much to learn through television'. Kübler (2001: 8) argues that 'soon the simple aims of a cognitive training and of an educational policy-inspired compensation through TV are flown by/boiled away', because 'evaluation research showed disillusioning results, namely little learning progress and hardly any compensation among the (disadvantaged) children'.

From this period on, 'learn through play' for the younger children and later 'learn through fun' (e.g., BBC, 2006a: 30) for the older characterised the BBC children's provision and probably also paved the way for the UK's second pre-school boom in the late 1990s. Then, with the rise of multi-channel television, pre-school television moved into the focus of the BBC again, when research showed that providing distinct services for older and younger children would benefit both audience and broadcaster (Steemers, 2010a). The shift towards younger audience groups can be seen in the internationally-distributed BBC pre-school programmes *Teletubbies* (1997) and *Tweenies* (1999), which seem to be constructed on the idea of children learning through play and fun. Kübler (2001: 14) sees the main reason for the acquisition and prominent scheduling of this new kind of programme from the BBC by German broadcasters in the search for a new – younger – audience by public service broadcasters, who had lost a large share of their older child audience to private competitors. Steemers (2010a: 38) points to

the economic rationale behind the strategy to expand the BBC's 'commitment to the under-sixes', and 'place the BBC in a global marketplace'. In the 1990s and early 2000s, broadcasters learned, that 'some pre-school programming is not simply educational and entertaining but potentially profitable' (Steemers, 2010a: 38). In 1999, *Teletubbies* was screened on *Kinderkanal* on weekday mornings, before the PSB traditional *Sandmännchen*, as the first television programme in Germany directed towards children under 2 years (*Tweenies* followed in 2001) (Kübler, 2001: 14). Like the German version of US programme *Sesame Street* in the 1970s, the BBC programme shaped the image of the PSB children's provision in Germany in this period.

4.2.3 Trust in home-grown ways of learning and producing

The way that the literature refers to PSB's discussions on whether or not to acquire the US programme *Sesame Street* points to another difference. In both contexts, anti-Americanisation formed one element of the debate, but many also despised the programme's approach to children's learning. However, one important reason why the BBC children's department decided against investing in *Sesame Street*, was, according to Home (1993), not to jeopardise their own production, *Play School*. The idea that producers at the BBC felt – in a creative sense – inferior to US productions does not emerge from the literature. Here, the idea of safeguarding home-grown culture, as opposed to an 'American' culture, appears in the literature as a greater rationale, also in regard to *Sesame Street* (Buckingham et al., 1999: 20-21, 35). German PSBs overall appeared to have been less confident about their capabilities to produce programmes like *Sesame Street*. A mix of anti-Americanisation voices, as well as an inferiority in regard to the PSBs' own creative production capabilities, emerged from the literature. For example, BR's programmes were seen by the press as 'tentative approaches'⁹ to pre-school education on TV. The same magazine reported that at NDR's education department it was argued that whoever said 'that we can develop earlier than in three to four years a programme that is comparable to *Sesame Street*, is either an ignoramus, or he's lying'¹⁰ (*Der Spiegel*, 1971). It is worth noting that, contrary to the doubts, ARD broadcasters were actually more than capable of producing a similarly successful programme for pre-schoolers. The inhouse productions, *Die Sendung mit der Maus* and *Das feuerrote Spielmobil*, introduced innovative formats to German children's

television and not only became popular with children, but also received national and international recognition and awards (Löhr, 1991: 54).

4.2.4 Social learning

Later, in the 1970/80s, social learning and emancipatory approaches to learning also joined the mix of children's TV's educational purposes, notably understood in Germany as a counteracting development, which aimed at the 'de-schooling of the television pre-school'¹¹ (Kübler, 2001: 8). Similarly, it built on the idea that television was able to compensate for shortcomings in the real life of children and improve their social interactions. Concepts of social and emancipatory learning were introduced to the PSB provision, in order 'to compensate social cultural deficits'¹² (Bachmair, 2008a), for example, with programmes such as *Rappelkiste* and *Sesame Street* in Germany (Erlinger, 1995). How broadcasters understood the idea of social learning and its objectives seems to have differed in the two countries. German programmes appear to have aimed at strengthening the 'independence' of children, counteracting what was believed to be an increasing 'domestication' of children and the diminishing of children's spaces in the public realm (Elmar Lorey, cited in Erlinger, 1995). The BBC displayed a greater awareness of social differences among children and aimed to reflect the different social experience of their viewers and thus better represent the nation's different social classes, languages, accents and regions in children's TV culture on screen (e.g., see drama series *Grange Hill*) (Buckingham et al., 1999: 161-169). This indicates that PSBs had a very different understanding of childhood, but also of society, and this reflects the difference between the various academic research interests regarding childhood in the two countries, as pointed out by Chisholm et al. (1990: 11) in the 1990s. In Germany (here West Germany), researchers built their research on an understanding of society as 'culturally homogeneous', whereas British researchers regarded the UK as 'a multi-racial and multi-ethnic society' (Chisholm et al., 1990: 11). Similarly, the PSBs' social impact appeared to have been understood in Germany more at the level of the individual and individual freedom with different demands, whereas in the UK differences were emphasised at community or society level, communities specified by region, language, class.

4.2.5 Media education

Media education regularly emerged as an element of public service children's television during several periods and is closely related to the 'continuing controversies about the apparently harmful effects of the media on children' (Buckingham, 2009b). In the late 1970s, media education emerged as a concept related to the ideas around competency building prevalent at the time, when pedagogy developed a concept of media competence deriving from Chomsky, Habermas and Bourdieu's ideas of competencies (Baacke, 1999). It became an important element of youth and community work (Buckingham, 2004: 49). Also, television was seen to play a role in fostering children's critical capabilities towards television. It was believed that children would develop not only a critical distance to adult norms and values, but also a 'critical distance to the technical instrument of television'¹³ (Kübler, 2001: 6). For example, programmes to promote media literacy were created to enable children to look behind the cameras and to understand how media were produced (ibid.).

Towards the end of the 1990s, media production again became popular in educational settings (Buckingham, 2004: 49). On the one hand, educationalists tried to find ways to provide children with the tools to cope with a children's media landscape that was largely driven by market rationales (Erlinger, 1995); and, on the other hand, to help them find ways to handle what was described as childhood's 'increasing dependence on technology' (Messenger Davies, 2001: 46). The BBC were among several agents who promoted children's and young people's media literacy (Buckingham, 2004: 52), but it is argued that here media literacy soon became 'to be almost coterminous with the issue of Internet safety' (Buckingham, 2009b: 218) (see Chapter 7.3.2).

4.3 Competing in a commercial television landscape

4.3.1 Make the good thing popular and the popular thing good

The review has shown the continuing factor that broadcasters adapted the purpose and aims of public service provision to the commercial environment they acted in. One purpose of children's television that emerged very early at the BBC and then again during several time periods

was described as winning back the audience from the commercial competition. This points to the broadcasters' dilemma that, in order to fulfil their social goals, it is not enough to provide content and services, they also need to reach a considerable part of the child audience and be popular. For example, when ITV proved to be more successful with children by building their schedule 'around a few "absolute winners"' such as *Popeye* and *The Mickey Mouse Club* (Buckingham et al., 1999: 24), the BBC was urged to 'regain the audience without dropping standards' (Home, 1993: 34). In this situation, a phrase was coined that would remain decisive for the character of the BBC children's provision: the directive for the future of the children's provision was to 'make the good thing popular and the popular thing good' (Buckingham et al., 1999: 21). The children's department at the time found this strategy especially threatening, because they needed to prove that they were popular with children or the department would not survive (Buckingham et al., 1999; see Chapter 3.3.1). Similarly, at the end of the 1990s, German broadcasters had to find ways to win back the child audience, despite a 'tightly limited budget'¹⁴ and the broad age-appeal of their competitors' children's and general channels (Bea Schmidt, cited in Hermann, 2000: 48).

In response to the greater commercial provision, the boundaries between programmes for children, youth and adults shifted (Buckingham et al., 1999: 91). German researchers observe that children's shows in the late 1980/90s tried to imitate adult shows and commercial formats in design and narrative structure (Kübler, 2001), a phenomenon which was established in the UK context for a greater length of time (see 'miniature' BBC and response to ITV, Chapter 3). Broadcasters increasingly adapted commercial programme and scheduling formats and production methods. For example, the children's soap drama series *Schloss Einstein* (first screened in 1998) was created with the purpose of strengthening public service television, as well as recognising the Kinderkanal brand *vis-à-vis* the commercial provision. It was argued by co-creator Dieter Saldecki (WDR, later Askania Media):

'We wanted to bring back the group of older children, who appeared to have been lost for the public service children's television, through the development of this new programming format, tie them again to the ARD and to the public service television system'¹⁵ (Dieter Saldecki, cited in Hermann, 2000: 47).

Building brand recognition was seen as the central measure to tie the children back to public service. It was widely believed that loyalty to the

children's channel would increase with a serial drama format (e.g., see Albert Schäfer, cited in Hermann, 2000: 50).

In Germany, the research points to a 'crisis in children's television' at the time (Kübler, 2001). In the 1990s, some researchers had a highly critical view of the impact of commercialisation on children's PSB. Erlinger observed in the late 1990s that it was not '[d]ecisive what kind of programmes children "need"; decisive for the existence and continuity of the children's programming are the viewing figures'¹⁶ (Erlinger, 1998: 5). It was argued that not only had the child's needs moved out of the focus of public service provision in the 1990s, but also a more holistic view on the purpose of the children's provision was necessary:

'[E]verything that slightly sounds like pedagogy, ethical orientation or advocacy for children is taboo; important are quotas, costs and – possibly international – sales. The production of children's television has grown up'¹⁷ (Kübler, 2001).

Public service television came under increasing pressure at that time, both adopting the approaches introduced by commercial television, yet, showing the distinctiveness from it. Buckingham et al. (1999), argue that, because more and more channels provided children's content, PSB was seen by some as an anachronism which belonged to 'a dying age of bureaucracy', and that some held that only the commercial media were able to provide 'the conditions for cultural complexity and rapidly changing patterns of taste'.

4.3.2 The violence-free and commercial-free alternative

While the research has shown that public service broadcasters sometimes adopted commercial strategies and rationales and also provided children's programming during their commercial airtime, at other times they emphasised how PSB was distinct from commercial broadcasting.

In the 1980s, the strategy of German broadcasters was to adopt some commercial rationales, but in the 1990s, with the growing fragmentation of children's broadcasting and the success of private competition, German strategies suddenly shifted towards presenting children's public service broadcasting as the 'violence-free'¹⁸ and 'commercial-free'¹⁹ (ARD, 2012b) alternative to the largely commercial multi-channel provision (ARD, 1997b:

143). Here, public service broadcasters in Germany appeared to have built their public service ethos strongly in opposition to commercialism and advertising. For example, the head of the ZDF children's department in 1998 argued: '[I]n the same way as a constituting characteristic of public service children's television was its condition of the absolute advertising abstinence, so was commercial children's television financed solely through advertising'²⁰ (Müller, 1997: 201) (for children's programmes during advertising slots see Chapter 3). However, that the relationship with commercial rationales remained ambivalent as before can be seen in the hopes expressed in Germany, similar to those in the UK in regard to pre-school programming in the 1990s, that combining ARD and ZDF to create a joint provision would benefit children's broadcasting also to the extent that it would ultimately enable German programmes, producers and distributors to gain 'a more important role in the international market'²¹ (Ernst Geyer and Susanne Müller, cited in Internationales Zentralinstitut für das Jugend- und Bildungsfernsehen, 1995: 5-6).

At the BBC also, during earlier periods (late 1950s), something similar had happened, when the BBC had responded to the commercial competition of ITV, and to the public concern sparked mainly by the commercial media. Oswell (2002: 147) shows how the debate affected the way in which the BBC positioned itself as a broadcaster, and argues that during this period children's television was 'construed in opposition to American culture and triviality, but also to the flattening of individuality' through standardised commercial TV productions. Therefore, while the BBC's founding ethos for the children's provision was built on the idea to provide an alternative to commercial media, the same idea was expressed by German PSBs at this much later stage.

4.4 Entertainment

4.4.1 Entertainment – dangerous, or a service to the public

The literature shows that researchers had a very different understanding of the purpose of entertainment in children's television in the early period. In Germany, entertainment and education appeared to have developed as antagonists and for much longer than in the UK tensions between entertainment that reflected ideas about high and low culture prevailed. In

the UK, entertainment was clearly visible as a purpose in itself and formed part of the broadcasters' public service remit from early on. At the BBC, although some early programme makers held similar 'serious-minded' (Ofcom, 2007a: 5) views about children and television, entertainment was as much part of the overall provision and remit as other purposes from the start (Home, 1993). In contrast, Bachmair (2000: 96), for example, argues, that children's television produced in Germany at the time was developed as a restorative force, greatly in contrast to the 'social seizure of the end of war and the technological spirit of optimism'²² characteristic of the period.

Compared to the literature on the BBC, German public service broadcasters seemed to have had to deal with tensions towards television as a popular children's medium and in particular as an entertainment medium for much longer. Many commentators refer to the struggle of children's TV to free itself from the notion of television's cultural inferiority, the lack of acceptance of entertainment as public service, or from assumptions that television content might harm children. German broadcasters described the challenge as present in the late 1960s as in the 1990s. For example, to 'reverse traditional images [and] concerns' internally and externally, 'the trend [was] strongly directed against a television more generally'²³ was a challenge for developing a modern children's TV in the late 1960s (Müntefering, 1998: 51).

Hickethier identifies the reason for the early beliefs in avoiding children's television as 'a means for dissipation/pastime'²⁴ (Hickethier, 1991: 112). Drawing on contemporary observers, he shows that producer and presenter Ilse Obrig (producing children's content since the 1940s), believed that seeing entertainment not as a means to another end, but as an end in itself, was 'dangerous'. This attitude, for example, made broadcasters hesitate to introduce fictional characters to the PSB children's provision, because it was believed that television added to a general overflow of stimulation. Programmes for children were therefore supposed 'not to be a means – next to many others during our time – that offer stimulations which cannot or cannot well enough be processed by the children'²⁵ (Andrea Brunnen, 1956, cited in Hickethier, 1991: 112). According to a contemporary observer:

[What] Ilse Obrig wanted with her TV programmes was to teach the children to do something with their time. In her view, television could not do something more dangerous than help children to 'kill' time, to 'pass' time'²⁶ (ibid.).

While Germany's children's provision during a long period dismissed entertainment as a pastime, the literature review (and some research into original schedules) showed that in the UK during the early 1950s more diverse entertainment programme formats were being created. They included picture stories, entertainment series, music magazines and drama series, such as *The Appleyards*, *The Railway Children*, *The Secret Garden* and later *Playbox*, *Crackerjack!* (panel show), *Noggin the Nog* (animation), *Robin Hood* (drama series) (see e.g., Home, 1993: 32). In addition, US programmes such as *The Adventures of Superman* were broadcast in the early days.

What can also be assumed is that producing these programmes must have meant allocating considerably higher budgets than those for programmes that characterised the German weekday provision. German researchers point to the severe underfunding of the children's provision (Schmidbauer, 1987). Thus, budgetary considerations, rather than moral reasons, may have been more influential at the time on whether or not to embrace entertainment formats, and may also have formed another 'selling point' for producer and presenter Ilse Obrig's programming style when budgets were being considered among public service broadcasters. Hickethier (1991) suggests the relatively low costs of the format as one reason for her continuous success.

Despite the BBC's early history in producing entertaining programmes for children, some here also held the view that out-of-fashion attitudes of the former radio period had been 'carried over into television' (Doreen Stephens, 1966, cited in Buckingham et al., 1999: 30). Possibly here also BBC television did not appropriately represent the spirit of the period, because some later argued that BBC programmes were not reflecting the social fabric of the nation and found a similar sense of 'ignorance', trying to protect children 'as much as possible from harsh realities' (Doreen Stephens, 1966, cited in Buckingham et al., 1999: 30). Yet, irrespective of how well both PSB systems were able to represent life at the time, what is important for this research is that entertainment formed a central and accepted part of the BBC provision from its start. Unlike Germany, BBC concepts of 'story-telling', of adventure content and the idea of children's brands and fictional or puppet characters appeared to have been defining factors very early in the BBC's children's provision. While children's characters such as *Muffin the Mule*, and *Bill and Ben*, *The Flowerpot Men*

(Home, 1993: 30), were icons of the BBC's early provision, in Germany it was held that a handful of presenters such as Ilse Obrig represented the brand names of German children's TV (Hickethier, 1991: 107).

In Germany at the time, some critically observed these different developments in the two countries in regard to children's entertainment. One observer argued that in the UK, *Bill and Ben* were 'always recognised and familiar. We are still lacking the Mickey Mouse of children's broadcasting'²⁷ (Ria Minten, 1953, cited in Hickethier, 1991: 108). Minten explained:

'Certainly, there is Kasperle [...]. But Kasperle is not yet the TV figure, you find him everywhere. When in England a child thinks of television, then it thinks of "Muffin, The Mule" and it remembers all the adventures he had already to live through'²⁸ (p. 107).

Contrastingly, the German concepts of children's entertainment were retrospectively not only described as reflecting financially scarce circumstances (Hickethier, 1991), but also creatively were regarded by some as 'games of deprivation, like those children are made to play during exceptional times, to keep them quiet and with the sparse random material, that is still available [...] for example in the air-raid shelter or barrack' (Melchior Schedler, 1975, cited in Hickethier, 1991: 112). However, Hickethier argues that most contemporary criticism of the time was acquiescent with the approach broadcasters chose for children and some even warned against the negative effects on audiences of too many different TV presenters on screen (Hickethier, 1991: 107).

4.4.2 Entertainment vs education

A new type of children's television that embraced entertainment as one important purpose of the PSB provision would only appear in Germany from the late 1960s (Bachmair, 2000: 96). Then, broadcasters found formats for the new medium that made use of modes of storytelling available to an audiovisual screen medium (Hickethier, 1991: 147). Most reservations about television disappeared with the arrival of new forms of pre-school television, or were sometimes converted into euphoric beliefs about the benefits of television – that children could learn from watching TV (Kübler, 2001: 6). For example, understanding television as an educational medium led to a complete make-over at German PSBs in regard to how broadcasters

understood the PSB remit relating to young children; this was when the pre-school boom brought an end to the strategy of excluding younger children (under 8) from their audience (Mundzeck, 1973: 70). By the late 1960/70s, broadcasters tried to introduce entertainment as a core part of the public service provision, but some argue, established it only after the idea of the 'TV pre-school' was given up (Kübler, 2001: 6-8).

Public service broadcasters in the 1960/70s advocated the legitimacy of entertainment and fun, not just as a means to another end, but as an important remit of PSB (Kübler, 2001). However, tensions remained between entertainment that reflected high and low culture. The first criticism originated from conservative circles, and later from progressive circles too – for example, in the form of an inner-PSB ethical competition between two poles representing two different departments, established during this period, and which both produced entertainment for children. The ZDF operated two parallel children's departments at the same time (until 1985), the children and youth department and the learning and education department (Schmidbauer, 1987: 147), by some referred to as 'a good and a bad children's department'²⁹ (Müller, 2001b), with the learning and education department being the good one. The children and youth department focused on entertainment programmes and series for children and set out to touch 'the heart' of children (Josef Göhlen, cited in Löhr, 2001). Programmes such as animation series *Wickie*, *Biene Maja*, *Pinocchio*, *Heidi* and *Sindbad* were primarily seen as a retreat from real life. The learning and education department focused on educational and emancipatory content with programmes such as *Rappelkiste* (Blaich, 1973). Between these two departments 'aggressive confrontations'³⁰ were reported (Schäfer, 1991: 32). The 'entertainment department' was also criticised for its relationship with content supplier and producer Kirch (e.g., see Spiegel, 1976). How great the tensions between entertainment and education were at the time can be seen in the arguments mentioned in the literature. For some, pure entertainment and its alleged tendency to ignore the real life of children was unacceptable in PSB. Children, it was argued, had to cope with a 'structurally child-hostile society'³¹ (Ingo Herrmann, cited in Müller, 2001b), 'an increasing limitation of their experience spaces [...] "family provincialism", overprotection and pressure to perform'³² (Lorey, cited in Erlinger, 1995). The criticism was that much of the entertainment content at ZDF's other department at the time created some kind of 'alibi of a golden

ghetto of child-friendliness'³³ (Ingo Herrmann, cited in Müller, 2001b) and therefore did children a disservice by distracting from children's real life issues.

4.4.3 Overcoming tensions – European storytelling vs cartoons

Since the 1970s, however, entertainment has also become an important element of German PSB for children. Throughout the 1970s, the ARD began to produce and acquire entertainment series that could compete with imported fictional entertainment formats (Schmidbauer, 1987: 77). Providing children with entertainment through fictional narratives appears as the main purpose of the 1980s PSB provision in Germany. The main function of television was now regarded as being 'the story-teller for children' (Schmidbauer, 1987: 162). Broadcasters aimed at creating entertainment programmes for the whole family (Erlinger and Stötzel, 1991: 59).

There is one phenomenon that distinguishes the two countries, however, in the way that they tackled their - now more accepted - entertainment remit. The BBC seemed to have relied far more on home-grown UK productions, Germany's golden era of children's entertainment had more of an international, or rather European, outlook, reflecting television, storytelling and filmmaking expertise available across Europe. A period of popular co-produced and acquired drama series with, for example, the former ČSSR and Sweden, alongside home-grown content characterised the popular ARD storytelling provision of the 1970s (Schmidbauer, 1987: 77). The idea of a European provision for children now became an important concept in PSB. 'European' content was seen as a counter-remedy for too many non-European programmes, and aimed to provide, for example, 'a contrast to the long-running Japanese [animation] series of ZDF' (Hans-Werner Conrad, 1982, cited in Schmidbauer, 1987: 155). Therefore, in Germany, a move towards more entertainment also meant a move towards a European internationalisation of the creative process, whereas at the BBC, the entertainment production was part of the in-house public service production culture - and therefore 'home-grown - from early on.

What appeared to have further strengthened this shift in Germany towards accepting entertainment as one of PSB's responsibilities in the 1970/80s, was that broadcasters were gaining an increasing knowledge about their

audience (Schmidbauer, 1987: 147). Already the 1960s saw the growth of research into television and its effects on children, parallel to an increasing research interest in education (see Kübler, 2001: 8). One impactful insight into the child audience was that children watched entertainment content and did not differ considerably from adults when it came to viewing preferences, times and the depiction of quality production and narratives (Schmidbauer, 1987: 148).

4.4.4 New tensions – finding a place in an entertainment market

However, the tensions over entertainment never disappeared in Germany and still prevailed in the late 1990s. It was still necessary at that time to point to research evidence that children strongly demanded entertainment and fun to build the case for the justification of entertainment for children. For example, the ZDF research department declared that ‘the function of television has [...] fundamentally changed, since the commercial providers have joined’³⁴ (ZDF, 1998: 14). The motivation of children to watch TV was described as ‘simply just to have fun’ (ibid.). Also, children's motivations, it was suggested, considerably differed from those of adults: information/orientation/advice for adults, fun for children. These findings must have been in stark contrast not only to the understandings of children's media use that broadcasters had developed over the past decade, but also to what they must have known about adults, where, according to another ARD/ZDF 2000 research, 92% of respondents were reported to see information as motivation for TV use, but 84% also stated entertainment (ARD, 2001c: 214).

Another example of the prevailing tensions was how, in 1997, the newly-created children's channel was promoted, not, for example, as the ‘best’ channel for children, but rather as the ‘least bad’ of the TV options for children. As put by the then head of the children's channel: ‘Our message is: Children's television does not have to be, Children's Channel may be. Or in short: If. Then. This one.’³⁵ (Schäfer, 1997: 66). Although, by then, public service broadcasters had produced, commissioned and acquired entertaining, informing, educational programming for 50 years, at the end of this historical account it still appeared necessary to justify why public service broadcasters were providing entertainment and even television itself to children.

Summary

This chapter has formed the last chapter of Part One of this thesis, which provided the historical context for further research. Chapter 3 and 4 have revealed change and transition as a defining characteristic of public service media for children and have also exposed continuous aspects, outlining some differences and similarities in how broadcasters have negotiated challenges in the past. This last chapter has looked at broadcasters' understanding of the purpose of public service children's broadcasting, how this understanding has changed during the different periods in the past, and has addressed some differences and similarities in the two countries.

The next chapter forms the first part of Part Two of this thesis, the analysis and results of the original research. Part Two will look at the multi-platform history of children's public service media.

Part Two

Multi-platform public service media for children in the UK and Germany (mid 1990s - 2009, Phases 1-3)

Chapters

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Chapter 5 – Challenges in the history of public service multi-platform media for children (mid 1990s - 2009, Phases 1-3)

Introduction

Part 2, Chapters 5-7 set out the challenges, purposes and strategies during public service broadcasters' transition to a multi-platform provision during three phases in their multi-platform history. PSB's multi-platform history begins in the mid 1990s. With the arrival of new digital media technologies, new distributional platforms and the transformation of the public service broadcasters from broadcasters to multi-platform providers, new challenges occurred. There are certain differences and similarities in how publicly-funded public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany negotiated these challenges related to the transition from broadcasting to multi-platform media for children, and also in the way they defined the purpose of the new services in the multi-platform era.

For the comparative analysis in the period of the multi-platform history of children's provision, this historical period has been divided into three phases preceding the time of the research, Phase 1 (from mid 1990s to 2000), Phase 2 (from 2000/1 to 2005), Phase 3 (from 2006 to 2009). The chapters cover the themes in regard to challenges, strategies and the purpose of the provision that have emerged from the systematic comparative description and analysis of these three phases.

5.1 Uncertainty and controversy about the role and remit of PSM

There are certain differences and similarities in how publicly-funded public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany may have perceived the challenges related to the transition from broadcasting to multi-platform media for children in the period 1996 to 2009 (phase 1, 2, 3).

The first phase of the multi-platform provision was a time of uncertainty among broadcasters, both in the UK and Germany, about the role that public service online media would play in people's daily media use. (Steemers, 2001b: 126). Public service broadcasters began to provide content and services for children when the Internet was a phenomenon new

to many people, including those who produced it. A former senior executive and children's producer remembers working on the BBC's first children's websites: 'I didn't know what Internet was. I didn't have it, hadn't seen it, had never actually sent an email' (UK54). Although already in phase 1, broadcasters observed that 'the Internet changed [...] from only an interactive to a more broadcasting-like network'¹ (ARD, 1998: 25), the level of sophistication that new media technologies reached only a few years later could not be easily anticipated at the time that the first text-based websites launched. A German observer argued: 'The role the Internet plays now and will play in future in the kids' media programme is – still – the subject of considerable speculation in Germany' (Gehle, 1999: 142). Politicians argued that, between 1998 and 2004, the Internet had 'changed beyond recognition' (Tessa Jowell, cited in *The Guardian*, 2004).

The first public service online services were regarded as development projects (e.g., see Landtag Rheinland-Pfalz, 2002: 24). Because they had pilot project status and were still lacking a specific regulatory remit (e.g., see ZDF, 2010a: 6), legal controversies were rife. During the early period, it remained a major uncertainty whether these media services on new platforms were to become part of the public service broadcasting remit and, if so, how to finance them. The BBC and some German broadcasters experimented with alternative ways of funding to implement the additional activities (Steemers, 2001b: 127-8), which attracted further criticism (e.g., news provision, see Heise Online, 2004; Eberle, 1998).

The uncertainty soon evolved into controversy. In both countries, all three phases were characterised by debates about the role of public service broadcasting in the digital era. PSB's online activities received strong criticism from commercial media, but also from political parties and government representatives. Important in the research context are the complaints against BBC's digital curriculum service (BBC Jam), which launched, but was later withdrawn by the BBC Trust in phase 3 (2006/7), and in Germany, complaints against the PSB children's channel's online activities which had offered online services from early on, but moved to the centre of the debate at the end of the period, when launching two new Web-based services (2008/9).

Woldt (2010a: 177) shows that for many years the 'scope, size and purpose of PSB's presence on the Internet have been subject to heated debate'. Yet,

in the UK earlier than in Germany, these 'projects' became less controversial with, first, a Royal Charter allowing the BBC to provide 'other services whether or not broadcasting' (Royal Charter for the Continuance of the British Broadcasting Corporation, 1996: Art. 3, in force 1997); and, secondly, a government that approved of the BBC Online pilot project already in the late 1990s (BBC News, 1998; Steemers, 2004). Despite 2004 having been a 'hard year for the BBC [...] in the wake of the Hutton Inquiry' (Steemers, 2004), by 2004, the BBC had already established among parliamentary and government circles a clear remit to expand public service principles on to the Internet (e.g., see House of Commons, 2004a; Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2005). A Select Committee at the House of Commons declared:

'We recommend that online, interactive and multimedia services become a more prominent and explicit part of the BBC's formal public service remit. The BBC should be a public service communications provider of content across all platforms' (House of Commons, 2004a: 25).

It is therefore argued that, even in the early phase, the BBC's online service had received a 'clarified status' (Moe, 2008b: 227). This promoted online media to a central area of innovation and strategy at the BBC from early on, whereas 'political inhibitions' and the questioning of its justification in Germany was 'set to continue' into later phases (Humphreys, 2010: 18).

While the BBC received political encouragement and the legal remit to foster digitalisation, in Germany in the same year, the controversies were described as having escalated. The former head of ZDF Children's, Susanne Müller, argued that the political class had 'zeroed in on online:

'It is not (yet) a mass medium, but on the way to become one. This means one can easily state an example. With unpopular measures such as the licence fee increase being a good valve. Structural changes are demanded – and the pressure on Online increased. Relatively *unisonously*' (Müller, 2004).

It is likely that these 'unisonous' animosities towards PSBs online strategies had also been impacting the debate within the broadcaster in the broadcasting councils, considering a by some at the time suggested 'aberration' of the principle of political independence and plural representation of the society among broadcasting councils (Henle, 2002: 22). Some had argued that for some public service broadcasters the independence of such political classes was ineffective and may have

'already reached the boundaries of unconstitutionality in regard to independence from state influence in the composition of the [broadcasting] councils' (Schulz, 2002: 6). Parallel to this, commercial criticism also appears to have peaked (Arnold, 2006).

By the end of this period (2009), the media landscape had changed dramatically with the analogue-digital switchover, the development of the Internet as a mass medium, the mass distribution of broadband technology, and the rise of the mobile phone as a multimedia and multipurpose tool. However, the discussion in both Germany and the UK, about whether and how it would be appropriate for public service broadcasters to extend their provision to other media platforms beyond television seem to have continued (e.g., see Schader, 2009).

5.2 Changes to the regulatory framework

Overall, the challenges for German public broadcasters and the BBC developed differently, because the regulatory frameworks for public service online content and services developed differently. The move into the multi-platform era was accompanied by several changes to the regulatory framework for PSB and the challenges deriving from it, both in the UK and in Germany. They not only aimed to clarify the status of PSB in the digital and later online era vis-à-vis commercial competition, they also brought structural reforms and changes to the governing process of PSB. In the UK, structural change was introduced with the Communications Act of 2003 and the new Royal Charter of 2007. In Germany, the changes to the broadcasting state agreement of 1999, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008 (4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th Broadcasting State Agreement, Rundfunkänderungsstaatsvertrag) introduced incremental, but considerable, changes to the remit and governance structure of PSB's multi-platform activities (e.g., see Hans-Bredow-Institut, 2008: 100-101; see also Meckel, 2008). These changes also affected the multi-platform children's provision.

In Germany, the regulatory approach to the multi-platform provision in broad terms was thought of in the language of negative regulation, shaping the provision over time in incremental steps by restricting PSB's online activities in regard to their assumed market impact (Hans-Bredow-Institut, 2008: 99-

101). The regulatory changes, although similarly aimed at clarifying the status of PSB and also at allowing PSB to embark on to new platforms, were, for some, therefore, a 'failure of a grand media policy direction'² and an example of 'compartmentalised/detailed regulation'³ (Meckel, 2008). In the children's context, these led to detailed inhibitions that proved to be obstructive, exemplary for an approach that some called 'micro media regulation' (Lutz Hachmeister, cited in Funkkorrespondenz, 2009).

5.2.1 Developing a regulatory framework and concepts in Germany

Over the years, in Germany, there were several measures that aimed to clarify the PSB remit under a market and fair trading paradigm by limiting the PSB online provision to certain concepts. On the one hand, there were measures to limit PSB's online activities in regard to the budget allocated, limiting ARD and ZDF's spending on online activities to 0.75 per cent of the broadcaster's total budgets (8. Rundfunkänderungsstaatsvertrag, 2004; see also Humphreys, 2010: 14). On the other hand, there were measures to narrow the scope of the provision, limiting PSBs in the kind of content and services they were allowed to offer (see Meckel, 2008; Loebbecke et al., 2003: 13; Woldt, 2010a: 177).

Programme-relatedness

One regulatory term that took hold in the German context proved to be specifically problematic for the children's provision until the end of this research, the concept of programme-relatedness ('Programmbezug') between linear and non-linear media. In itself, it is not necessarily a tool to regulate broadcasters' behaviour, in the UK, for example, it was used in a different context, that of the broadcaster's own integration process towards a cross-platform provision (e.g., see BBC, 2008: 13; also Goodchild, 2008). However, in Germany, this restriction carried challenges for the children's multi-platform provision throughout (Loebbecke et al., 2003: 13). Before 2009, PSBs were 'only allowed to put content on the Internet which has a connection with broadcasting programmes' (Woldt, 2010a: 177). The concept aimed to exclude content that the broadcasters had experimented with in the early years of the Internet, which were not regarded as public service and formed the way broadcasters and their opponents thought

about the remit of a public service multi-platform provision (for the opposing argument, see Brenner, 2002). The term has its roots in the kind of programme-relatedness of programme-guides and early Teletext services (see MDR & ZDF, 2010: 8; Hans-Bredow-Institut, 2008: 100). According to Woldt, this concept resulted in the fact that in Germany online activities developed with closer links to individual programmes (Woldt, 2010a: 177).

Some argued, that as a concept it was never clear what it actually meant, because '[d]epending on the perspective, these terms justify either everything or nothing'⁴ (Rüter, 2002). However, the challenges resulted from the fact that the main characteristic of early online services was not necessarily programme-relatedness, yet, by many regarded as public service provision. Very early, the concept's practical application was questioned; in Loebbecke et al. (2003: 12) the shortcomings of the concept of programme-relatedness in the context of online services for children are addressed and it is maintained that the 'possible public value of the public service online activities [...] is considerably constrained here through the insistence on programme-relatedness'⁵. Pointing to some kind of regulatory paradox that a service can fulfil the public service remit without being programme-related, it is argued:

'[F]ulfilling the remit of basic supply does not always mean programme-relatedness. To be named in this context are the several online offerings for children, such as the "SWR-Kindernetz" (www.kindernetz.de) or "ZDF-TiVi" (www.tivi.zdf.de). Here one can question programme-relatedness, although these websites fulfil the remit and unquestionably offer a public benefit. So it is the stated aim of SWR-Kindernetz to enable children to handle the new media world (Internet competence)⁶ (ibid.).

Despite the concept's lack of clarity and its varying understandings in application to the actual provision, it underwent several revisions and revivals in German regulation and turned into a term that was clearly aimed at keeping PSBs at check. Where PSB content on non-traditional platforms before the seventh broadcasting state agreement (2003) had the less restrictive remit to be 'mostly programme-related or -complementary', from 2003 it had to be exclusively 'programme-related' (Loebbecke et al., 2003: 11). This cut-back in scope of the remit would affect the children's proposition considerably. For example, ZDF in 2002 had stated that it was offering a children's multi-platform proposition with both programme-related and non-programme-related content and services (many other children's services had also): 'Aside from the programme-related and accompanying

contents tivi.de has an overarching offering with the gallery, library, the studio, post-service, games and newsletter⁷⁷ (Rieschel, 2002: 75). Within the new regulatory definition, such a proposition was no longer completely covered by the public service remit.

Later, with the renewal of the broadcasting state agreement in 2009, the concept of programme-relatedness had been loosened again. It was no longer obligatory for (most) telemedia content and services to be programme-related. Everything that was not programme-related or was planned to exceed a provision over seven days was now covered by the public service remit, as long as it underwent an approval test (three-step-test) and was approved by the internal governing boards (broadcasting councils) (12. Rundfunkänderungsstaatsvertrag, 2009). BBC's Public Value Test (PVT) acted as a role model here (e.g., see Donders and Moe, 2011). Arguably, this led to less legal uncertainty for the PSBs, yet introduced uncertainties that may be found in the construction of public value testing (e.g., Collins, 2007; see Chapter 12). However, the move away from programme-relatedness was only partly applicable to children's provision. For online games, an element central to the child provision, an exception was made for the new rule, specifically, for 'games offerings without programme-relatedness'⁷⁸ the prohibitive nature of the concept remained in place (see 12. Rundfunkänderungsstaatsvertrag, 2009, Anlage zu § 11d Abs. 5 Satz 4), carrying the legal uncertainty of the concept into future periods.

5.2.2 Developing a regulatory framework and concepts in the UK

Also in the UK, the development of the regulatory framework was undertaken under a market paradigm. For example, the BBC Trust argued that regulation and governance would ensure that the 'BBC's new on-demand services will create significant public value with limited market impact' (BBC Trust, 2007a: 7); the objective here was to work in the interest of the 'consumer' and 'to protect this public choice' (ibid.). However, at the same time, different to Germany, more tools of positive regulation were introduced, building a regulatory framework over time, in which PSB was understood to deliver specific scrutinisable objectives.

In the UK, the Communications Act of 2003 and the Royal Charter of 2007

formulated a set of public purposes for PSB and a new regulator, Ofcom, was introduced with the task (among others) to regularly review the BBC's provision (Ofcom, 2004: 14). In addition, a new internal advisory board, the BBC Trust, was set up with a remit to scrutinise the performance of the BBC (Coyle and Woolard, 2010). From 2003/4, the review of the ten-yearly renewal of the BBC's Royal Charter in 2007 and the 2003 Communications Act spurred debate (Humphreys, 2010: 12-13). In both countries, the current regulatory changes reflected the pressures on PSB (e.g., see Meckel, 2008; Steemers, 2004). However, in the UK, most regulatory changes were accompanied by expressing 'firm support for PSB's continued existence' (Ofcom, 2004: 18). At the time of the most considerable changes to the public service framework, due to the political climate at the time, some argue that 'the very existence of the BBC and the future of the licence fee were never up for serious debate', and the review also 'produced broadly favourable outcomes for public service broadcasting' (Smith, 2006: 21-22).

One of the biggest differences from the German situation is that, while the remit of PSB in the multi-platform era was newly constructed, the concepts and measures for defining the public service remit and auditing the performance of public service were introduced at the same time (D'Arma and Steemers, 2010a: 119-120). The BBC, regarded as 'one of the pioneers of the practical implementation of the concept of public value' (Coyle and Woolard, 2010: 5), proposed new theoretical concepts, that 'redefined [the BBC's] role in the digital realm' (Steemers, 2004: 103), and collated the relevance, responsiveness and effectiveness of the BBC under the term 'public value'. It was held that in view of accusations of commercialisation, with the new terminology, the BBC moved 'the 'public interest' back to the heart of what the BBC does, placing public value and citizenship above private value and individual consumer choice' (Steemers, 2004: 103). Some question whether the proposed concept was 'purposely designed to restrain the government from more radical changes' (Potschka, 2012: 17; see also Steemers, 2004: 106).

The idea of public value changed the debate and regulatory framework about public service considerably (e.g., see Collins, 2006). The new Royal Charter of 2007 brought a Public Value Test and individual service licences, also for CBBC and CBeebies, (BBC Trust, 2006b) and introduced criteria to allow a regular scrutiny of the BBC's children's provision in the 'key

characteristics of the service (remit, scope of delivery, annual budget and aims)' (D'Arma and Steemers, 2010a: 119-120). The BBC Trust was instructed to control the performance of the children's services in regard to what was assumed to be 'the four drivers of public value: Reach, Quality, Impact and Value for money' and other statutory commitments, such as programming quotas (BBC Trust, 2006a: 7). At the same time, the BBC was instructed to foster digital innovation in the UK (e.g., see Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2006) and to 'be a leader in the development of interactive content and applications' (BBC Trust, 2006a: 2). The government clearly saw a new role for the BBC in 'Building Digital Britain' (Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), 2005: 4), and that reflected in the children's provision as it did in other areas.

Also the BBC acted within certain constraints (e.g., see BBC Trust, 2007a: 7). Ofcom argued that, 'PSB with appropriate purposes and characteristics is not enough', it also 'must achieve reach and impact to be effective', in order to 'to justify significant public expenditure' (Ofcom, 2004: 10). Because the new regulatory system built on a 'performance measurement system' around the terms 'reach, impact, quality and value for money' (Collins, 2007: 48-53), the resulting challenge for the broadcaster was commonly understood; the BBC had *to make the good popular and the popular good*. This 'new framework' of PSB, the regulator argued,

'suggests that PSB is likely to have to deploy a creative approach which blends public purposes and popularity, that is serious in intent but accessible in style, and that finds new ways of leading audiences to interesting and challenging material' (Ofcom, 2004: 10).

Also the concept of limiting the days of online availability was introduced in the regulatory framework here (BBC Trust, 2007a: 23; BBC Trust, 2009b: 10). Therefore, overall the elements of the new regulatory concept, which led to greater control of the BBC's activities, were seen by some as a constraint on the BBC's capabilities for innovation and experimentation, arguing, for example that it had delayed the development of the iPlayer for years (Greg Dyke, cited in Funkkorrespondenz, 2009). Despite the intent to regulate the impact of PSB's multi-platform strategies on the market economy and their commercial competitors in both countries, it can be shown overall that by the end of the period, German broadcasters faced legislation listing more criteria for what they were *not* supposed to offer (with uncertainties remaining in regard to some concepts) and with regulatory concepts that

were primarily designed to control and limit PSB, while the BBC had to deal with more criteria of what to provide and why.

5.3 Public debate

In both countries, PSBs were in the 'focus of the public debate' (for BBC, Steemers, 2001b: 131). What also united PSBs in both countries was that the children's multi-platform provision was affected by complaints from commercial media. In both countries, competitors had for some time lobbied against what was perceived as a boundless and market-skewing expansion of public service broadcasters and 'unfair competition' also in regard to services directed at the child audience (e.g., see Screen Digest, 1998; Wynn, 2001). The next subchapter looks at this challenge more closely. Where the two countries differed, however, was in the extent to which other rationales or interest groups were part of the public debate about PSB's role and remit in the online era and related policy processes.

In the UK, several groups observed the multi-platform development of children's public service media and also engaged in debates that included policy makers, broadcasters, competitors, academics and the public. At some points in time, this broad debate was also intended by the government. For example, in the 2003-2005 consultations for the different stages of the law-making process preceding the Royal Charter renewal, the period saw what, from a government perspective, was thought to be 'the biggest ever public debate on the future of the BBC' (Tessa Jowell, cited in Strange, 2011: 133). The debate was understood to be open to many.

One example is the range of parties involved in the considerations for the Royal Charter renewal of the Culture, Media and Sport Committee in 2004 (House of Commons, 2004b). Also the public was invited by the government to participate in the considerations for the new regulation through direct emails and comments, as well as market research. Children were among the public who were asked to take part directly. For example, in 2003, the DCMS, the government body in charge of the Charter renewal, arranged a debate with 120 children to learn 'what children and young people's views are on all that the BBC produces in terms of TV, radio, Internet, interactive TV and merchandising' (National Children's Bureau on behalf of the DCMS, 2004).

While there is evidence that stakeholders from more diverse backgrounds were involved in considering the future of the BBC at the time, in Germany, for example, typical stakeholders who took part in the discussions for the definition of the remit and functions of ARD's online activities in the same period, as proposed by the ARD Directors-General, were 'the governing boards of the broadcasters [...] the Länder [governments or parliaments], the print publishers as well as the representatives of the European Commission'⁹ (ARD, 2004: 169). Not only was the the German debate characterised at the same time by smaller circles that took part in it and the largely non-public setting of the debate, also the way it was thought about designing the new services appeared to have been influenced by the nature of the debate deriving from a narrow group of interests represented:

'SWR, who is responsible for ARD-Online, put forward a paper, that described the characteristics and scope of the online offerings of ARD.de as well as of the regional broadcasters. The paper ought to be introduced into the talks with the newspaper publishers as soon as possible, from whose circles concerns towards the online activities of the broadcasters had been expressed. Therefore, it emphasised that the public service online offering already excludes certain activities'¹⁰ (ARD, 2004: 168).

Whereas German broadcasters sought out - from those largely critical of the developments, but also most powerful in the PSB debate - the interests, views and arguably the acquiescence of competitors and the EU regulators (e.g. in an increasingly converged media landscape here the news publishers), a government initiative in the UK, led by the DCMS, sought out the interests and views of children, and a wider range of commercial and academic interests in regard to the BBC's multi-platform strategy. In view of the range of different addressees also the 'talks' had in parts a different character. A DCMS leaflet directed at a child audience stated:

'You can comment on anything the BBC does – TV, radio, the Internet, or even things the BBC sells, like DVDs, magazines and toys. [...] Do you have any advice on how the BBC can make the best use of new technology? How should the BBC use the Internet or digital television and radio? What other technology do you think the BBC could use better?' (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2003).

Contrary to the outcome of the more competitor-specific and enclosed debate that – considering the interested parties involved and their role in the public and political PSB debate – carried the risk of weakening the children's multi-platform provision of PSBs in Germany, those that tried to

mobilise a British debate seemed not only interested in manifesting exclusions and prohibitions or avoiding legal and political conflicts, but tried to open up the debate to those groups likely to be affected by the PSB provision, and also likely to welcome a provision online. Exchanging views with societal groups likely to criticise PSB online innovation, which, for example, many in the political class and in the print media in Germany were largely understood to be (e.g., see Müller, 2004, Chapter 5.1), probably took into account that a mostly limiting take on the PSB multi-platform strategy would be the outcome. Much in contrast, as Secretary of State, Tessa Jowell maintained, '[t]he one certain outcome of the review [in the UK at the time] will be a strong BBC, with the courage to be editorially autonomous and independent from government' (Tessa Jowell, cited in *The Guardian*, 2004).

5.4 Complaints from commercial competitors

As a consequence of different regulatory approaches, the broad challenges in the two countries were different. For the BBC the new regulatory framework was a challenge, to 'turn the BBC's public purposes [...] into quality content for the on-demand world' (BBC, 2006b), and reach the majority of children. The German PSBs, on the other hand, had to respond to much broader and far-reaching commercial and political criticism, and were therefore continually balancing out the criticism and arguing for the existence of public service online activities to be justified. The BBC did not have to respond to a debate about the justification of their online activities to that extent overall (Humphreys, 2010), yet had to respond to strong criticism towards specific services.

In both countries, the competitors' complaints led to the involvement of the European Commission (Humphreys, 2010: 19-20). However, in Germany, as Meckel (2008) argued, competitors pushed for 'activating an expansion firewall to block public service broadcasting's way to the Web'.¹¹ Having the capability for such a firewall, European State Aid rules and their application to the concepts of public service and commercial broadcasting formed a major challenge for PSB provision between 2004 and 2007 (Woldt, 2010a: 172).

For the German PSBs, it remained a struggle to respond to their competitors' criticism of the multi-platform provision overall, at a time when they 'suddenly became the prime focus of the whole complex issue about the

need to define the public service remit more clearly' (Humphreys, 2010: 26). Ultimately, these complaints did not result in the closure of a specific service as at the BBC, but in a new policy framework in 2009, which was seen as a result of the State Aid agreement between the federal governments and the European Commission, taking into account the interests of both public service and the commercial media. The European involvement for some caused a 'not insignificant effort' (MDR and ZDF 2010: 4) of a regulation and governance overhaul in regard to online media, introducing only certain parts of the concept of public service auditing, the Public Value Test, first developed by and applied to the BBC. It was now applied to the particularities of the German federal media law, largely without considering and/or implementing the specific criteria and regulatory and governance environment on which such auditing at the BBC was constructed upon (e.g., see Donders and Moe, 2011; D'Arma and Steemers, 2010a: 119-120; Radoslavov and Thomaß, 2010: 6).

Commercial concern turns to the children's provision

Whereas, in Germany, complaints had led to an overhaul of PSB regulation and governance (with the 2009 implemented state agreement), the challenge for the BBC was to respond to its competitors' criticism against a specific service for children, the online curriculum service for children, BBC Jam, and its impact on the educational publishing market (2006/7). The project had started as an idea in 2002 with backing from the government to provide 'teachers, children and parents across the UK with a valuable new resource and encouraging the uptake of e-learning' (BBC, 2002: 15). It was finally launched in 2006 (BBC, 2006: 107). The complaints caused 'extensive discussions with Government and the European Commission about how to address allegations from some in the industry that BBC jam [lower-case in the original] was damaging their interests' (BBC, 2007b: 112). Ultimately, and despite a regular exchange with the government's Department for Education, BBC Jam was withdrawn by the BBC Trust (BBC, 2007b: 84).

Also in the UK, critical external observations persisted after the BBC Jam episode and there is evidence to show that commercial criticism may still have formed a challenge for the children's multi-platform provision towards the end of this period. For example, newspaper articles also accompanied

new BBC services for children during later years. When the BBC launched online service MyCBBC, a tabloid newspaper described it as a 'rival for Facebook,' asserting that the broadcaster was being accused of providing a service the market would already supply and that exceeded its remit, and at the same time warned that the site might expose children to 'Internet Predators' (Evening Standard, 2008). The sources indicate that it remained a challenge, not only to create services for children, but to find the right terminology for referring to these new services for children. An article in *The Guardian* simply described the MyCBBC service as a 'social networking site for young children' (Kiss, 2008), but some at the BBC tried to show that MyCBBC was 'not a social networking site' (Deverell, 2008). A few months later, a BBC strategy statement called it a 'pre-cursor to social networking sites' (BBC, 2008: 42), and characterised the new service as part of a 'forum'¹² (ibid.), a term that probably was at the time less controversial than the term 'social network'.

The debate over PSB's online services for children in Germany was described by an academic observer as a 'pseudo-debate, that was led by competitive and profit thinking'¹³ (Bernd Schorb, cited in Kammann, 2009). Yet, this debate clearly turned to the children's online provision, when ARD and ZDF considered new services for children, specifically during the three-step-test for one already existing and two new Web-based services for children in 2009: a Web portal for pre-school children (kikaninchen.de); and KiKAplus (kikaplus.net), an on-demand service and media player (similar to the BBC iPlayer); and the already existing website of the children's channel KiKA (kika.de). All passed the test, because reports had concluded that, for example in the case of Kikaninchen.de, they would only have a small impact on the market but a substantial impact on the 'editorial plurality of supply'¹⁴ (Kammann, 2009; Hildebrand and Böge, 2009a). The market impact report concluded that the new service would 'increase the consumer welfare standard for the welfare of the pre-school children and the society'¹⁵ (Hildebrand and Böge, 2009a: 7). This research suggests that the debate had considerable impact on the regulation and ultimately provision of children's online services (see Chapter 12).

5.5 Broadcasters' response to commercial complaints

Not only did the commercial complaints present a challenge to broadcasters. A further challenge for children's departments was how broadcasters and their internal governing boards should respond to these complaints and the new regulatory measures introduced. For the BBC's multi-platform children's provision, the impact and response was easier to point to, although probably not less substantial than in Germany. What started as initial complaints by companies in the publishing industry finally led after several years of further complaints to the closing of the service in 2007 by the BBC Trust and the loss of a £16 million investment for the BBC (BBC, 2007b: 84). The BBC Trust had reacted in an environment that was believed to be a strong 'tradition of commercial publishing for educational purposes' in the UK (former senior online producer, UK54) and a 'flourishing market for curriculum-related publications, computers and private tuition' (Scanlon and Buckingham, 2004: 301-2). The impact for the curriculum project was substantial and for a BBC formal learning strategy probably very damaging in the long term. However, the impact on the multi-platform transformation overall appears less extensive than expected. Humphreys, at the time, expected a wider impact of the BBC Jam controversy on PSB's overall online ambitions, and maintained that 'the 2007 licence fee settlement and the withdrawal of the BBC's digital curriculum service, 'BBC Jam', even place a question mark beside the further expansion of the BBC's provision' (Humphreys, 2010: 18).

However, because of the different context and time period, in which broadcasters faced the challenge of commercial complaints, their response to the challenge and impact on children's provision was very different. In Germany, there is reason to argue that the way that the broadcasters and internal governing boards responded to the competitors' criticism, paired with the introduction of new regulatory measures, had brought some risks for the development of the children's multi-platform provision overall, first, through exposing the children's services to the to be expected scrutiny by competitors, and, secondly, by accepting an understanding of the public testing largely as an exchange of legalistic arguments under a market impact paradigm.

5.5.1 Testing the value of the children's online provision

In Germany, when public service multi-platform services were at the centre of the commercial lobbying efforts and regulatory scrutiny, the public service broadcasters' response was to begin implementing the newly obligatory public service approval process (three-step-test) by testing services for children before those for the general audience, namely the children's channel's (KiKA) new on-demand platform KiKApus and the preschool website Kikaninchen (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2008b: 3-4).

It was the first public value and market impact procedure of that kind in Germany. Notably, the *ex-ante* procedure for KiKA's new services took place 'on a voluntary basis'¹⁶ in 2008, because broadcasters had launched the testing '[a]lready before the coming to force of the 12th state agreement'¹⁷ (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2008b: 3-4). The approval process for other services (not *ex-ante*, they were already existing online services) began only in May/June 2009 – for example for ARD's DasErste.de, ARD.de, tagesschau.de, boerse.de – and concluded in summer 2010 (ARD, 2012b).

Observing the children's *ex-ante* test, some questioned the whole three-step-testing process, calling it the 'three-stepped nonsense'¹⁸ (Burkhardt, 2009). Commentators criticised the assessment reports produced. For one newspaper journalist, an external report to assess the proposals was a 'monster report'¹⁹ in regard to its size, yet not very substantial (e.g., see Schader, 2009). Also, the critics could not agree with the conclusion that new children's services would have only a minor impact on the market. Not only was the argument of substitution and fair trading put forward and the worry that KiKA's services endangered subscription-based commercial web portals for children, like Super RTL's Toggolino Club (toggo.de) and Nick's Club Nick (clubnick.de) (see Schader, 2009), it was held, and underlined by pointing to similarities in service descriptions, that Kikaninchen.de presented a 'plagiat' and a 'groteskly appearing copy'²⁰ of the Toggolino proposition (Schader, 2009; e.g., see Mediengruppe RTL Deutschland, 2009). The accusation presented the broadcasters at KiKA with unexpected challenges, as an online producer showed:

'We have actually received only negative statements from our competitors, that was certainly to be expected. And especially with

Kikaninchen there remained the allegation of plagiarism for a long time, plagiarism of Toggolino. There I was a bit shocked. And said, it looks different, it has a different name, different content. [...] And this allegation really stuck to us for a very long time. And to argue this away, also with the broadcasting councils, was extremely hard²¹ (D26).

Respondents disagreed about the reason for the strategy to push children's provision forward first. From the perspective of the governing boards, it was argued that the fact that KiKA's services were tested first 'was a coincidence, because it was due at the time. It also could have been another service, it has nothing to do with the importance for children or so'²² (D15). Other observers suggested the approval tests for the children's services would be PSB's way of showing discontent with the 'absurd bureaucracy' and the 'pseudo-scientific measures' they had to apply, because it was held they 'send such a not to be overheard undertone of "That's what you get from that"²³ (Burkhardt, 2009). Here another rationale was suggested: 'The preemptive performance of duties can only have the tactical reason to just now change the 12th broadcasting state agreement'²⁴ (ibid.). According to other interviewees, it had been a careful decision made by agreement with then managing director and director-generals to 'go through the three-step-test as a pilot project'²⁵ (D10). In regard to the rationale for the agreement it was argued that KiKA was pushed ahead, in the belief that, because children's services were 'sacrosanct' for many, KiKA's approval procedure would help establish a more favourable regulation for the other services tested afterwards (D07).

The alleged strategy to use the children's services as test case by manoeuvring children's services through the newly instated regulatory powers of the broadcasting council, resembled an approach that German PSBs had used in the late 1990s, where the children's channel was launched as a precedent for public service specialist channels with, what at ZDF was called, 'ulterior-motives'²⁶ to 'enforce an entitlement for the realisation of specialist channels' (Müller, 2001a: 173) with a 'publicly especially important example' (Biermann, 2007), the provision for children (see Chapter 3.3.3).

The by some suggested expected reaction toward sending KiKA's online services 'ahead as a pilot project'²⁷ had proved to be wrong (D10). KiKA, which had been offering children's online services for many years by that time, attracted stronger critical reviewing by commercial media than

expected (see below), and became the focal point of interest of commercial lobbying against the overall scope of public service online activities and the new regulatory procedure. A big cause for concern were the low budgets of the new KiKA services of 200.000 (on-demand/catch up service) and 320.000 Euros²⁸ (preschool website) (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2008b; for breakdown of costs, see Gremienvorsitzendenkonferenz der ARD, 2009: 23). Both academic and commercial observers appeared to have agreed that the budgets were relatively low for what they set out to do and academics expressed an understanding that these were tentative versions of children's Web services. It was argued that developing a children's proposition 'that worked with completely new benchmarks [...] would be connected with a considerable additional expenditure/effort/overhead' (Kammann, 2009: 23). Also educational scientist Stefan Aufenanger argued, '[i]n order to establish a qualitatively high-value offering and also to keep children along, a minimum of attraction is unavoidable; and this is really expensive. [...] In order to design a portal that fulfils the highest media pedagogical demands, KiKA would have to invest a two-digit million sum' (Stefan Aufenanger, cited in Kammann, 2009: 16).

At the time, commentators critical of the public service multi-platform strategies, jumped on this external expert commentary in the report, and in a news article in 2009 suggested an intention by the broadcasters to disguise the true costs of the new services (e.g., see *Der Spiegel*, 2009). According to a respondent, the reason for the low budgets was that they derived from calculations done long before the approval and obstacles to project costs for a new service with external suppliers for a service that had not been approved (D10), and because the development of the new services had been held back for many years due to an expected 'political development'.

In view of allegedly higher costs spent on external assessment reports during the public value and market impact test than on one new service itself (D07; Wyssuwa, 2009; Burkhardt, 2009), the approval process of the new children's services not only offered a tableau for criticism against public service online offerings specifically for children, but was also used to point towards alleged shortcomings of the approval process itself (see Burkhardt, 2009). They also fuelled scepticism in regard to the broadcasters' efforts for more transparent financial planning (epd Medien, 2009).

Most notably, whereas these figures were used by critics to point to an alleged disguise of real investment, there seemed to have been no further public deliberation about the arguably not less important issue in the public interest of why costs were lower than regarded necessary and if PSB should invest more in innovating the children's online provision.

The impact of both the commercial criticism, but also of internal decisions on how to respond to them during the increased pressures of a new regulatory system, was probably more adverse than it would have been in other circumstances, because at that time in Germany, PSBs were surrounded mostly by commercial lobbying (e.g., see VPRT, 2008). A lobbying that supported PSB's online activities for children was almost completely absent, only some expert voices that looked at the benefits for the child audience appeared in external assessment reports (see, for example, approval process KiKAplus, public statements, MDR, 2008a: 1; Kammann, 2009). When the first services (Kikaninchen and KiKAplus) went through the approval process, a respondent suggested the children's broadcaster still had been less aware of any disadvantages caused by the lack of publicly voiced support and 'positive lobbying' explaining the broadcaster to have 'still been a bit naïve in a way'²⁹ (D10). For a subsequent test for the website kika.de, also interest groups and supporters with alternative views from those constructed largely on market economy rationales submitted their statements about the public service multi-platform provision for children (for a summary of statements and contributors, see Hildebrand and Böge, 2009b: 7-15).

5.5.2 A largely legalistic debate

There is a second phenomenon, where the BBC and the German PSBs seemed to tend to different responses to the commercial criticism related to the different environments they acted in. The challenges were brought about by the way that the debate about the approval of the children's online services was held, namely dominated largely by legalistic terms (for a dominance of legalistic arguments in DST, see Radoslavov and Thomaß, 2010: 10; for background, see Kleinsteuber, 2011). The different tone of the debate was probably also brought about by the technicalities and procedures of how the debate was held and whose voices and specific tone

of voices contributed, were recorded and made public (e.g., see oral evidence documents, House of Commons, 2004b).

The German exchange of arguments appeared largely built around those documents handed in by competitors. They had the tone of legalist documents. Observers suggested, their 'critique aimed at the fundamental stipulations of the broadcasting law and was then disguised as a critique of the single services and methodological questions' (Radoslavov and Thomaß, 2010: 7). Radoslavov and Thomaß (2010: 11) concluded that the broadcasting councils 'were aware, that the [...] claims of commercial media [...] would be the main obstacle to pursue their online strategies. So they elaborated the mentioned complex procedure, which follows the rather legalistic form of media policies as it is characteristic for Germany, in order to give no sail area for any legal claims'.

For example, colour-in print downloads and online games for children became subjects of these legalistic exchanges in regard to the PSB remit. Lobbying groups such as the VPRT, VDZ and commercial broadcasters (e.g. RTL) had criticised many elements of the new children's services. They argued on the basis of the specifications of the 2009 implemented state agreement; for example, against elements of the offerings allegedly prohibited by law, such as entertainment as 'transportation' of other means (see, VPRT, 2008: 12). Opponents maintained that many games for children lacked the obligatory programme-relatedness, colour-in printouts represented photo downloads that were not covered by the remit, lyrics and music downloads were prohibited, and they also argued that rating functionalities were specifically not permitted under the new law (see, Rundfunkrat des Mitteldeutschen Rundfunks, 2009b: 17).

The governing boards' reaction to the largely legalistic argument of the commercial competitors, was, in consequence, a legalistic argument as well. The example of the colour-in printouts represents the tone and rationales that carried the debate about PSB's transformation to multi-platform children's providers. It may be drawn as an indicator for the way in which some advisory boards understood the role they had to play during the scrutiny of new services for children, largely in responding to the commercial argument in quasi-legal terms (see Chapter 12). The MDR broadcasting council's conclusion in regard to the objections to colour printouts reads as follows:

'Handicraft and colour-in templates are not a software in itself or a photo download without programme-relation. Handicraft and colour-in templates are either telemedia "sui generis" or belong to the area of games. If one understands handicraft and colour-in templates as telemedia of specific characteristic, these are, however, not included in the negative list at § 11d Abs. 5 S. 4. Does programme relation according to § 2 Abs. 2 Ziff. 18 exist, handicraft and colour-in templates with a online availability period up to seven days are covered by the remit of § 11d Abs. 2 Ziff. 2. In the context of the three-step-test insofar only a longer resting time is to be examined. Is it a matter of non-programme-related telemedia, the offering of handicraft and colour-in templates is to be examined in the scope of a procedure according to § 11f. If the handicraft and colour-in templates are judged as games, it may be referred to the deliberations in regard to this matter'³⁰ (Rundfunkrat des Mitteldeutschen Rundfunks, 2009b: 17: 20).

Through the legalistic nature of the debate, that allowed a picture download for a child to print out and colour in at home to be considered as one of several variations of different legal constructs, the debate appears detached from the idea of the public provision for children and from the question how the long established public service remit applied both to conventional as well as to new platforms in an online era. This exemplifies what some criticise as a move towards thinking about PSB in largely political-executive and legal terms and a 'disconnectedness from the citizens' (Kleinstauber, 2011: 85). Some commentators argued that the way the debate was held led to a process of 'micro media regulation'³¹, which ultimately obscured a more substantial debate about the role of public service broadcasting in the online era (Lutz Hachmeister, cited in Funkkorrespondenz, 2009), shattering the hopes that the new approval test would bring what observers and some broadcasters themselves had anticipated as an opportunity to re-connect to the public (Meyer-Lucht in Berlin Institute, 2008; see also Schulz, 2008a: 5).

5.6 New competitors

The examples above show that the move towards a multi-platform provision brought challenges over how to position public service in regard to traditional competitors (broadcasters) as well as new competitors brought about by the convergence of different media (e.g. news and educational print publishers). In addition, completely new competition emerged from relatively new players in the media landscape. With the move to Web-based media on computing devices that were traditionally not broadcasting and later devices that had never existed before, broadcasters began to realise that in a shifting and converging broadcasting world they would compete

with new players in the non-broadcast world for the attention of children. On the Internet public service broadcasters would have to compete with a greater range of media services and also new players in the non-broadcast world, such as sophisticated virtual gaming worlds like Club Penguin, to websites like Youtube with user-generated content. The BBC and some of the German counterparts seemed to perceive this new challenge differently. At the BBC the external developments seemingly inspired innovation for children:

‘Everyone was adding hand-cranked linear video to their sites. But other sites like YouTube could accumulate far more compelling content far more cheaply. The evangelists fought back and started to invent new forms of rich media experiences – games, interactive narratives, blogs etc’ (Marc Goodchild, cited in Cineuropa, 2008).

In Germany, research that had looked into provision for children and young people [term *Heranwachsende* that is often used for teenagers is in the article used for both children and young people] came to a different conclusion. It was argued that the online behaviour of younger audiences was to avoid public service content on new platforms in favour of alternatives. It was held that ‘in regard to TV convergent Internet offerings [children] do certainly not fulfil the expectations of the broadcasters’:

‘[A]s soon as the Internet and its opportunities are found, TV convergent Internet offerings are pushed to the background and other Web offerings are being favoured’³² (Wagner, 2002: 70).

Although the research found that for 6 to 9-year-olds TV-related websites form the first gateway to the Internet (Wagner, 2002: 52), as soon as they developed the capabilities to embark on other services and compare, TV websites were understood to fail the competition (Wagner, 2002: 69).

5.7 Children and technology

The technological changes affected many domains at the core functions of the broadcasters. The new technologies did not only affect forms of producing content and distributing it to the audiences (e.g., technological developments also resulted in major changes to news production and consumption, another function at the heart of PSB, evolving in phase 2 (2002-2006) into a 24/7 real-time news provision), but online also changed organisational processes in many business functions (e.g., see Landtag

Rheinland-Pfalz, 2002: 24).

From the beginning, public service's new media activities, and the adoption of new technologies by the broadcasters internally, but also by children and families, presented broadcasters with challenges. One of the earliest introduced Internet services, emails, points to one, PSB's capacities to feed and service the different channels to the audience and the platforms that emerged. New communication media brought the risk of overwhelming the broadcasters' established operational and staff capacities to facilitate the level of audience communication made possible by the new technology. For example, children's channel KiKA in 2003 received 80,000 emails per month, more requests than by any other traditional way of communication. The audience department grew to be one of the channel's biggest departments during this period (ARD, 2003: 80). Another challenge to the capacities of broadcasters' technical platforms was managing the increasing amounts of digital content and regularly investing in new infrastructure technology, with the challenge of storing more content and making more content available to audiences, when websites were reported as 'struggling to cope with the sheer volume of this content' (Buckley, 2011a).

Another challenge was to offer children and parents affordable and accessible content and services. Slow and expensive data connections were among the major problems in the early periods (e.g., see ARD, 1997a: 29-30). Public service media proved to be 'much too expensive'³³ for children (D21). The cost of data communication over telephone lines, later home broadband and mobile broadband, proved a particular challenge to many families. In addition to the costs of Internet connections, new content and services proved to be particularly expensive for children, because of their specific capabilities. The new provision brought challenges in regard to special vulnerabilities and capabilities to several groups in society, not only children. A senior online producer explained, 'children write unbelievably slowly. And the parents had said: That drives us mad, that is insanely much money, when they go in this community'³⁴ (D21). Broadcasters were urged to offer inexpensive solutions and advice to parents and children so that they could afford to use the broadcaster's online services, such as being able to post on a broadcaster's online community blog (D21).

In phase 2, the contrast between how broadcasters described challenges in

regard to the relationship between children and the new technologies could not have been more explicit. The sources indicate that some German broadcasters believed most children would struggle with the fundamentals of an online provision. In 2002, they not only pointed to the challenge of affordability, but also to the limited capabilities of children in dealing with the front-end technologies of online media, being largely text-based at the time:

‘The problems in the realisation of a public value by TV-convergent Internet presences are to be found on several levels. First, those are the technical requirements, that overstrain specifically younger children, to use the offered opportunities on their own. Secondly, TV-convergent Internet presences require certain cognitive prerequisites, first and foremost reading ability. In particular, public service online offerings, that are explicitly directed towards children, are rather text-based oriented, which constitutes a barrier for the target audience. This lack of comprehensibility limits the chances of realising the public value with the young³⁵ (Wagner, 2002: 47).

BBC sources suggest a different perspective on how children consumed online media and challenges deriving from technology. In 2003, technology issues were largely understood as safety issues at CBBC. These challenges seem to have derived from experimenting or closely observing children’s interaction with newer forms of media communication, when children faced challenges brought about by other principles of online media, rather than the fact that early websites were text-based. The broadcaster reported ‘challenges posed by the new technology’, such as children using location-based media, acting as video journalists in dangerous situations, health issues of mobile phone use, costs and liability, ‘chat safety’ and the restrictiveness and costs of pre-moderated chats vis-à-vis the BBC’s ‘duty of care’ towards this special audience (Greg Childs, cited in Childnet International and Internet Association Japan, 2003).

Challenges of online technology around children's safety became reality for all PSBs, when children began to interact with broadcasters and other people on broadcasters' technology premises. Broadcasters point to the benefits and risks of new modes of personalisation and participation. An indication of how real the safety challenges were and probably also how safety risks were systematically mitigated in this phase, may be drawn from an event of audience data loss by one of KiKA’s participatory formats ‘Platz für Helden’. According to a newspaper report, the personal data of

participating children had been published on KiKA's website and the report held that the security breach had gone unnoticed by the broadcaster for some time (Tagesspiegel, 2008).

In phase 3, the BBC faced another technology-related safety and budgetary challenge, when broadcasters began to experiment with virtual worlds, which proved successful with children at the time. For example, the commercial products, Moshi Monsters and Club Penguin, were launched in 2007/08 (Jackson et al., 2008). They presented the broadcaster with the challenge of thinking in new ways about the safety of children, when children began to inhabit virtual fictional spaces to play, where strangers played with strangers. The BBC's virtual world, the game Adventure Rock, downloadable software, offered immersive gaming for children (Jackson et al., 2008).

A study pointed to the challenges for a public service broadcaster in regard to providing such a comprehensive and expensive gaming environment. The PSB version of immersive gaming, according to a study undertaken at the University of Westminster, displayed 'a lack of important social features' of virtual worlds characteristic of immersive gaming at the time, such as 'chat and other collaborative and group activity,' which were 'highly valued by children' (Jackson et al., 2008: 7). This resulted in disappointment among children about the lack of features they expected from similar 'immersive gaming environments' (Jackson et al., 2008: 7). Because the game appeared 'not as complex as many commercial services' (Jackson et al., 2008: 7) and did not offer 'a sociable and collaborative environment', the authors concluded, that there was a risk to 'lose audiences to commercial operators', '[i]f the BBC fails to produce web-based public service content of similar social complexity to global commercial offerings' (ibid.). The BBC stopped offering the game and would later retract from the whole concept of virtual worlds only to incorporate single 'components of virtual worlds' (senior online producer, UK51) into a new approach to a public service games provision for children, laid out in phase 4.

Chapter 6 – Strategies in the history of multi-platform public service media for children (mid 1990s-2009, Phases 1-3)

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Chapter 6 – Strategies in the history of public service multi-platform media for children (mid 1990s-2009, phases 1-3)

6.1 Experimentation and multitude

There are both similarities and differences to be found in the way that publicly-funded public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany undertook the transition from broadcasting to multi-platform media for children in the period mid 1990s to 2009 (Phase 1,2,3).

6.1.1 Time of experimentation

The first phase of online services in the late 1990s can be characterised as a time of experimentation, driven mainly by the ‘commitment or the special competence’¹ of editors and individual staff (Schmidt, 2001: 22), while the overall strategy of the management was directed more towards digital television (for BBC, Steemers, 2001b; for ARD, Schmidt, 2001). One former senior online producer remembered that ‘the truth is, things happen when people are prepared to ask forgiveness, not permission, which was oddly the way that we did stuff when we first launched the website’ (UK16). Also the SWR’s children’s offering, Kindernetz, that quickly evolved to a distinctive and unique service compared with other public service offerings, may not have been the result of any wider strategic considerations, but more of a committed and innovative Kindernetz editorial team that drove the presentation, functionality, purpose and level of integration with other ARD services, and by doing so defined early PSB multi-platform services for children without much involvement from executive boards. According to a senior producer, this motivation was rooted in the personal interest of staff, who ‘just found it fun/worthwhile to create a net for children’² (D21).

TV had not functioned as a primary role model for the new online services, and from the earliest times very different formats and genres emerged that were completely new to the PSB provision, such as chats and communities for children. Notably, in Germany, radio did act as driver and model for the Internet services and to a greater extent than the TV service, probably in response to the limited budgets that broadcasters were allowed to allocate

for Web-based services (e.g., see BR Kinderinsel). Children's radio was also a more established provision in the German PSB context than in the UK.

A characteristic of the multi-platform media for children in Germany was that broadcasters began to experiment with online media at the same time that the joint ARD/ZDF children's channel KiKA (1997) and the broadcasters' own branded TV slots for children were proposed and launched in the late 1990s. Interestingly, this had not led to a parallel strategy to build some form of integrated public service multi-platform brand for children in Germany, as the BBC had done during the launch of CBBC and CBeebies in 2002. This was probably because, between 1997 and 2002, when the BBC launched its children's channels, online technologies had made substantial technological evolutionary progress. Despite ARD and ZDF's combined efforts in children's television, the experimentation with the new media was undertaken very differently by each of the German public service broadcasters. They launched several programme-related websites and some also developed more broadly designed websites that represented the broadcaster's overall children's proposition. Among those were the two offerings of SWR (Kindernetz) and BR (BR-Kinderinsel), two examples that, within this research, represent the range of different ARD-broadcasters' children's propositions. Some evolved at online departments with closer links to the radio, some to the television departments.

6.1.2 Multitude of websites

In both countries the broadcasters' strategies led to a rapid growth in individual websites and to a multitude of offerings lacking an overall strategy and, compared to later phases, rather uncoordinated efforts by several departments and individuals at the broadcasters. In the children's provision, many individual efforts resulted in a multitude of offerings, both at the BBC and in the German PSB compound. In Germany, Breunig (2002: 401) detected a large number of 'qualitative, attractive and child-appropriate online offerings'³ and a strong online presence of individual ARD and ZDF TV programmes with 'comprehensive sites'⁴ (p. 396). Marc Goodchild (cited in Cineuropa, 2008), later Head of Interactive at BBC Children's, maintained that at the time '[p]rogrammes got websites because someone on the team was a web evangelist or because the editor of that show shouted loudly

enough.’ Highlighting the pitfalls of the experimental stage, he proceeded, and ‘[o]ver time this smattering evolved into a ‘compendium’ of sites with no overall strategy’.

6.2 Ambitious vs cautious strategy

6.2.1 The digital wave

Among BBC executives, phase 1 (mid 1990s to 2000) was referred to as ‘the first digital wave’ (Thompson, 2006a), in which public service broadcasting was seen to have functioned as a driving force and played an ‘integral role’ in the evolution of the Internet ‘[t]hrough its much respected and trusted website’ (Tessa Jowell, cited in *The Guardian*, 2004; for the academic perspective, see Humphreys, 2010). Also from the BBC executive perspective, it was argued that ‘a significant part of that success has been down to the BBC’ (Thompson, 2006a), because the BBC had ‘helped drive every kind of digital take-up with a massive programme of information and learning’. Backed up by a ‘generous licence-fee settlement’ and ‘the sustained support and encouragement of policy makers to expand into new media’ (Humphreys, 2010: 12), the BBC from early on displayed an ‘ambitious digital strategy’ (Born, 2004: 468). In 1997, BBC executives were already speaking of the Internet as the ‘third force in broadcasting’ (*The Guardian*, 2002). Also the BBC Trust acknowledged that ‘[t]he BBC received praise from all quarters for its early recognition of the potential of the Internet, and the depth and quality of its website, bbc.co.uk’ (BBC, 2001: 43).

By 2001, the BBC had created ‘Europe’s largest online site’ (BBC, 2001: 57) and had usage figures close to those of international portals such as Yahoo and AOL (Steemers, 2001b: 127), with ‘the highest reach of any content site in Europe’ (BBC, 2001: 9). In 2001, with an overall increase of 70% in traffic on all BBC websites, the BBC used the same enthusiastic wording to report ‘significant growth in educational and children’s services’ (BBC, 2002a: 15), and in 2005 announced that ‘56% of children in Great Britain aged 7–15 accessed bbc.co.uk/CBBC’ (BBC, 2006a: 30). Explaining the success with ‘the depth of information and user-friendliness of the BBC sites’ (BBC, 2001: 22), Steemers (2001b: 127) argues that it was linked to a broader cross-promotional approach, by informing about website content on radio and

television. By 2007, the online content for children, together with news and sport, had become 'the most popular online content on bbc.co.uk' (BBC Trust, 2007a: 23). In 2008, the CBBC site was reported to reach 'over 33% of 6-12s' (Children's Brand Tracker, cited in BBC, 2008: 31) and was 'the top children's website in the UK in terms of unique audience, with 1.56m visitors that month' (p. 31). The CBeebies website was reported to reach 'over 1.5 million unique users per week, well ahead of alternative sites for young children' (p.15).

6.2.2 Thorough analysis and planning

ARD and ZDF had not received much political encouragement, and faced high levels of political constraint, partly motivated by the rationales and arguments of commercial competitors. Whereas Humphreys et al. (2008: 3) regard the BBC's new media strategies as 'particularly enterprising', German PSBs are described to 'have faced more constraint from politicians mindful of private sector opposition.' Not only had they received lower levels of political encouragement, but they also had to cope with several revisions of their online remit (see Steemers, 2001a; Chapter 5).

Overall, German PSBs displayed a 'weaker engagement' and a more passive, less enthusiastic attitude towards online technologies. Woldt (2010a: 175) argues, 'PSB's digital strategy ha[d] been fairly cautious'. Although ARD and ZDF had been regarded as 'forerunners of digital television in Germany' (ibid.) and had expected a 'digital revolution' (Stolte, 1997: 54), they had not been doing the same for the multi-platform provision. While the BBC saw itself as a driving force behind the digital wave in that early period, in the ARD yearbook of 2000 in a paragraph entitled 'BBC with new projects, ARD rather cautious',⁵ it was argued:

'The BBC has prepared itself intensively for the broadcasting age [...] The ARD has been more cautious in this area, which also has to do with the basic attitude of German society, which is considerably less open to changes than the British'⁶ (Horsley, 2000: 122).

At ARD, in hindsight, institutional culture was cited as the reason for the different progress. A senior online executive stated, 'During the great Internet boom [...] the ARD has thoroughly analysed and quietly/unhurriedly planned'⁷ (Schmidt, 2001: 25).

However, there is reason to argue that this different tone of voice primarily reflected the different political climate and regulation faced by the PSBs in the two countries at the time (see Chapter 5). Several concepts circulated in both regulatory and corporate communications about the transition process, that were reflecting the constraining forces at play in Germany, which at the same time probably also acted as regulative valves and curbing constructs. Terms like 'programme-relatedness', 'helping hand', 'annexe' and 'accompaniment' were constructed as limitations, and were perceived as such. Programme-relatedness (in its essence, just the relationship between online and TV content and services) in Germany was communicated by the broadcasters as a factor that would slow down and limit the move towards a multi-platform provision (probably because that was a regulatory rationale behind the term in Germany, see Chapter 5). For example, it was argued: 'The ARD has built its services slowly in comparison to other providers. Programme remit and programme relation set the line of approach of the ARD-Online project' (ARD, 2001b: 53). Whereas the BBC clearly aimed high, the German broadcasters displayed more humble goals, and concepts describing the multi-platform transformation remained more passive than at the BBC.

Still, in phase 2, German PSBs emphasised the small size of its teams, its limited resources and close connection to TV programmes. For example, in a report to a regional parliament, ARD stated that ARD.de was produced by 'a small team' with 'little effort' and 'limited means'⁸ (Landtag Rheinland-Pfalz, 2002: 24-5). Also at ZDF, the 'more market-orientated of the German public service broadcasting channels' (Steemers, 2001a), a similar cautious image was painted. In 1997, ZDF aimed to prove that 'ZDF's online proposition did not trespass on the scope of a helping hand'⁹ (Eberle, 1998: 60).

Enthusiasm grew only in incremental steps. By 2000, German broadcasters had begun to adopt a less cautious way of describing the adoption of online media, using terms similar to those used earlier by the BBC. At WDR the Internet was now also seen as the 'third programme pillar'¹⁰ of PSB (Fritz Pleitgen, cited in news aktuell Presseportal, 2000). The ZDF Web presence was now described as '[d]ynamic as the Internet itself'¹¹ (Hefter, 2002 #1020). A new vision for the future of public service broadcasting had emerged. At ARD, a need was expressed 'to gain profile in the digital world': 'It has to become a platform, that is, a medium for interaction. It needs overall a new model for the communication with the interactive

broadcasting user'¹² (Schmidt, 2001: 26). At ZDF, sources show it aimed at a 'cross-platform brand presence'¹³ (Hefter and Utner, 2002). New technologies were clearly expected to lead ZDF 'in the multimedia future'¹⁴ and to enable the ZDF to run 'products and content of the ZDF world synergistically and effectively on all current and future platforms'¹⁵ (Hefter and Utner, 2002).

But this situation was short-lived. Only a few years after the more upbeat terminology was used, new regulations appeared with new constraints. As put by observers:

'A few years ago the Internet was still considered as the third programme pillar of PSBs [...] Not only with the seventh Broadcasting State Agreement [effective from April 2004], after which essentially only programme-related content must be offered on the Internet, this strategy has been put off course. Today, the legal demand for programme-relatedness has priority'¹⁶ (Loebbecke et al., 2003: 3).

6.2.3 Understand the audience

There is reason to argue that research delivered a justification for the BBC to communicate a more enthusiast approach to the multi-platform provision for children. The BBC used research data to draw the conclusion of a 'big demand from young children and their parents for on-demand content' (BBC, 2007b: 36). Current and predictive research results formed a central justification for the BBC's move towards becoming a multi-platform provider for children.

In both countries, broadcasters had evidence for the importance of television viewing for children, but also of the increasing diversity of media devices used by children (see ARD, 2012b) and children's increasing use of PSBs' Web offerings (see Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2008b: 4). But the BBC also pointed to the results of a one-year project which had explored the future of children's media habits to understand 'what the world may be like in 2012, what audiences may need and want, and what the BBC needs to do about it' (BBC, 2006b). Specifically, 'the habits of children in high-tech households' were interpreted 'to give the BBC an insight into what the future needs of children might look like' (BBC, 2008: 48).

For example, some research showed an increasing fragmentation of children's media use 'across multiple platforms and devices' (Childwise

Research for BBC Children's, cited in BBC, 2008: 48). The research highlighted the increasing importance of the Internet and computers for 6-12-year-olds, with 15% favouring television, 20% favouring Desktop PCs, 16% Games consoles, and 15% Laptops. Over 70% of 6-12-year-olds were understood 'to use the internet often or sometimes whilst watching TV' (ibid.). The BBC concluded that television on the Web had become increasingly attractive for children and parents, and a new mode of media consumption had emerged: '[T]ime shifting of television is also increasingly the norm' (ibid.). By 2007, the BBC were experiencing a big demand from young children and their parents for on-demand content' (BBC, 2007b: 36). By 2008, the research showed that, '59% 7-12s record TV to watch later, 35% watch on-demand TV (including catchup) and 35% press the red button' (Childwise Research for BBC Children's, cited in BBC, 2008: 48).

Also in Germany, broadcasters had gained insight to children's diverse media use during that period through the report *ARD/ZDF-Studie 'Kinder und Medien'* (1979, 1990, 2003) (Frey-Vor and Schumacher, 2004) and the report *ARD/ZDF-Langzeitstudie Massenkommunikation* (e.g., Ridder and Engel, 2005). They also drew on regular research on children's media use, undertaken by MPFS Research Institute and SWR (e.g., KIM report, see Feierabend and Klingler, 2007). However, in many respects, the results or the interpretations of the research differed. Children's ownership of multiple devices and their media use across such devices had not been central to the justification of new services. What had been cited in justification were the popularity of KiKA's Web offerings, children's increasing use of the Internet, and more generally children's demand for programme repeats (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2008b: 8) and subsequently an assumed demand for longer availability via catch-up (p. 11). A provision across platforms, the availability of TV content or cross-platform functionality was not stressed *per se*, probably because there was a lack of data showing (current or future) demand for it.

Public service proposals regularly referred back to the online habits of young people, not children, and to the more general findings of KIM reports and KiKA's own more anecdotal sources from audience communication (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2008b: 11). Kindernetz seemed to be an exception here, referring to data about children's current use of their services. ARD and ZDF continued to emphasise their research about online media use, but only of viewers older than aged 14 (ARD-ZDF-Onlinestudie,

from 1997 on, Eimeren et al., 1997; Eimeren et al., 1998).

One of the biggest differences here was, that BBC research of 2008 showed high usage of on-demand and time-shifting among children; similar PSB research that year on children's media use in Germany came to a different conclusion: 'Almost no prevalence of television viewing or radio listening via the Internet'¹⁷ (Feierabend and Rathgeb, 2009: 40). As this research was probably not undertaken to justify and shape multi-platform strategies of specific stakeholders, the broadcasters using the sources available concluded more generally that there was a 'big demand by children for the 'accessibility of online content for long periods'¹⁸ to allow repeat viewing (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2008b: 11). Notably, the period content was available online after the broadcast was an issue that also formed one of the main regulatory controversies at the time (resulting in a detailed and institutionally differing regulation of online availability periods), partly based on criticism by commercial competitors of free-to-view PSB content on the Internet (see Chapter 12.2).

6.3 Children's provision at the head of innovation

6.3.1 The first children's community

A characteristic observable both in the German and the UK context in the early period of history was that some children's services were seen as innovative leaders among PSB services in the process of transformation, despite the broad uncertainty and political constraints in Germany. Services such as SWR's Kindernetz never seemed to have displayed the status of a 'helping hand', a term then used to describe the services for the general audience. From early on it had made use of the novel functionalities of online media and launched, for example, the first public service 'online community for children'¹⁹ (SWR, 2012; SWR, 2010: 116) at a time when others at parent broadcaster SWR argued, 'The World Wide Web still was in its infancy'²⁰ (ibid.). Although a report showed that few children regularly used online media, the range of media forms they used was already diverse, for 'electronic messages (emails), for listening to sound and video files, for chatting and playing on the Net' (Feierabend and Klingler 1997, cited in Gehle, 1999: 135).

Children had quickly responded to Kindernetz, and not only older children. By September 1998, 6,000 children had created their own homepage at Kindernetz and communicated on a public service site with their peers, with 20% being 7 to 9 year-olds and 50% being 10 to 12 year-olds (Gehle, 1999: 138). A senior online producer at SWR showed a strong awareness of being an early innovator in the multi-platform transformation. It was explained that when Web 2.0 moved into the spotlight, the department was asked what they would think about 'children's communities': 'At that point we told ourselves, we have been producing a children's community since 1997! Long before Web 2.0!'²¹ (D21). Also others point to the importance for early innovation of individuals being 'fascinated by digital technology' (Orlowski, 2012, here BBC general-director John Birt and BBC News Online creators). SWR's early innovative approach attracted a positive response at the time. Kindernetz was regarded as among the most successful and 'intelligent' websites for children and as 'one of the best and media pedagogically valuable online offerings for children in Germany'²²:

[S]tanding out through a child-appropriate design, contributing to mutual communication and delivering programme-related information for the children's programmes of the Erste, Ki.Ka, as well as for regional ARD broadcasters'²³ (Breunig, 2002: 395).

There are indications that the public service children's offerings and the way that children used public service media in new ways stood out from what 'the Internet' was in Germany at the time. It was argued:

'At the moment the Internet – at least in Germany – is (still) too chaotic, expensive and its contents too imperfect. But the success of services such as Kindernetz of the Südwestrundfunk prove that there are quite a few kids out there who make use of the new medium to satisfy their own individual needs and who are eager to participate in what is happening on the data highway.' (Gehle, 1999: 142).

A similar progressiveness of the early multi-platform provision for children was also described at ZDF (D28). Also at children's channel KiKA, which had launched in 1997, online media quickly complemented the children's provision and a proactive approach to new media was established. From 2000, KiKA.de also offered embedded video content on a regular basis in the form of 'complete programmes and sequences'²⁴ (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2009b: 3). It had also introduced a KiKA live stream years before the general interest channels Erste and ZDF began to implement streaming services in 2013.

6.3.2 The innovation test-bed

In both Germany and the UK, public service children's departments were at the head of new media developments. Also, the first public service websites of the early BBC offered new and innovative formats, and soon began to engage with children in new ways. The children's brands, together with learning and teen brands, represented innovative BBC segments within the corporation. The early CBBC website offered a range of interactive functions, a 'FunZone' with online games, back-stage videos, news and email message boards (22 April 1999, Wayback Machine, 2012). Towards the end of phase 3, CBBC was described as 'leading the BBC in innovation and the adoption of multi-platform approaches across the full range of genre' (BBC, 2008: 42). The broadcaster argued that 'these brands should be used as a "test-bed" for the BBC's new media services and platforms, providing high quality linear, on-demand and mobile content' (BBC, 2008: 10).

Also in regard to the internal production process children's departments led the way. A former BBC senior executive and online producer remembered that when the BBC 'amalgamated online with the programme-making department', children's was 'the first ever bi-media department in the BBC pretty much. Probably the news was doing it already.' (UK54). The innovative organisational approach is remarkable in that regard, that it happened at a time when others still understood BBC's 'bi-media' strategy in more traditional terms, as 'television and radio' (*The Times*, 1997).

Two reasons why children's departments were key innovators in PSBs at this time have been identified: the first was the experimental attitude of individual teams towards new media; the second that the relatively low priority of children's services in the PSBs' overall strategy meant that children's services could act with little interference from management. In many broadcasters' experience, the experimental attitude developed, because the children's provision had not been central to media policy or political debate during that period, nor high up on the list of priorities for broadcasting executives (e.g., D02, 12; see also Müntefering, 2007).

6.4 Consolidation vs multiplicity

6.4.1 Reassessment, order and structure

The second phase in the implementation was characterised by the so-called burst of the *dotcom bubble* and formed a time of reassessment after the less coordinated frenzy of phase 1, and at the BBC reassessment also led to consolidation. This meant fewer offerings, but at the same time a repositioning and further evolution towards becoming a multi-platform broadcaster. A senior BBC executive stated: 'We have been over ambitious in believing that every show had an interactive opportunity. [...] Editorially we're sharpening up, but we need to be more creative' (Nigel Pickard, cited in *New Media Markets*, 2002). The BBC 'started a policy of consolidation' (Marc Goodchild, cited in *Cineuropa*, 2008), but clearly the online provision remained an important part of the overall strategy, '[a]lthough the hype around the internet and dot.coms has been deflated over the last year, it remains clear that digital technologies will continue to converge and use of the internet will grow' (BBC, 2001: 43). The BBC 'reassessed its new media strategy in the recognition that the attractiveness and navigability of the BBC's online service needs improving and that BBC interactive TV developments need to gather pace' (ibid.).

The launch of the two digital children's channels, CBeebies and CBBC, in 2002 strengthened the consolidation of the multi-platform children's provision. Already the early strategies were geared towards a cross-platform approach, with the two children's channels being established as 'two distinct digital brands' (Marc Goodchild, cited in *Cineuropa*, 2008). The two new channels 'brought order and structure to the disparate programme websites. Now programmes got websites because of their strategic importance' (ibid.). Along with the two children's brands the BBC also launched separate brands for teenaged children. This moment was described as a time when the previous philosophy of experimenting and separately working for TV and desktop had changed (UK57). True multi-platform in the children's context now meant a closer relatedness to TV programmes and brands.

The two children's online services were understood as 'two digital brands (that mirror our television channel output)' (Marc Goodchild, cited in *Cineuropa*, 2008, brackets in the original). CBeebies' new website became 'more child-focused and closely matched to programme content' (BBC,

2008: 13); CBBC's website aimed to offer 'more breadth and deeper richness and interactivity' (p. 29). Contrary to the stricter concept of programme-relatedness that had evolved into an increasingly narrowing regulatory concept in Germany over the three phases, here the concept was not primarily thought of as a limiting measure, but was understood as a strategic concept for consolidation in the transformation process towards a multiplatform provision. With the television output remaining of primary importance, the role of content on new platforms was two-fold. Here, they did not merely act as a support function. At CBBC, online products and services were both regarded as programme-related 'to enhance its television presence with supporting and additional content accessible on the web and via the red button', but also seen in their own right with the aim 'to innovate by creating bespoke products and experiences, such as online games, challenges, personal customisable web space, creative tools and virtual worlds' (BBC, 2008: 42).

How successful this coherent and consolidatory strategy at the time was and how appreciated it was by academic experts in the children's media context shows Messenger Davies' (2004) review of the BBC's digital services for children that was commissioned by the DCMS. On the one hand, Messenger Davies' (2004: 40-41) points to a 'unified management structure' and the fact that (at CBBC) 'all branches of children's programming, including online provision, are under one 'umbrella' (a 'Daisy' structure)'. On the other hand, she points to the importance for children to have 'a sense of visual connection and identity between the different parts of the schedules and channels', regarding this as 'necessary in a multi-channel environment' (p.16): 'These visual and thematic links are also found on the website – an important aspect of encouraging interactivity' (ibid.). As a conclusion to the DCMS review, specifically the relationship is emphasised between the physical production place, the on-screen sense of place for children and the resulting public value:

'All these activities have been brought together in a single environment – the BBC Television Centre's East Tower. CBBC is, indeed, a real place, where children matter; that shows on the screen and adds public value' (p. 41).

6.4.2 Towards a unique bundling service

Consolidation did not characterise the period in Germany to the same

extent. The 'order and structure' aimed at here was one that enhanced effectiveness and tightened organisational structures (e.g., see Hefter and Utner, 2002; Landtag Rheinland-Pfalz, 2002: 24-5). It brought a development along specific genre brands, of which some were linked to a specific programme (ZDFheute.de, tagesschau.de), and other more thematic segments, such as kultur.ard.de and kinder.ard.de, were not. Yet many of the children's services underwent major re-launches in phase 2, not only were there general improvements, but structural and technology changes were implemented too (for ZDF, see Rieschel, 2002: 76; Huebert and Stumpf, 2008; for SWR, see ARD, 2003: 223; Landtag Rheinland-Pfalz, 2002: 25).

Some online media for children in that period developed alongside TV programming slots (checkeins.de, tivi.de), comparable to those at the BBC. For example, at ZDF a consolidation under a cross-platform brand (ZDFtivi) had already taken place in the earlier period, 1998. The approach progressed during phase 2 and ZDFtivi remained ZDF's children's brand on the Internet and television. A similar cross-platform brand was created within the ARD system (checkeins.de), but only for ARD's TV channel Das Erste and not for the whole ARD-system.

A notable difference was that in some cases these offerings materialised in two very different propositions online and on television. Despite some respondents arguing, 'CheckEins is the equivalent to tivi'²⁵ (D26), because the brands both formed TV programming slots on the two main public service general interest channels, equivalence was not the case for the online version of these two main public service children's brands. CheckEins.de and ZDF's tivi.de were set up as very different propositions. Checkeins.de was the online representation of the TV shows aired in the CheckEins TV slot on the Das Erste channel. Contrastingly, tivi.de did not represent what was aired on the ZDFtivi TV programming slot, but represented all content produced or acquired by ZDF, together with the content exclusively broadcast on KiKA, and other non-programme-related services. CheckEins.de did not incorporate any programme content screened on KiKA, probably because CheckEins represented Das Erste, a jointly-produced national channel, not a broadcaster, and was therefore not one of the broadcasters that had been producing (and owning) programmes aired on KiKA.

While there were some similarities in how the two main channel brands founded online outlets, in regard to the consolidation of the overall compendium on a macro level there were less similarities with the BBC in this phase. Unlike the BBC's consolidation of children's multi-platform provision under two cross-platform brands at the time, in Germany the multi-platform provision evolved differently for each broadcaster and for joint cross-broadcaster outlets – not least because broadcasters acted as both separate editorial entities and partners of jointly-run projects simultaneously, and have therefore formed a more complex system of provision than that at the BBC. By phase 2, PSBs were accustomed to individual projects online. Services differed widely in their approach, scope, function and communication with children. Licence fee regulator KEF addressed some criticism of the broadcasters' approach in 2003:

'Although the Commission is aware of the fact that the assessment of service offerings in the online area proves more difficult than in the classical linear broadcasting media, yet it sees it as problematic that the broadcasters do have clarity about the necessity to extend propositions, but not about the real extent of the services.'²⁶ (KEF, 2003: 21).

Most importantly, the children's channel KiKA did not become the bundling public service brand of the multi-platform era that it had been fulfilling for television, either in this period or at any time during this research. As a television channel, the joint children channel's role within the German PSB system was being a joint channel of ARD and ZDF that functioned as a central children's outlet for PSB. It screened programmes produced by KiKA, the regional ARD broadcasters and ZDF. Many, yet not all, programmes that were produced by the regional ARD broadcasters and ZDF were solely produced by the parent broadcasters to be aired on KiKA.

Yet, on a conceptual level, cross-channel integration and consolidation was pointed to as one of the opportunities and purposes of the new online technologies for creating what in the SWR context was described as an 'overall offering that is sustainable and can be utilised time-independently'²⁴ (Landtag Rheinland-Pfalz, 2002: 24). Sources had expressed ambitious plans in regard to KiKA, and in some policy documents KiKA was described as the central children's proposition for both preschoolers and schoolchildren. According to KiKA's suggestion in December 2008 (formally approved in 2009) (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2009b: 7), the new service was seen to offer some form of central online on-demand and streaming service for content of all public service broadcasters:

'The interlinking with the Mediatheks of ARD and ZDF is an inherent part of the concept. Through this KIKAplus offers the unique bundling of child-appropriate audiovisual content of all public service broadcasters'²⁸ (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2008b: 8).

Arguments for the new service (that a central service would offer better orientation) resembled arguments used during the introduction of the children's channel. For example, the director-general of KiKA's parent broadcaster MDR explained:

"kikaninchen.de" shall function as "online umbrella brand" for public service preschool offerings, by linking to the preschool propositions of all broadcasters (ARD and ZDF) [...] Through the bundling of the propositions at central location, kikaninchen.de offered orientation for parents and children'²⁹ (Gremienvorsitzendenkonferenz der ARD, 2009: 17).

In regard to older children, a similar argument was put forward:

'Existing Internet offerings for children on ARD and ZDF programmes [...] will be linked to kika.de, in order to be quickly retrievable for children. By doing this KIKA forms – in a bundling fashion – a direct access to all public service children's offerings and thereby offers orientation'³⁰ (MDR and ZDF, 2010: 39).

However, the research shows that in practical terms an integration of children's provision did not evolve in this period. German broadcasters' online services were strategically pulled in different directions with the further evolution of the Internet in phase 3 (2006 to 2009).

6.4.3 Fewer, bigger, better

The BBC, on the other hand, began another move towards consolidating the children's multi-platform provision that continued into the next phase. The strategic framework, *Creative Future* (BBC, 2006b), set out a formal restructuring process for the overall provision, described as the 'strategy of fewer, bigger, better' with higher investment per hour in a reduced number of titles, which can deliver higher impact and quality' (BBC, 2008: 36). This strategy also took effect in the children's multi-platform provision. The initial rationale behind the consolidation towards 'fewer, bigger, better' was savings through prioritisation or greater selectivity over where to invest (e.g., see Doyle, 2010). The strategy not only focused 'on developing fewer, bigger and better programmes' for television (BBC, 2007b: 37), but also aimed 'to invest in interactive and on-demand content' with 'a significant

refreshment in the online offering, with more breadth and deeper richness and interactivity' for both CBBC and CBeebies audiences (BBC, 2008: 29).

In 2005, the BBC consolidated 'its offer for the under 16s under 4 brands, CBeebies, CBBC, a Teen Offer [...] BBC Switch, BBC Jam' integrating TV, online and radio under these brands (BBC, 2008: 10; BBC Jam and the teen brands Blast and Switch were all later withdrawn). Different audience segments were now clearly distinguished and age-appropriateness and mutual exclusion characterised the BBC's efforts in regard to the age-based services. The service for teenaged children was 'not promoted to younger children on Cbeebies and CBBC' (Marc Goodchild, cited in Cineuropa, 2008, spelling as in original). For the younger audiences, this led to 'sharper age targets to the CBeebies and CBBC brands' (BBC, 2006b). CBBC focused 'on the 7-11s, at the heart of the overall 6-12 age group, with content that celebrates childhood and doesn't attempt to stretch to the teen's audience' (ibid., spelling as in the original) (BBC, 2008: 10). In regard to CBeebies, the BBC aimed 'to stretch its age appeal up to age 6' and 'provide more content for parents' (ibid.).

Regarding consolidation in Germany, there were no changes and the children's multi-platform provision of the earlier period continued in a similar way. In Germany, age-group consolidation would only take place in later years. BR, SWR and ZDF did not greatly change the way that they addressed children of different age-groups. ARD, Erste, ZDF, KiKA, SWR and BR and other broadcasters continued to offer their Web propositions for children. Among public service broadcasters, SWR remained the 'the only offering that offered all public service children's programmes in a neat day-to-day programme guide'³¹ (SWR, 2010: 116). However, at KiKA a similar move towards sharpening of age-groups can be observed in this period towards three different target groups (3 to 6, 6 to 10 and 10 to 13 years): 'We want to keep and specify this mode of address, because it matches our experience that the different age-groups want their independent programming'³² (KiKA's then managing director, Steffen Kottkamp, cited in Promedia, 2009: 16).

A multi-platform approach was understood to support this strategy: 'Kika planned to offer a more targeted television offering, tailored to the different age-groups it served with a clear visual differentiation and specific content' (Promedia, 2009: 15). The most thought seemed to have been given to the

youngest age-group: '[W]e [...] now want to highlight it more clearly as programming for preschoolers'³³ (Kottkamp, cited in Promedia, 2009: 15-6). For the two older age-groups, no such clear branding strategy was visible.

6.5 Prioritisation vs continuing low(er) status

There is evidence to show that children's services, including those on non-traditional platforms, played an increasingly important role within the overall BBC service from phase 3 (2006 to 2009), despite also being subject to efficiency savings (UK52): 'Compared to other parts of the BBC [...] investment in the children's offering has been prioritised over other areas, and this reflects the importance of the BBC's commitment in this area.' (BBC, 2008: 52).

Prioritisation at the time was not only directed at TV, but meant 'supporting multi-platform innovation and original content for young audiences' and resulted in an overall spending on children's content on all platforms of 'approximately £615m over the next 5 years to March 2013, an average spend of £123m per annum' (ibid.).

The prioritisation certainly reflected the status that the children's multi-platform provision had reached by then. A sense of the importance of children's provision was articulated in 2008:

'The BBC has a very clear strategy of supporting children from birth through to early adulthood, with sites that reflect the varying levels of protection, computer literacy, independence and maturity as they grow up' (Marc Goodchild, cited in Cineuropa, 2008).

But at the same time it was a response to the greater responsibility the BBC now had towards children, because of the reduction of original content production by commercial television. It had led to greater external pressure from regulators and lobby groups against budget cuts in the UK children's provision. In the same year, the BBC Trust responded to the changed production landscape by aiming to 'take into account in our licence fee reprioritisation work' (BBC Trust, 2007a: 19-20).

In contrast, the German broadcasters pointed out the low status of children's services in the management's thinking at the time (e.g., Müntefering, 2007; see Chapter 9.3.1). One aspect that might be interpreted as a prioritisation of children's multi-platform media was that two new

services for KiKA were proposed in phase 3. However, at the same time, KiKA's on-demand application was also the last to be introduced to the PSB portfolio. A side effect of this was the fact that children's services were the only ARD/ZDF services not previously existing which were put under scrutiny in the three-step-tests of this phase (Woldt, 2010b).

6.6 Become a multi-platform provider vs survival

6.6.1 UK's number one digital destination

From phase 2, the BBC strategy at the time can already be seen as a move towards becoming a multi-platform children's provider. Digital television and online were now presented as one development (e.g., see Steemers, 2001b: 127). By 2001, online was no longer seen as an 'appendage' for the BBC,³⁴ but as an 'integral part of the production process' (ibid.). In phase 3, what was described as the 'second digital revolution' or 'second digital wave' (Thompson, 2006a), the BBC understood it could 'no longer afford to see itself as simply a broadcaster' (Smith and Steemers, 2007). The second wave finally enabled the BBC to transform into a multi-platform provider, after a previous first 'wave' that had ended the adjunct status of online at the BBC. The children's brands, together with learning and teen brands, already seemed ahead of the wave: 'CBBC aims to be a truly multi-platform brand' (BBC, 2008: 42). The language used at the BBC differed considerably from that of the German context. Here, the BBC aimed at becoming 'the UK's number one digital destination' (BBC, 2001: 43); there, animosity from political and commercial quarters prevailed.

Consolidation and multi-platform innovation were thought of as elements of the same process of 'consolidation, evolution and innovation' (BBC, 2008: 5). Transforming the BBC into a multi-platform provider was conceptualised as a comprehensive process, formulated in the *Creative Future* strategy, consisting of providing more public value with less content, while re-inventing the relationship with the audience. The BBC formulated a 'strategic vision to transform the broadcaster into a 360° multiplatform organisation' (Bennett et al., 2012: 18). The aim of the strategy was clear:

'[T]he BBC should no longer think of itself as a broadcaster of TV and radio with some new media on the side. We should aim to deliver public service content to our audiences in whatever media and on whatever device makes sense for them[,] whether they're at home or on the move' (Thompson, 2006a).

'Public value' was a key term in this 'full' transformation, and the cross-platform approach was explained as a condition for the BBC to offer more public value in a converged media market. The BBC's director-general announced that 'we can deliver much more public value when we think in a 360 degrees way, rather than focusing separately on different platforms or channels. So wherever possible we need to think cross-platform: in our commissioning, our making, our distribution.' (ibid.).

For the children's provision this transformation was reflected in the further integration of television and online media under the two children's brands, a process that had started in the previous period. It now began to take hold, with a 'strengthening of the on-demand and multi-platform offer' (BBC, 2008: 6), and was still underway during the time of this research. In 2006/7, the BBC's overall strategy for the child audience had turned into a multi-platform strategy with a 'truly multi-platform approach' (p. 53). It was accompanied by cross-promotional efforts: for example, 'to drive kids online at 7pm' (p. 42), the time when both children's channels went off-air. In that period, it was also first considered 'to premiere its programme output online' (p. 51).

With its relaunch in 2007, CBeebies was described as 'a fully multi-platform brand, working across television, radio, online and interactive TV' (BBC, 2007b: 36). CBeebies' BBCi television service won awards and was among the most successful interactive channel offerings at the BBC (BBC, 2008: 16). CBBC also became a 'multi-platform BBC service', when the multi-platform 'strategy culminated with the re-launch of CBBC in September 2007': 'CBBC is now a highly valued multi-platform BBC service making a significant contribution to the BBC's purposes amongst 6-12 year olds in a crowded and competitive environment' (p. 29). Among the two brands, however, CBBC, being better funded as CBeebies, was seen as 'leading the BBC in innovation and the adoption of multi-platform approaches across the full range of genre' (p. 42).

By phase 3, some at the BBC believed that the TV era was about to end. For example, the interactive project *Level Up* was thought to have 'worked exceptionally well online [...], but less well on TV' and within the BBC people felt reassured 'that children love to take part, but are moving towards online as their preferred medium of interactivity' (BBC, 2007b: 37). At the BBC, there was an understanding that this was a sign of the 'digital revolution' (Thompson, 2006a). There was a general expectation that such

observations could be a symptom of the beginning of the end of linear television. The BBC Trust observed, 'overall, children are watching less television as they turn to other forms of entertainment' (BBC Trust, 2007a: 19-20). Thompson (2006a) believed that

'this second digital wave will turn out to be far more disruptive than the first, that it will be fundamentally disruptive, and that the foundations on which much of traditional media is built may be swept away entirely.'

The expectation that media were 'less than five years from fully individualised, drag-and-drop TV and radio stations' (ibid.) was supported by the development that by then this vision had indeed become technically available to some extent through services such as iPlayer. However, the range of linear BBC broadcast content in 2010 still differed from the range offered on-demand, and was continually contrasted with the parallel development of people watching more linear television, not less.

6.6.2 Online accompaniment

The research showed major differences in how the broadcasters described themselves as multi-platform providers. Phase 3 represents for the children's channel KiKA a successful period, 2009, when for the first time more than 20% of 3 to 13 year old children watched the children's channel (Landtag von Sachsen-Anhalt, 2010: 26), and KiKA's website counted up to '35 million page impressions per month.'³⁵ However, the broadcaster was not explicitly described as having transformed into a multi-platform brand. For example, the preschool site kikaninchen.de was described as 'the correlating online support'³⁶ (Kottkamp, cited in Promedia, 2009: 15). Here, the emphasis was not on creating more public value out of something new, but that a PSB provision online remained a secondary undertaking, which, as the then head of KiKA saw, hardly provided new areas of content. Sources show a form of understatement in regard to the opportunities of online media and a form of playing down that online media may evolve into a new form of PSB for children or inspire content that TV had never been able to deliver. For example, the then head of KiKa argued in 2007: 'We don't have to invent something new, but for the Internet we can come back to what we have been doing for a long time'³⁷ (Frank Beckmann, cited in Promedia, 2007).

There was far less pressure on the German PSBs to establish online services to reach out to children in the evenings, when many children watched TV. With an on-air time until 9 pm, KiKA could reach 'twice as many'³⁸ children between 7 and 9 pm as during the day (Beckmann, 2004). It is therefore probable that the cross-promotional strategies used by the BBC to drive their TV audience online after 7 pm may in theory have been less relevant to strategic considerations. However, in practical terms, KiKA was indeed active on multiple platforms, its website continually proving successful among children. In 2008, of the 38% of children who had a favourite website, 8% favoured kika.de as much as YouTube, followed by commercial channel Super RTL's site for children toggo.de, and social media platform SchülerVZ (Feierabend and Rathgeb, 2009: 41). KiKA's website was regarded as the 'best-known and most popular Internet site for children in Germany',³⁹ with over 314 million page impressions and 14 million visits in 2008 (IVW/InfOnline 2007, cited in MDR & ZDF, 2010: 38). Kika.de had attracted preschool children and older children alike with 43% of their audience being preschool children (KiKA's own figures, cited in Hildebrand and Böge, 2009a: 110).

At ZDF, until the end of phase 3, there was no indication that children's provision had evolved from its 2002 support status, when products and services on tivi.de were 'summarised with the term "added value"'⁴⁰ (Rieschel, 2002: 76). Responding to challenges of an 'increasingly fragmented audience', 'difficulties in addressing younger audiences' and a 'technological change', ZDF had initiated 'the transformation project "ZDF 2012" to realign the company in time for the needs of the digital era' (Köhler, 2008). In this phase a '360-degrees-model' (D28) was introduced inspired by the BBC's *Creative Future* concept, where ZDF outlets were conceptualised as different portals (incl. Tivi), partner channels (incl. KiKA) and third-party platforms (D34). However, the strategy project focused on three bigger 'lighthouse projects', connected to digital channels, as well as the three chief ZDF programme-producing departments (D34). The children's provision was not part of it, except for adopting the same categories for different types of online production to mark their level of cross-platform functionalities. A senior research executive pointed to a reason for this, that the children's service was already much further advanced than other services for the general audiences:

'Tivi simply is already now, or was at that time, already several steps

ahead – its own portal tivi.de, most of the programme departments don't have their own portal, their own target audience and a very defined target audience – and therefore special'⁴¹ (D34).

6.6.3 Survival and justification

Throughout the first three phases, German PSBs seemed to have developed an understanding of children's online media, described by a ZDF online producer as 'our survival on the Internet'⁴² (D30), by others as an area of strategic worth in the long-term (D03, 27, 30). Earlier research had shown that those using the Internet expected their TV use to drop over the years (ARD, 1998a: 202). PSBs' concern towards their future relevance or 'marginalisation'⁴³ (ARD, 1998b: 54) and the parallel advent of the Internet seem to have conflated to one paradigm during this period. This concept can be traced back throughout the multi-platform history of PSBs. At first, online media were described a survival necessity in what was in phase 1 regarded as a 'hardly sensitively led crowding-out - yes, extinction competition in the media'⁴⁴ (Stolte, 1998: 58). At the same time, when PSBs realised that their audience aged and children's TV viewing showed signs of decreasing (ARD, 1995: 206), online media appeared on the horizon. Thus, from the beginning, online media were understood both to threaten public service media and to ensure its survival at the same time.

Some PSB opponents claimed that the Internet would bring an end to the need for PSB, but German PSBs themselves began to see the Internet as their means for survival. ARD and ZDF both implemented a so-called 'rejuvenation strategy'⁴⁵ (e.g., see ARD, 2012a: 3) and Internet services formed part of this strategy. Most notably, and in contrast to later phases, children's services were clearly formulated as part of the 'rejuvenation'. Although respondents agreed children's services were not part of the PSB 'rejuvenation' strategy, early ARD sources spoke of a 'programme strategy that not only binds viewers, but also attracts new, especially the young. The Children's Channel of ARD and ZDF was one first step towards this goal in this area'⁴⁶ (ARD, 1998b: 50).

Justification because of a threat to survival, rather than enthusiasm over a PSB with more 'public value', was the main topic discussed regarding the transformation. Unlike those at the BBC, these discussions did not emphasise achievements, reach and innovative projects. Instead, the PSBs'

central argument for engaging in online public service was, first, the audience's expectation for the PSBs to engage in online media, and, secondly, a prediction of a possible threat to the PSBs' existence, if they failed to do so:

'Completely self-evidently, the users expect the classic media providers – radio, television and press – to be present on the Internet. Because this particularly holds for the young users, their presence on the Web is essential for the future sustainability of the media providers'⁴⁷ (Landtag Rheinland-Pfalz, 2002: 24).

Licence-fee regulator KEF, observing this PSB argument at the time, pointed out a kind of inherent paradox. As a multi-platform provider, PSBs promised their critics to offer the same they had always offered, 'to be programme-related and continue the regional programming remit on the Internet',⁴⁸ at the same time, PSBs also stressed their plans to reach out to those audiences they had not reached before, and to 'endeavour to speak to younger target groups with innovative offerings'⁴⁹ (Kommission zur Ermittlung des Finanzbedarfs der Rundfunkanstalten (KEF), 2003: 22). For regulatory body KEF, these strategic lines did not seem to fully align.

Probably because of this early emphasis on future sustainability, the child audience became a valuable argument for retaining public service broadcasting. Under the paradigm of rejuvenation for survival, it seemed that the primary concern was not about failing to serve these younger audiences, but about regaining them as a future public service audience. For the PSBs, online was from early on understood as a matter of necessity: 'For an increase of the acceptance of the licence fee in the coming generation, a presence on the Internet is necessary and self-evident at the same time'⁵⁰ (Landtag Rheinland-Pfalz, 2002: 24). To German PSBs, children seemed to have never lost the image as 'the viewers of tomorrow' (ZDF, 1997: 53; Programmkommission des ARD/ZDF-Kinderkanals, 1997), they were also likely to become the PSB's multi-platform users of tomorrow.

6.7 More on-demand content

6.7.1 A comprehensive provision - the children's iPlayer

There were similarities between the UK and Germany over the move towards more on-demand services including those for children. The BBC's

strategy was to '[i]nvest in interactive and on demand content' (BBC, 2008: 29), and to '[c]ontribute to the BBC's objective of increasing usage and value of on-demand services' (p. 49). The iPlayer had been carrying content for children and, from 2008, the BBC also launched separate iPlayers for CBBC and CBeebies that were accessible through the channels' website. The BBC now aimed 'to improve the quality of the offer' (p. 5). It was suggested that the on-demand offering of CBeebies and CBBC was 'not as good as the BBC would like it to be' (ibid.) and 'not as comprehensive as it could be' (p. 43). It was argued that on-demand content was 'not presented in an ideal environment for the children's audience and the limited availability of content is not in line with the typical viewing behaviour of children' (ibid.). In regard to CBeebies, the BBC came to the same conclusion, arguing that an 'area where further work is required is the on-demand offering', because the offer to younger children was 'not comprehensive' (p. 26).

The BBC aimed to tackle this issue 'with a children's iPlayer' (p. 43) that was supposed to deliver a more comprehensive service to all children and also 'help to provide access in a more child-friendly way to content on-demand for this audience, as part of the safe environment offered by the BBC to 0-6s' (p. 26). By 2008, children's on-demand content was available through the main iPlayer and through the two distinct children's iPlayer applications for the two age-groups. However, they differed in functionalities, and there were plans in 2012 for the children's versions to be upgraded to the latest version of the iPlayer application (UK51), when the application had been adapted for children to use.

6.7.2 A Videothek, a Mediathek, a Mediathek for children, an Online-Mediathek and KiKAplus

Although KiKA had offered programmes and clips on-demand since 2000 (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2009b: 3), at the same time, when the BBC spotted the need to improve the children's provision with on-demand content, ARD and ZDF also projected a 'Mediathek of the public service children's channel'⁵¹ (ARD, 2012b), the 'Mediathek KIKAplus' (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2009b: 3) (*Mediathek* was the common term introduced for on-demand platforms in Germany, building on the term *Videothek* used for physical video rental stores). No such formal children's

services were introduced for the parent broadcasters' services, although on-demand content was already part of their provision. The German federal broadcasters' on-demand and catch-up services varied considerably from broadcaster to broadcaster in how they defined these services and provided children's content. Unlike the service previously offered on the website kika.de/fernsehen, including live streaming of the TV channel output and several short extracts of programmes, the new service was projected to bundle all programmes broadcast on KiKA (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2009b: 3). The launch had been preceded by a lengthy approval period of almost two years. At the end of 2008, KiKA's on-demand platform KIKApplus and the preschool website kikaninchen.de had undergone approval processes by MDR and ZDF advisory boards, concluding in February 2010 (MDR & ZDF, 2010: 44). In mid 2010, both services went live, Kikaninchen.de in May 2010, KI.KApplus in July 2010 (ARD, 2012b).

At broadcaster ZDF, this period was mainly characterised by further development and a central organisation of on-demand services. By 2005, the ZDFmediathek had evolved into the central ZDF online on-demand service for zdf.de, heute.de and sport.zdf.de, and was 'technically and navigatorily extended for the use as the central point for on-demand videos'⁵² (ZDF, 2010a: 32). In February 2007, the advisory board considered '[t]he digital future of the ZDF-on-demand television, and approved an expansion of the ZDFmediathek'⁵³ (ZDF, 2010a: 6). However, tivi.de did not evolve out of the process to centralise ZDFmediathek in this period, but remained technically and organisationally a separate undertaking; for example, building on different content management systems (D03). Independently of ZDFmediathek, the children's department developed its own application to offer on-demand video for children, not within a distinct Mediathek application, but within the main website offering. Because Tivi's Mediathek was not a designated service, it did not undergo a separate public value and market impact test as KiKA's on-demand platform. As a video player and Mediathek that included video-on-demand and catch-up video, it displayed no specific branded name on the website, such as iPlayer or Mediathek, or any concrete description of functionality, such as on-demand player or catch-up service. It appeared on the website as a segment, 'videos & pictures',⁵⁴ shown as 'ZDFtivi videos', or referred to as a 'video section'⁵⁵ of tivi.de (ZDF, 2010a: 47). In later sources for this research, it was referred to as 'Videothek' (ZDF, 2012) (D28), 'Mediathek', 'Online-Mediathek' (D28) or 'Mediathek for children',⁵⁶ (D34) and by one

respondent as 'Tivi Mediathek [...], a separate Mediathek for children's programming'⁵⁷ (D30). ZDF's on-demand section developed into a comprehensive public service on-demand player for children over time.

6.8 From broadcasting programme to projects

With the development of new devices and faster and more widespread broadband distribution, there was a change in the broadcasters' understanding of public service broadcasting. Text-based services were increasingly complemented by new forms, and at the end of the period 'television got excited and invented the television on the web' (Marc Goodchild, cited in Cineuropa, 2008). Throughout their history, there have been changes in the broadcasters' understanding of the kind of content and services they should offer, but there are stark differences in how they addressed the changing implications of broadcasting in the multi-platform era. Although, in Germany, convergent media for children became a strategic interest for PSBs (e.g., see Theunert and Wagner, 2002), the term 'broadcasting' remained more rigid. In contrast, BBC broadcasters had already by phase 2 moved from the concept of offering programmes to offering projects (Strange, 2011: 136). It was held that the 'days of commissioning programmes are over – we are now only commissioning projects that have levels of interactivity' (Ashley Highfield, cited in Strange, 2011: 136). Strange discussed 'bundled projects' as a characteristic concept of this period, describing it 'as an offering consisting of content dispersed across a range of proprietary channels and platforms and beyond into third-party spaces' (p. 138). These developments also took hold at the children's departments. According to Goodchild (cited in Cineuropa, 2008), in phase 2 a 'few breakthrough web enhancements really showed the power of cross-platform initiatives' for children. PSB output was now distributed over several paths. The BBC 'began to experiment with mobile phones and other portable devices' (Thompson, 2006a), and launched, for example, a mobile news service for mobile devices (BBC, 2004a). In addition, CBBC experimented with text and picture messaging, the first mobile phone video and location-based functionality, and argued that mobiles were 'helping to engage with young people' (Greg Childs, cited in Childnet International, 2003).

Chapter 7 – The purpose of the public service children’s provision in the history of multi-platform public service media (mid 1990s - 2009, Phases 1-3)

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Chapter 7 – The purpose of the public service children’s provision in the history of public service multi-platform media for children (mid 1990s - 2009, Phases 1-3)

Introduction

There are certain differences and similarities in how broadcasters defined the purpose and opportunities of children’s multi-platform services in the period mid-1990s to 2009 (phases 1, 2, 3). The purpose of the provision on new platforms evolved around the central idea of the PSB remit – information, education, entertainment. But from early on new concepts joined these core principles and sometimes appeared even more prominent, such as interaction and participation.

7.1 Interaction and participation

7.1.1 Two rationales: Marketing and participation of real children

Even in the early phase, broadcasters understood Internet-based media as an opportunity to engage with audiences in new ways; for example, by offering audience feedback streams (BBC, 2001: 34) and by engaging children in one of the chats or message boards on the CBBC website (see Buckley, 2011a); or by offering Germany’s first public service social network for children, SWR Kindernetz (SWR, 2012). By the late 1990s, both countries’ broadcasters had begun to engage in online conversations with real children. One of the early messages of a child on SWR's message boards encapsulates the character of the new relationship with the audience: 'I am on the Internet for the first time with my mum and I would like to talk, could you tell me how this works?'¹ (www.kindernetz.de/kik/tix/, January 1999, Wayback Machine, 2012). In phase 2 (2000/1-2005), broadcasters spotted several opportunities offered by new technology of using mobile phones for 'knowing your audience [...] taking in their material, via phone calls and SMS [...] their likes and dislikes', '[v]otes and competitions by text', '[u]se of mobile phone to replace TV remote control. The mobile can act as the return path, enabling the viewer to text the broadcaster' (Greg Childs, cited in Childnet International and Internet Association Japan, 2003).

By 2004, interaction had already become a substantial part of the PSB provision, so that some even suggested changing the so-called 'Reithian trinity' that had described the BBC's remit for decades to '[i]nformation, education, entertainment, interaction' (Michael Grade, 2004, cited in Strange, 2011: 137). At the children's department it was similarly put, suggesting the terms inform, educate, entertain and 'connect' (Greg Childs, cited in Childnet International and Internet Association Japan, 2003).

However, two-way interaction and communication was not only driving the provision towards greater equality between broadcaster and audience. Clearly, the broadcasters' rationales subsumed both ideas: audience relations in the sense of customer relations, marketing, appreciating the online provision's 'role as additional services and marketing instruments'² (Schmidt, 2001: 17), as well as those more closely connected to a new quality of relationship between audience and broadcaster. Research had shown the possibilities of the Internet for improving the audience relationship (ARD, 2001c: 19) and children's websites were described as 'PR-activities that were aimed at binding the children to the channel'³ (Drexler, 2000). In a 2003 communication with regulatory body KEF, the ARD had still stressed the purpose of Kindernetz as 'strengthening the bonds of the recipients through [...] a Kindernetz community'⁴ (Kommission zur Ermittlung des Finanzbedarfs der Rundfunkanstalten (KEF), 2003: 22). According to BBC's Marc Goodchild (cited in Cineuropa, 2008), the concept of 'programme support sites' was also prevalent in the UK during the early phase. For CBBC, among the opportunities the new platforms brought were '[e]xtending brands, reach and loyalty' and '[c]ross media marketing' (Greg Childs, cited in Childnet International and Internet Association Japan, 2003).

7.1.2 Different imaginaries for interaction

Interacting with a broadcaster vs interacting with the wide world

One of the biggest differences between Germany and the UK was how broadcasters conceptualised children's interaction. In phase 1, comparing the visual user interfaces of the different children's propositions, broadcasters clearly differed in how they constructed the purpose of children's interaction with public service in the first place, while designing

and producing spaces for children on the Web. Broadcasters used different imaginaries to create these first PSB representations on the World Wide Web. Many German broadcasters chose not to represent the broadcaster itself, but created fairly complex worlds with user interfaces that depicted a view of vast incomprehensible spaces, using metaphors of cosmos, planets, city and the sea, where the broadcaster's website functioned as an assisting device to explore and understand these spaces, for example by using the control board of a space ship as a user design element. All designs represented worlds that certainly did not exist as such, yet there were differences in how these digital worlds related to the physical world. ZDF and KiKA created the concept of a space or world that did not represent anything from the real world. ARD, SWR, BR created a representation of a world that did exist, but was too complex to comprehend (planet system/city/sea). Therefore, on a design level, the interfaces evoked the idea of children's interaction with the 'wide world', facilitated through the help of the public service broadcaster.

The BBC took a different approach and created a digital space that one could imagine one might actually visit, see and touch. The CBBC website's interface represented the BBC as a physical broadcasting institution, or as the children's 'version' of the BBC, CBBC, a broadcasting house with different levels: a ground floor, a studio, backstage area, a programme control, the *Newsround* newsroom (July 1998 screenshot, Wayback Machine, 2012). The BBC online proposition was not designed for children to explore a 'vast space' or the 'wide world', but here they were exploring the BBC institution and what it could offer.

Children interacting with children

Soon, both German PSBs and the BBC were offering children new interactive functions, where children could interact with each other, such as the email message boards on the CBBC website *Over-2-U*, also referred to as 'CBBC's Chats' (22 April 1999, Wayback Machine, 2012). Yet, in the early days, for German broadcaster SWR the participatory purpose of the Internet was clearly one of the biggest opportunities provided by new media. Kindernetz from the start was understood as 'a public forum, in which children can exchange views with each other about all the subjects they are interested in and that are relevant to them'⁵ (Stampfel and Grajczyk, 1999).

During phase 2 (2000/1-2005), with the advances in participatory technologies, the BBC also began to describe interaction more ambitiously:

'The growth of two-way digital technologies like the Internet and digital television means they can now communicate with each other in a safe BBC environment and use the BBC's resources to try new things and learn new skills' (BBC, 2004b: 78).

Children talking to each other on message boards had been part of PSB for many years by that time. Now, the BBC clearly defined participation as 'to engage with the TV, the PC and the world around them' (Greg Childs, cited in Childnet International and Internet Association Japan, 2003). The emphasis was on enabling more communication among children and less between the broadcaster and the children: 'Not connecting with the audience, but rather to allow the audience to connect with each other in a meaningful way' (ibid.). This is illustrated by a project in a 2004 strategy paper, the *CBBC Club House* designed as a website 'where children from schools across Britain can make friends and talk about topics that interest them [and] can join and start clubs of their own and create a page about themselves' (BBC, 2004b: 78).

Return to safer forms of interaction

In phase 3, with technological advances in participatory applications with the so-called Web 2.0, participation and interaction seemed to have moved even more into the focus of the broadcasters' multi-platform strategy. Personalisation and participation functionalities became more popular and accessible and a 'new relationship' with the audience was placed at the centre of this period's *Creative Future* strategy (BBC, 2007b: 37). As well as message boards, the BBC now experimented with a range of new interactive media, some of which remained part of the multi-platform offering in later periods, while others it would later retract from. In 2008, the BBC offered various forms of 'games and participative applications', among them 'over 230 different games available via the website and the red button' (BBC, 2008: 25). It also launched a new social networking application MyCBBC (p. 42), set out to consolidate 'participation and user-generated content in a more personalised environment' (BBC, 2007: 16). However, at the same time the new application reduced the facilities related to chat or message board communication. In contrast to message boards, *MyCBBC* was introduced as a log-in platform that allowed children to personalise

digital spaces, but featured 'no free-text interaction between users' (Deverell, 2008). It introduced more prescribed ways of sharing and communication, such as 'approved phrases' for chatting.

The BBC now seemed to employ safer forms of interaction, moving away from the emphasis on the communication among children often stressed in phase 2, back to the relationship between broadcaster and child/children. For example, the BBC's immersive virtual game *Adventure Rock* lacked many of the interactive chat functionalities that attracted children to commercial offerings at the time (Jackson et al., 2008: 7). This exemplifies the dilemma of the BBC, pulling both towards and away from participatory technologies at the same time. Although the vision was still to offer more participation, a fundamental change from previous periods seemed to have taken place. The focus now was on the individual's relationship with the BBC:

'They won't just be audiences anymore, but participants and partners. We need to get to know them as individuals and communities and let them configure our services in ways that work best for them. Our vision should be that we have a direct one-to-one relationship with every individual household in this country' (Thompson, 2006a).

The BBC developed a strategy to make use of technology opportunities for 'building new relationships with audiences and individual households' (BBC, 2006b) with the concept of the audience's ownership of the BBC being pushed forward. To enhance the relationship between audience and the BBC now also meant to strengthen the individual impact and public ownership of the BBC felt by children:

'The focus is on empowering children and giving them the opportunity to gain a deeper relationship with the BBC, the brands and characters, increasing the value they receive, the ownership they feel, and the impact they have on CBeebies and CBBC' (Marc Goodchild, cited in Cineuropa, 2008).

The reason for this change may be found in the challenges brought about by the emerging technologies during phase 2 for public broadcasting in general and for child provision in particular, where audiences curated content appearing on public service screens. Many Internet technologies were quickly launched on the market without the usual security measures built into other mainstream technologies. Therefore, chats, message boards, location-based media, user-generated content uploads, together with the

vision that the BBC 'may have a role as a community mediator' (Greg Childs, cited in Childnet International and Internet Association Japan, 2003), may have had proved more than a logistical challenge for the broadcaster. However, it can be shown that towards the end of this period, the broadcaster adopted a less risky and probably less resourceful model of broadcaster/audience relationship, where the broadcaster regained the curation and therefore editorial control function over content and services on public service platforms.

In Germany, no similar concept of ownership of PSB emerged from the sources, and no such stark distinction between the approach to participation during the different historical phases can be made. At ZDF, for example, the more generic concept of 'interactive elements' (see Rieschel, 2002: 75) seemed to evolve only slowly into more Internet-specific opportunities of interaction, similar to those experimented with by the BBC in phase 2. Whereas, in 2002, the Tivi website was described with the strapline, '[e]xplore, explain, guess and play' (Rieschel, 2002: 75), in phase 3, interaction and participation seemed to have acquired a new priority and had started to usurp several other elements of online provision, such as learning and education. At ZDF, the purpose of the Tivi website was now described with the strapline, 'play, explore and participate'⁶ (Huebert and Stumpf, 2008).

7.1.3 German PSBs retain the role of a go-to-partner

In Germany, different concepts of participation and interaction prevailed. Here, the concept of being a counsellor, advisor and 'go-to-person'/'speak-to-person'⁷ for children, migrated from TV history into the multi-platform present, fuelled by some broadcasters' expectations of new media at that time. Although many PSBs offered social media and forum spaces for children, children were still seen to turn to the broadcasters as a more authoritative supporting figure, advisor or mentor (see, for example, Rieschel, 2002: 75). It later seemed to have evolved into broadcasters being an advisor in media literacy. The SWR not only offered *Netztreff*, the first public service social media platform for children, launched in 1997, but also *TIX*, a 'virtual speak-to-person for the sorrows of the children'⁸ (Stampfel and Grajczyk, 1999). Also the ZDF saw part of the purpose of their children's proposition as 'being their friend and mentor' (Rieschel, 2002: 75).

As the broadcasters aimed to justify their investment in interactive activities, online participation was clearly presented as a continuation of previous forms of audience communication on new devices:

'Until now the collaboration of children is limited to the classic possibilities of interaction via email, letter and phone – yet, also in the new digital future children want to participate too, they want to communicate and playfully engage with content'⁹ (Biermann, 2007).

That the transition of TV into the multi-platform era brought a continuation of previous concepts of TV participation can best be observed in developments at the children's channel. KiKA's original TV remit in the PSB compound was, first, to create 'programming connections between the single programmes'¹⁰ produced by KiKA and its parent broadcasters (ARD, 2001a). Secondly, it was supposed to act as a representative for PSB in its direct communication with children and to produce and screen its own programmes, which 'shall offer the possibility for direct communication between children and the ARD/ZDF children's channel and so add to the binding of the audiences'¹¹ (ARD, 2001a). The second remit was already considered years before the channel launched; it was to become '[a]n address for children!¹² (Ernst Geyer, cited in Internationales Zentralinstitut für das Jugend- und Bildungsfernsehen, 1995: 6).

There are sources that show that the same concept of audience interaction was stressed for television as it was for the Internet. The then head of ZDF Children explained:

'Such a programme also has to create links with the viewer. You have to have the possibility to call and have partners to talk to. Therefore, there has to be some kind of, I deliberately do not say interactivity, but activity between the broadcaster and the viewers, that is also reflected in the programming'¹³ (Susanne Müller, cited in Internationales Zentralinstitut für das Jugend- und Bildungsfernsehen, 1995: 6).

The function quickly became more relevant with the years, and the audience service department grew more quickly than anticipated, soon becoming one of the biggest at the children's channel (ARD, 2003: 80). Successively, the idea of audience relations in the TV era evolved into online interaction. In 2007, the then head of KiKA, Frank Beckmann, maintained:

'KiKA is a very interactively-used channel anyway, because we get around 40,000 faxes, letters and emails each month. With the Internet, only a new modern [distributional] channel is used, which also makes it easier for children to provide us with their own content,

because it is more of a hassle to send a parcel with video cassettes or CDs than to upload the content over the Internet¹⁴ (Frank Beckmann, cited in Promedia, 2007).

Thus, how broadcasters externally communicated the purpose of interaction did not change considerably. Citing the new head of KiKA in 2009, broadcasters were still referring to the old concept of interaction just projecting them on new tools:

'As so-called user-generated content we offer among others the opportunity for children to draw pictures and upload them. For those children this represents a deep satisfaction and it makes them proud when they see their own content on the Web¹⁵ (Kottkamp, cited in Promedia, 2009: 16).

7.2 Information

Broadcasters began to offer news and information content to children on their new platforms. Also at the BBC, from the beginning a 'Newsround Newsroom' was part of the offering on the CBBC website (bbc.co.uk/cbbc, 20 May 1998, Wayback Machine, 2012). Here, a technology executive remembered that the BBC aimed in the early period to respond to the children's 'tremendous hunger to understand the world' (Buckley, 2011a). Yet, there are indications that in the multi-platform history, news formed just one purpose among many other purposes, and was not specifically emphasised as central to the PSB online activities as in Germany. For example, on the early CBBC website, news was not placed more prominently than, for example, entertainment and games (bbc.co.uk/cbbc, 20 May 1998, Wayback Machine, 2012).

Although the broadcaster shaped the nature of online news provision on the Internet, and the news service for the general audience was thought to be the most important and successful online offering of the BBC (BBC, 2001: 21-22; Steemers, 2001b), the same could not be said of online news for children. Despite having an online news flagship in the background, it was the general genre 'children's' that formed into the commonly used term for the online genre for children in the history of the multi-platform provision, alongside news and sports for the general audience.

In phase 2, the BBC started 'a wider initiative to offer children more ways to access more child-specific information from bbc.co.uk' (BBC, 2004a). Two services were launched, CBBC Search and a mobile news service, to make

information content more easily available for children and, for example, enable them 'to search for content for homework projects' (ibid.).

Similar to the BBC, in Germany, information distribution was soon formulated as a core opportunity of the new platforms (Landtag Rheinland-Pfalz, 2002: 24), and PSBs saw their role as an 'online news service'¹⁶ (ZDF, 1998: 21; Eimeren et al., 1997: 31). Here, research pointed to information as the central demand by audiences. 'The demand for entertainment offerings' was understood as 'secondary', the 'main demand of online users' here was 'information search'¹⁷ (ibid.). It was explained that 'the online offerings of the ARD are primarily information-oriented'¹⁸ (ARD, 2004: 168). In the children's context the term 'information' seemed to have been used more regularly. For example, the early Kindernetz website did not specifically use the term 'news' for pointing to content, although news and information made up a major part of the provision. News was found on many services under scrutiny here and the purpose of providing children with information seemed more central to them than any other purpose. Probably picking up the discourse about the knowledge or information society (e.g., see ARD, 1997a), for example, SWR Kindernetz from its start aimed to help develop children's 'information competence',¹⁹ but also to supply children with comprehensive information content (Stampfel and Grajczyk, 1999).

Many broadcasters pointed to news content and services as a distinct quality feature of their provision, although many PSBs offered news to children on the Internet. For example, ZDF specifically pointed to their online news provision as 'one of the few daily news television programmes for children on the Internet'²⁰ (Biermann, 2003: 168). Yet, many public service radio and TV programmes distributed radio and TV news for children on their websites, such as BR, MDR, NDR, RBB, SR, SWR, WDR.

It is noteworthy that there are indications that broadcasters have applied to the multi-platform provision for children a different understanding of the role of information regarding the federal competence of the broadcasters. Although the ARD had defined the remit and function of online activities in 2003 as information-oriented and to 'reflect the regional competency of the federal broadcaster'²¹ (ARD, 2004: 168), children's services did not explicitly reflect (and also none of the respondents pointed to it) a specific regional remit on new platforms, apart from the fact that some on-demand news content had regional character and content and services were being produced by federal broadcasters.

7.3 Education and learning

Another difference between German public service broadcasters and the BBC is how broadcasters emphasised the purpose of education and learning in the multi-platform history. Learning on new platforms evolved into a far broader concept at the BBC than was stressed in the German context. At the BBC, learning and education was soon communicated as the big opportunity brought about by the multi-platform provision for children. In Germany emerged a much narrower understanding of multi-platform learning related to media education and supporting television learning goals.

7.3.1 The learning revolution

At the BBC, education was understood to have undergone a renaissance through PSB online media. From early on, the BBC began to present opportunities for 'online learning linked to programmes' (BBC, 2001: 29) and '[l]earning outside the classroom' (BBC, 2003: 47), and envisaged building a cross-platform learning environment on television channels and websites (BBC, 2001: 29). The new technologies were regarded as the right tools to fulfil a remit the BBC had long had, but had only been able to fulfil partially until then. Then director-general Thompson explained: 'Education and learning is the second element on the Reithian triptych, but up until now it's never enjoyed the same prominence or the same coherence inside the BBC' (Thompson, 2006a).

In 2000, the BBC announced plans for an interactive formal learning platform, the digital curriculum (BBC News, 2000), 'an interactive online service for pupils and teachers across the UK' (BBC, 2001: 33), with a formal application in 2002 (BBC, 2002b). Some argue that after 2000, the BBC had been responding to a growing overall curricularisation of children's lives in this period, probably more so than their German counterparts. Researchers in the UK point to the observation that 'the continuing expansion of national testing has created an atmosphere of growing competition, not only between schools but also among parents and children themselves' (Scanlon and Buckingham, 2004: 287). They point to a 'commercialisation of out-of-school learning' and a 'flourishing market for curriculum-related publications, computers and private tuition' (p. 301-2). It

is argued that as part of this overall development 'television as a teaching resource' was conceptualised, where television was now understood as helping children to reach certain learning stages by incorporating learning goals, published by government bodies, into their own provision (Briggs, 2009: 25-6).

The school learning website *Bitesize* was described as one of the most used online products of this phase with 'a peak of 17 million page impressions during the 2003 revision season' (BBC, 2003: 47). CBeebies' page impressions were also cited in relation to the BBC's 'core function' of encouraging children to learn, where a 'cross-genre multimedia range' was seen to be 'supported by well-used online services, with the CBeebies site alone generating nearly 100m page impressions per month' (BBC, 2004b: 36).

Five years after the announcement of the curriculum service, in phase 3, BBC Jam was launched and 'the *BBC Digital Curriculum*' was expected 'to bring the learning revolution to every British child' (BBC, 2004b: 13). It formed 'a crucial part of the BBC's commitment' and the BBC widely stressed that its main purpose was to answer the 'demand from schoolchildren for online learning' (ibid.). Briggs (2009: 24) sees public service broadcasting at the time as stakeholder in the 'attempt to 'curricularize' family life'. He argues that the BBC children's provision was co-constructing the discourse of the 'good parent' and 'family learning' (p. 26) by envisaging parents as 'pedagogues in the making: as those who should be concerned about the technical details of their children's learning and educational development' (p. 29).

Notably, learning and participation were presented as closely related aims of the services. The trust in the public service online provision was considerable; the CBeebies website was understood to empower parents and children in such a way that children 'develop their full potential' (BBC, 2003: 27). Already by 2006, learning was understood as a process taking place when a child used content across platforms, which was believed to 'stimulate learning through its connection to resources online, as well as through the provision of factual programming' (BBC Trust, 2006a).

7.3.2 The media competence mission

While at the BBC a broader and more enthusiastic understanding of education and online learning was displayed, German PSBs appeared to have developed a much narrower concept of what an education remit might mean in the multi-platform context. It was media education that seemed to form a central focus to the educational aim of the multi-platform provision here.

Towards the end of the 1990s, media education again became popular in educational settings (Buckingham, 2004: 49). German PSBs seemed initially much more drawn to this pedagogical concept. On the one hand, educationalists tried to find ways to provide children with the tools to cope with a children's media landscape largely driven by market rationales (Erlinger, 1995), and on the other hand, to help them find ways to handle what was described as childhood's 'increasing dependence on technology' (Messenger Davies, 2001: 46). Education was understood as promoting media or information competence building, helping children to acquire skills to 'handle the new media world' (Loebbecke et al., 2003). SWR and ZDF children's online services were communicated foremost as a means for media competence building (for SWR, see Schmidt, 2001: 18; for ZDF, see Rieschel, 2002: 75). Educational and learning goals were a basic remit of services such as SWR Kindernetz, but learning there largely meant to understand and learn how to use the Internet (Stampfel and Grajczyk, 1999). It was widely understood that 'it is the stated aim of SWR-Kindernetz to enable children to handle the new media world (Internet competence)²²' (Loebbecke et al., 2003: 12). Compared to the early CBBC website, which appeared to be aimed less at Internet novices than the German websites (July 1998 screenshot, Wayback Machine, 2012), helping children to navigate, understand and make use of its Web offering appeared as a more explicit feature and purpose on Kindernetz. However, this was not the case with other services, such as the interface of ZDF's Tivi (tivi.zdf.de, 2 September 1999, Wayback Machine, 2012).

From early on, an idea of online media developed that services on new platforms were in some way helping children to build competencies in using media in general and in using online media in particular, but also for learning to deal effectively with information and knowledge. The participatory elements were not always specifically described as enablers of specific Internet competence. By many, 'media competence' was still

understood as the information competence under the information society paradigm, which was to help children's critical understanding of both the information and news production industry and the 'professional world of TV'²³ (Rieschel, 2002: 81) and to learn how to create Radio/TV news (D21).

The reason why media competence quickly became a core purpose of the German PSBs' online activities when they began to launch online media may be found in the varying prevalence of the phenomenon of curricularisation of children's lives, but probably also in its role in justifying the existence of PSB and particularly PSB's funding in the European media policy context at the time. In phase 1, media competence was drawn upon by PSB in the debate about a universally available and accessible Internet, the threat of a digital divide and the idea of the knowledge society (e.g., see ARD, 1997a). Effectively drawing on a European policy term that was used in negotiating cultural policy approaches to broadcasting (Donders and Rompuy, 2006) vis-à-vis competition policy terms (European Commission, 1997; e.g., see Pauwels and Burgelman, 2003), the lack of 'multimedia competence' was regarded by PSBs as one of three barriers (usability/cost/competence) that had to be defeated for the Internet to become the universal mass medium that would bring the benefits of an information or knowledge society (e.g., see ARD, 1997a). In 1997, media competence was understood to be available only to a so-called 'information elite'²⁴ (p. 31), a concept related to another 'rhetorical device', the 'digital divide,' used in policy contexts, which, as it is argued elsewhere, largely 'favour economic growth more strongly than citizen empowerment' as, for example, Mansell (2002: 8-9) suggested. Public broadcasters saw a special role for PSB in building 'multimedia competence' among the wider public as a means for social cohesion and to make the Internet universally accessible and exploitable: 'In view of these barriers, the public service online offerings are given an importance that is not to be underestimated'²⁵ (Eimeren, et al., 1997: 31). Notably, the ARD demonstrated in the same document the view that the 'particularity of public service [online] offerings' was that their content was used by 'all age groups'²⁶ (p. 32).

Forming an argument to justify public service online activities in the 1990s, by 2008, the same idea of the promotion of 'technical and editorial media competence' for the 'participation in the information society'²⁷ had progressed to the specific remit of German public service online media ('Telemedien') (§ 11d, Zwölfter Rundfunkänderungsstaatsvertrag, 2008), and was acknowledged with new services for children (see Der Kinderkanal

von ARD und ZDF, 2008a: 14-15). In Germany, PSBs as well as the federal State Media Authorities (Landesmedienanstalten) were given a remit in media education (for media education policies, see Kammerl and Hasebrink, 2014). It also became a vehicle for the scrutiny of online products and services for children of the three-step-tests to evaluate their public benefit. For some, 'media competence teaching' now formed one similarly valued separate segment of public service content genres next to 'news/information, education/knowledge, entertainment, animation/real'²⁸ (MDR, 2008b: 17). Notably, some observed retrospectively that for PSBs overall media literacy played a different role and was 'not regarded as equally important' as other elements of the public service remit (Kammerl and Hasebrink, 2014: 18).

The hopes placed on the Internet to teach children how to handle media were apparently immense compared with other areas of children's learning. Yet, in 2009, there still seemed to be a lack of belief in online media as specifically educational in other regards. Even at the end of the period, the head of the children's channel declared that children's main learning exercise took place while watching TV, and websites only aimed to 'playfully deepen on the website what was learned on TV'²⁹ (Kottkamp, cited in Promedia, 2009: 16).

In the UK, the BBC appeared among several agents to promote the media literacy of children and young people (Buckingham, 2004: 52). Later in the new century it was held 'media literacy 'has become increasingly important in regulatory policy, both in the UK and internationally' (Buckingham, 2009b: 217). It appeared as a policy goal of several national and international regulatory bodies, policy makers, industry bodies and civic groups, like those within policy initiatives such as Safer Internet Plus Programme (EU Commission), the government-funded *ThinkUKnow* (2006) campaign in the UK and Childnet International. The BBC, together with Channel 4, the UK Film Council and the BFI founded a 'Media Literacy Task Force' (Byron, 2008: 123). Media literacy also became part of the Royal Charter, where 'the need to promote media literacy' (Royal Charter Agreement, 2006) was highlighted in order for the BBC to fulfil the first of the BBC's public purposes, namely 'sustaining citizenship and civil society' (Royal Charter, 2006). From 2003, the newly-created regulator Ofcom also had the remit to promote media literacy and Buckingham (2012) holds:

'[T]he high-level official endorsement of media education (or rather 'media literacy') in the UK in recent years has come not from educational policy-makers, but from Ofcom, the media regulator. Ofcom's own position is not protectionist, but the ways in which the argument for media literacy is framed within the public debate – and the functions it serves – certainly tend to present it as a matter of people learning to protect themselves from 'harmful' content'.

By 2009, as Buckingham (2009b: 218) shows, media literacy has effectively been replaced by the idea of 'Internet safety' and was now understood 'as a matter of self-protection'. Livingstone and Bober (2006: 15) point to the 'irony' of the new approach to media literacy 'in seeking to reduce top-down state regulation of "the market"; so as to further regulatory goals of freedom of markets and of individuals, pressure is placed on parents to reassert traditional hierarchical relations of authority with their children' (Livingstone and Bober, 2006 : 15).

The BBC clearly stated media literacy skill-building, including online services, as one purpose of its provision. But in line with the above observed overall trend, considerations about media literacy appeared more closely related to safety issues than to the information society/knowledge gap theory, evoked in Germany. Websites were seen as teaching children 'editorial responsibility', but at the same time 'train them to become responsible internet users with a good understanding of the safety issues involved' (BBC, 2004b: 78). Unlike the German children's PSB context, as shown above, media education formed only one aspect alongside others of a broader understanding of the educational purpose of PSB online and across platforms.

7.4 Entertainment

In the early phase, although many broadcasters readily included entertainment, fun or games genres in their Web offerings, the BBC seemed to place 'fun stuff' on the children's website more prominently next to programmes and news sections (July 1998 screenshot, Wayback Machine, 2012). In Germany, there seemed to be a greater reluctance towards entertainment, and on websites such as SWR Kindernetz 'fun stuff' was clearly only a means to another end and was driven by a rationale to help children to build media literacy skills. Chapter 4 showed the tensions towards entertainment prevalent in the children's broadcasting history.

From phase 2 in the multi-platform history, it is observable how the reluctance about the entertainment purpose faded in Germany. In both countries the Internet was now clearly seen as a media platform where children could play and have fun. Broadcasters now seemed to understand the main purpose of online provision as 'information and entertainment'³⁰ (KEF, 2003: 22). The BBC also described the Internet for children 'as a means of information and entertainment' (Ashley Highfield, cited in BBC, 2004a). There seemed to be a new understanding of the importance of entertainment and games in the 'dynamics' of online content and how a public service children's site should best be created. A ZDF research paper suggested in 2002 that ZDFtivi should focus more on its 'games', 'action' and 'visual humour', and 'information content [...] ought to step into the background a bit more'³¹ (Schumacher, 2002: 87). At 'primarily information-oriented'³² ARD Online (ARD, 2004: 168), those sites directed at children in this phase carried the English name 'ARD-Online Play-Station for Kids' (Breunig, 2002: 395). According to the site description, the site offered '[i]nteractive games to participate'³³ (06 June 2001 screenshot, Wayback Machine, 2012) and from 2003 until 2009 'play and fun at ARD'³⁴ (03 June 2003 snapshot).

New tensions

Phase 3, at the end of the period, saw the introduction of online service descriptions (Telemedienkonzept), which provided clues to how broadcasters understood the purpose of the online provision in regard to entertainment. BR's Kinderinsel, for example, was described as a 'play and learning world, which conveys knowledge and (despite that) is fun'³⁵ (BR, 2010: 22). Entertainment and learning were communicated here as related concepts, similar to the BBC, yet entertainment and learning were presented as two sometimes conflicting concepts. Entertainment here was also used as a means to another end, to make the process of conveying knowledge more bearable for children in the audience.

Entertainment was still not recognised as an accepted purpose of a public service multi-platform provision. The tensions over entertainment now derived from commercial competitors, who perceived public service broadcasters' alleged neglect of what was thought to be their true public service remit. For some observers, entertainment still formed enough of an

'Achilles' heel' of children's PSB to use entertainment to reason against public service online activities for children, paired with broadcasting law that allowed different readings and the common view that '[b]ecause of the shared financing through licence fees, the Children's Channel is obliged (and able) to orientate its offerings primarily towards (media)pedagogical benchmarks'³⁶ (Kammann, 2009: 23, brackets in original). For example, games were also one element were the 2009 regulation implemented stricter limitations for PSB, as suggested based on the competitors criticism (D24, see Chapter 12). A newspaper article questioned whether entertainment, fun, games and humour were a legitimate public service offering for children on new platforms, implying that public service online content should primarily promote education. A representative of the news press industry suggested instigating a closer look at ARD and ZDF's online activities for children, highlighting an online game for children called 'Fire farting with Gumpers',³⁷ a game, which immediately expressed its entertaining nature in its title (Hanfeld and Hauser, 2010). Others argued, when PSBs wanted to embark on the Internet, that offerings for children had to be worthwhile and educational. What PSBs provided to children instead, in the view of some critics, failed these key characteristics. A perceived lack of dedication to media literacy aims was evidence enough of the non-public-service nature of the offering. As put by the newspaper article:

'How far do public service broadcasters spread in the Internet? There they offer more than their [TV] programmes or what would be necessary as accompanying material: Chats, forum spaces, and indeed a plethora of games are to be found there. On Kika, those games are not only called "Fire farting with Gumpers", but also "Missions of Spaceman Jim", "Egg Trial" or "Emily's Strawberry Harvest". With what are children acquainted here? Is there something like a pedagogic concept? [...] Kika makes children competent, the makers write on their website: "Both on TV and the Internet, with us, children learn how media work." The public service broadcasters seem to believe that games are part of that – namely, games such as "Fire farting with Gumpers"³⁸ (Hanfeld and Hauser, 2010).

This specific perspective showed an understanding of the PSB remit as implicitly serious and boring and largely instructed to promote media literacy. Broadcasters and some observers at that point apparently disagreed about what the remit of a multi-platform provision for children ought to be, when it came to entertaining children online.

A similar argument was put forward by the children's channels competitors in the BBC's broadcasting past against the launch of the CBBC and CBeebies channels in 2003, where the BBC was accused of disconnecting

from its public service 'cultural' remit:

'If the BBC sticks to its remit to show distinctive educational and factual programming, there is room for everyone. [...] But, with 40 per cent of CBBC programmes being cartoons, it is hard to see why the BBC went cap in hand to the Government for permission for new channels offering programmes for cultural benefit' (Sherwin, 2002).

7.5 Safe environment

Another purpose emerged from the sources in both countries, when PSBs increasingly saw it as their remit to provide a safe and trusted environment (CBBC/CBeebies Service Licence, BBC Trust, 2008a, b). The idea of the safe environment was not new to the online era. The two originally TV brands CBBC and CBeebies were designed at the outset to become 'trusted brands'. It was also not exclusive to the children's provision (see, for example, BBC's main website, bbc.co.uk; BBC Trust, 2006c). Hence, on the same line of thought BBC's online provision was to 'provide a safe and trusted environment' and still in 2010 act as a 'trusted guide to new technology' (BBC Trust, 2010a: iii). CBeebies was given the remit to provide 'a consistently safe environment' (CBeebies Service Licence, BBC Trust, 2006b), and CBBC aimed at building 'a stimulating, creative and enjoyable environment that is also safe and trusted' (CBBC Service Licence, BBC Trust, 2006a).

Walled Garden

Several tools and concepts emerged to build this safe environment, such as the so-called 'Walled Garden', an enclosed space that offered some form of safe environment for children with a higher level of restriction and separation from other digital spaces directed at adults or third parties' websites. According to the BBC, '[t]he only links off the site are from the "For Grown Ups" support area to similar support sites and to specifically approved, non-commercial third party sites' (BBC, 2008: 26). The concept of the walled garden, however, was also understood as part of an age-targeted approach. A 'walled garden' would only provide 'content that has been checked to ensure it meets the designated age range' (p. 25). In 2008, the concept evolved into a more prolific secluded log-in space, *MyCBeebies* and *MyCBBC* (p. 26).

Notably, the idea of media education was much more closely related to 'the rules of social engagement and the "do's and don'ts" of the web' than in Germany (p. 42). The BBC aimed to equip children 'to graduate to the wider web, armed with the tools to deal with what they will find' (ibid.). Media education clearly served a two-fold approach to children's online safety:

'Protection of children is not just about restricting access to content [...], particularly when it is considered how inventive children can be at avoiding the best-intentioned rules. Therefore, CBeebies educates children about the de facto rules of engaging in the online world and helps empower them to be more aware of the potential dangers' (BBC, 2008: 26).

In the German context, safety or child protection issues appeared until the end of the phase more as of secondary importance. There are indications that only between 2008 and 2010 did considerations about children's online safety move closer to the broadcasters' attention. Some earlier documents, for example, the 2008 proposals for the new online services (catch-up service KiKA.plus and pre-school website kikaninchen.de), did mention safety issues, but only indirectly in that the children's channel main website had received a certification complying to a certain level of 'safety and orientation' (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2008b: 6). Interestingly, although media competency was mentioned as one of the remits of the two services, it was not explicitly connected in the documents as a measure for safety or child protection, but rather aimed at the inclusion of social groups (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2008a). Media education here appeared more closely connected to earlier ideas that information competence formed a prerequisite to rebut the digital divide and allow every child to be part of the information society (see 7.3.2).

However, around 2010, the provision and promotion of Internet safety seemed to have formed a similarly important issue among German broadcasters. Now, similar documents of another service to be approved (KiKA's main website kika.de) read differently: for children's channel KiKA's main website 'safety was greatly important'³⁹ (MDR & ZDF, 2010: 42-3). Like the BBC, KiKA's parent broadcasters now aimed to offer a 'safeguarded space for the exchange with the channel and among each other'⁴⁰ (MDR & ZDF, 2010). Other broadcasters emphasised that the space they provided was a 'safe environment'⁴¹ at BR-Kinderinsel (BR, 2010: 22) and a 'safe entrance to the Web'⁴² at SWR's Kindernetz.

7.6 Integration and interlinking

One purpose of the multi-platform provision specific to the German context was the purpose of integration or interlinking of the diverse provision to a more holistic representation of the PSB overall or ARD proposition in particular, bundling the services that the different federal public services broadcasters produced independently of each other and also those that they offered jointly and with ZDF. In 1996, when ARD and ZDF introduced their Internet engagement (Schmidt, 2001: 22), the ARD directors-general formulated a vision for their engagement with digital media that built on the theme, 'Networking instead of branching out'⁴³ (Albrecht, 1997: 51). It was argued that 'the digital technology shall foremost be used for the fast connection between the different programme offerings of the ARD broadcasters. It is planned to connect the Erste and the regional ("third") channels, the Children's Channel and Phoenix, radio channels, videotext and the online services in that way, so that the users of the digital offering, with the help of an electronical "bookmark", can put together their own programming of choice'⁴⁴ (1990s reference in ARD, 2012b).

However, despite the importance for German broadcasters of the concept of integration as opposed to a 'branching out', for the child audience it seemed less dominant than for PSB as a whole. SWR's Kindernetz appears to have been the only service which utilised this network idea until 2008; this led to the fact that among ARD broadcasters, Kindernetz was regarded as a special ARD offering for children. According to a senior online producer: 'SWR is unique, so to speak, at the ARD, because, although there also exists the BR-Kinderinsel, this is rather smaller in relation to [Kindernetz]. And [Kindernetz is], if you like, also a platform where [Kindernetz] bundle all the children's programmes of the SWR and have an access to the ARD. And therefore, [Kindernetz is] indeed something special'⁴⁵ (D21).

With the proposal of KiKA's new online services in 2008 and new technological advances in phase 3, KiKA also appeared to have taken on a similar role. For example, the on-demand and catch-up player was envisaged to function as a central player that pulled together public service content for children and offered a 'unique bundling of child-appropriate audiovisual content from all public service broadcasters'⁴⁶ through an 'interlinking with the catch-up services (Mediathek) of ARD and ZDF' (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2008b: 8). By doing this, the broadcasters

would have moved the remit and role KiKA had in the TV space into the multi-platform space, as ARD and ZDF's central children's outlet. The concept of integration of the overall proposition was part of PSB's considerations, and not online specific, but had its roots in past TV rationales to create a united children's channel and brands, aiming to provide the audience with a means for orientation. Similarly, online bundling functionalities were understood to offer children orientation/guidance in the overall PSB children's proposition (MDR and ZDF, 2010: 39). However, throughout phase 3 this vision for KiKA did not substantiate. Yet, on a conceptual level this concept of a bundled PSB network remained important, something demonstrated by the fact that Kindernetz upheld its special role throughout later phases, and in 2010 published the three-step-test documents, and was still described as 'the only offering of the ARD, that bundles all ARD children's offerings, and therefore is different to all other public service offerings for children; also compared to kika.de and its [since 2008] planned additional offerings kikaninchen.de and KI.KAplus'⁴⁷ (SWR, 2010: 114). By the end of the period in 2009, the vision of an interlinked and integrated service, formulated since the 1990s, for the children's provision, seemed still only loosely organised.

Summary - Chapters 5-7

Chapters 5-7 have looked at how public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany negotiated the opportunities and challenges related to distributing their content on new media platforms and how they defined the purpose of children's multi-platform services in the period until 2010.

The next chapter forms the first part of Part 3 and will address the same question for the succeeding period between 2010 and 2012, and examine how public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany defined the purpose of children's multi-platform services in the multi-platform present 2010-2012.

Part Three

Multi-platform public service media for children in the UK and Germany (2010-2012, Phase 4)

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Chapter 8 - Purpose and opportunities

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Chapter 8 - Purpose and opportunities

Introduction

Introduction to Chapters 8-13

Chapter 8-13 will analyse the central period under examination in this research – Phase 4 (2010-2012) – in regard to how public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany negotiated opportunities and challenges, and distributed their content on new media platforms during their transformation into multi-platform providers.

This thesis has already shown the changes and continuities in how broadcasters defined purpose and opportunities, set out strategies, and perceived the challenges in the broadcasting era (Chapters 3-4) and in the multi-platform era up until 2010 (Chapters 5-7). In phase 4 (2010-2012) there are certain differences and similarities in how publicly-funded public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany defined their purpose and opportunities, set out strategies and perceived the challenges related to the transition from broadcasting to multi-platform media for children. The individual chapters of Part Three have the following functions in this thesis:

Chapter 8, first, examines how broadcasters understood the audience they served, and, second, how broadcasters perceived the purpose and opportunities of the new services and products.

Chapter 9 examines the strategies of broadcasters for a provision across multiple platforms.

Chapter 10 examines some contributory factors that may have impacted the different strategies in regard to the prioritisation of the children's multi-platform provision.

Chapter 11 examines the challenges related to the category 'Broadcaster'.

Chapter 12 examines the challenges related to the category 'Regulation' and 'Competition'.

Chapter 13 examines the challenges related to the category 'Products/services' and 'Audience'.

Introduction to Chapter 8

Before Part Three looks at broadcasters' strategies and perceived challenges in more detail (Chapters 9-13), Chapter 8 will provide material on the context, which is important for the understanding of the challenges and strategies discussed later. Respondents in both countries agreed that the multi-platform era brought many challenges for the public service media institutions in serving children. At the same time, it was understood as an era that offered 'huge opportunities' (UK53).

Chapter 8 aims to clarify how broadcasters viewed the audience they served and how they understood the purpose and opportunities of a multi-platform provision for children. First, the chapter draws out the similarities and differences in how broadcasters viewed their audience and their demands and interests, and reveals both differing and similar conceptions of the term 'childhood', but many similarities in regard to the child audience. Second, the chapter shines light on the similarities and differences in the opportunities that broadcasters perceived and how they defined the purpose of the new services and products of the multi-platform provision.

8.1 How broadcasters understand the audience

8.1.1 Three concepts – children, child audience, childhood

All respondents in this research had a certain concept of their audience, possibly because, as a BBC senior television and online producer argued, 'people who devote themselves to making programmes for children, wherever they are making them, have a very special awareness of their audience' (UK55). A mix of audience research data, online data analysis, communication with parents, personal intuition, experience of children, and personal childhood experiences were regularly drawn upon in their understanding of their audience. There were similarities and differences in how broadcasters conceptualised the child audience.

It is worth noting that all broadcasters under scrutiny here similarly held the view that they did not serve children or people during their childhood, but that they served specific children during a specific briefer time period, which was understood as the media childhood – the period when children were actually interested in content made for children. Although the two seem to be interrelated, the media childhood was conceptualised as a

much briefer period than the actual childhood of a human being.

Childhood itself was acknowledged as a 'very flexible'¹ (D30) concept. Yet most of the interviewees developed a similar compound construct of childhood, formed of three 'different categories'² of childhood (D30):

- 'real' childhood
- media childhood or a childhood 'in TV terms', a period when children were part of the child audience
- childhood as a state of mind

Firstly, all interviewees differed in their views on what this real childhood actually was. Respondents saw 'real' childhood as the period when children were not yet adults, not 'responsible for their own actions' or depended on adults (UK51). Respondents clearly disagreed about when childhood began and ended. Childhood began with birth (D30), before birth (UK51), when children were toddlers, but before two years (D32, UK55), or aged four years (UK53). Interestingly, most agreed that the real childhood differed from the childhood that broadcasters produced for (see below). As one senior BBC producer commented, 'In TV terms childhood is supposed to end at twelve; in reality I don't think it does' (UK55). Some described real childhood as a period that goes on until around 12 years old (D32, UK59), some until children were '15, 16 years old at least, and then it slowly transitions into adulthood'³ (D30), but many thought that it could last beyond that (D30, UK53, 54, 55, 59).

Secondly, it was argued by many that there was also a children's media or TV childhood (D30, 32, UK55), with its members referred to as 'TV children'⁴ (D30) or those children who feel at ease with being called a child (D30, UK55). Children in this period of childhood formed the child audience. Respondents agreed that the official children's media childhood, the age-range that public service broadcasters set out to address, had nothing to do with real childhood. It is noteworthy that respondents commonly distinguished between the official wider age remit: 'In TV terms childhood is supposed to end at twelve' (UK55), and the age range and upper age limit that programmes were actually made for, the 'sweet spot' (UK55), 8-10 years. Respondents held a common view, that this children's media childhood ended and children exited the child audience when children became independent and autarchic and felt inappropriately addressed when being called a child (D30, UK51). A time for that progression of

children was seen at around 9 to 10 years.

Somewhat contradictory to the above, at the same time interviewees agreed that childhood nowadays ended much earlier than in the past. A shortened childhood was generally something attributed negatively, whereas a prolonged childhood both for a child itself and for adults (see next paragraph) was understood as a positive thing for the person and the people they live and work with (D30, 32, UK54, 55, 53).

Thirdly, many respondents developed a category of childhood as a form of attitude or state of mind that is admirable but not achievable for everybody. It was referred to as a form of life-long childhood (UK59), or childhood until death (D30), or one that ended only when you became parent yourself (UK53), or never-ending as a sort of prerequisite of producers working in children's media (UK54, 55).

8.1.2 From cradle to grave vs the future viewer

There are several differences in the understanding of the concept of the child audience. First of all, there was a difference in which concepts broadcasters stressed when they thought about children's provision. BBC broadcasters leaned towards a more holistic concept of the audience, with both children and adults being part of it:

'Children's is the first place where parents or families start to engage with the BBC. And the objective behind children's is to take children on a journey with their parents and on their own with CBBC. And then into Knowledge and Learning, and then to other parts of the BBC. So, it is supposed to be kind of cradle to grave' (UK51).

In Germany, children were often conceptualised as the future audience of public service media (Stolte, 1989: 3); broadcasters stressed, for example, the concept of children as the future viewers. A senior policy executive explained 'this sounds pathetic, but [children] are always the future, I mean that is an important part'⁵, therefore, the children's multi-platform provision played a role on a 'politically-demonstrative, legitimacy level'⁶ (D27). This points to the dilemma of the public service children's provision in the wider public service context, being a core element of PSB and means for building future legitimacy at the same time. In Germany, the child audience clearly appeared to be of importance in the wider PSB context when it came to

considering the future legitimacy of PSB and addressing the public value of public service media. As put by KiKA's programming commission:

'Today's children are tomorrow's viewers. To offer to them attractive programming is a core remit of public service broadcasters. [...] Much research points to the fact that loyalty to a channel is built during childhood. Children who today watch the commercial channels, will probably prefer these channels also when they are grown ups. PSB cannot just accept to lose these viewers'⁷ (Programmkommission des ARD/ZDF-Kinderkanals, 1997, cited in Hermann, 2000: 22).

That children as a topic played this role for PSB is also indicated by one of the regular so-called 'public-value action[s]'⁸ of the ARD-network, with the title 'Children are Future'⁹ (Wolf, 2007). According to Wolf (2007: 113), this concept had been deployed by the ARD broadcasters in an effort to 'emphasise more intensively than before the added value of a public service programming ("Public Value"), where the strategies should build on the potential of existing societal acceptance in the area of credibility, seriosity and reliability'¹⁰. Building on Langenbacher (2003), Wolf maintained that the '[p]ublic-value-actions such as the thematic week "Children are Future" resulted in increasing popularity ratings'¹¹.

During this research, the 'future viewer' did not emerge as a theme in the UK context, only the concept of the children's provision as 'one of the jewels in the crown of the BBC' (UK14) also emerged from the interviews here. Yet, it is a concept of children that can be found in many societies; for example, Australian sociologist Don Edgar refers to it as the 'mantra "Children are our future"' (Edgar, 2011). In the UK, for example, children are sometimes being addressed as 'future citizens' (DCMS and DCFS, 2009).

8.1.3 The dual audience

Adults seemed to play a more important role in the conception of the BBC multi-platform child audience than in Germany. For the respondents at the BBC, the child audience was unsurprisingly thought of as a two-part audience, one consisting of preschool children, the other of schoolchildren. Significantly, the CBeebies audience was distinguished from the CBBC audience as a dual audience of parents and children, where 'you are predominantly [...] talking to parents' (UK51). CBeebies was described as 'largely [...] a family experience' (UK55):

'The 0 to 6 audience [...] is a dual audience. So it is about parents and children, hand in hand. So the parent is normally the first one to introduce the BBC to the child via the television channel and then online' (UK51).

Senior online producers pointed to the aim to offer content and services to a 'mixed audience' at CBeebies (UK55), both adults and very young children at the same time: '[W]e have got a grown-ups audience as well, that we know is there, because they help children to use the website [...] so we have to satisfy their needs as well' (UK53).

On the other hand, the older CBBC audience was described as a group of individual children who had been emancipated from their parents in regard to media use, and were therefore accessing BBC offerings independently and without any oversight by grown-ups (UK51, 53, 55, 57, 59).

In Germany, parents seemed to be less thought of as a core audience, often mentioned when it came to additional information about media literacy and parental approval. Yet, there is evidence for the understanding that at KiKA or ZDFtivi parents were believed to be within the 'wider target audience': 'Because of the lack of reading skills of preschoolers, parents can also be counted to the wider target audience'¹² (MDR and ZDF, 2010: 39). Similarly for very young and older children, parents were regarded as 'among the audience', but only played a separate role with separate secondary content directed at them within the small print in the footer of the website. The fact that some German broadcasters differed from their UK counterparts in their understanding of the role of parents in the child audience is also demonstrated by a source, which describes the separate parents' content:

'The offering kika.de is primarily directed at children and secondarily at their parents. The offering for parents is consciously placed in the footer, so that interested parents can reach it from every KiKA page, but it does not obstruct the children while using the offering'¹³ (MDR and ZDF, 2010: 39).

The source also gave an explanation for the separation of children and parents and suggests similar rationales as at the BBC:

'The older the children get, the more autonomously they want to use the Internet offering and separate themselves from their parents. Kika.de responds to this wish with the subtle placement of the parents offering'¹⁴ (ibid.).

8.1.4 Developmental stages vs three complex age groups

A difference in regard to the child audience is that German respondents more explicitly stressed the fact that the child audience was an increasingly fragmented (D21, 25) or increasingly 'complex' audience (D27). British respondents had an awareness of segmentation, but did not emphasize it and for CBeebies one argued, '[s]egmentation is less of a problem, it is still a mixed audience' (D55). Among German respondents, some understood the increasing fragmentation in terms of three different age-groups with their related demands and 'needs'¹⁵ (MDR and ZDF, 2010: 40). Broadcasters also justified certain new multi-platform services by citing the different needs of these age-groups. While in the 1990s, it was argued that 'children are a big and homogenous target audience, which regularly regrows'¹⁶ (Müller, 1998: 201), now broadcasters held that '3 to 13 is far from being a homogenous target audience'¹⁷ (D25), when pointing towards shortcomings in regard to joint services for all age-groups on TV and the opportunities offered by online to change how the broadcaster addressed them. However, a lot of individual variation was expected within 'the three heterogenous age groups'¹⁸ (MDR and ZDF, 2010: 40). Here, the BBC was pointed to as a role model and advantaged compared with KiKA in regard to addressing children with a more appropriately structured content output¹⁹ (D25, 28).

In the UK, another concept was more frequently used in relation to the different age-groups and their specific and differing needs, that of a system of certain developmental stages in a child's life. Respondents expressed the common belief that children go through certain developmental stages in life, although those stages could be individually different according to when children entered or exited them. Both TV and online provision had appreciated this. These developmental stages were conceptualised as stages, layers, steps or ability lines (UK51, 55, 59), and correlated in broad terms with the age of the child. Respondents here seemed to relate to a concept that was part of the 'philosophy of national public service broadcasting' since the 1960/70s (see Chapter 4.2.1). Every child was believed to go through all these stages, as put by a senior research executive: '[C]hildren are getting older younger. [...] that is true to an extent, but a six-year-old is still not like a 12 year-old [...] there are certain stages they have to go through' (UK59).

Respondents agreed that public service content and services would not work if they were not specifically designed for these different stages: 'If you are going to make a children's programme [...], if it is not made appropriately for the children of the age it is targeting, it won't succeed' (UK55).

Notably, it is argued that the 'developmental approach to learning and [...] cultural cohesiveness were [...] linked' and 'inserted into a comprehensive philosophy of national public service broadcasting' in the UK at that time (Buckingham et al., 1999: 35). By addressing children's *own* pattern of life through a concept of developmental stages, broadcasters also thought to 'help them integrate into the *national* "pattern of life" (ibid., italics not in original).

8.2 What children demand from a multi-platform provision

In regard to what children demanded from a multi-platform provision, there seemed to be one broad agreement. TV remained important in relation to a multi-platform provision (see Chapter 13.2.4). In regard to the kind of content and services children demanded, there was agreement among the respondents that children demanded a diverse mix of content: entertainment, information and social media. Furthermore, children's demand for 'games', 'videos' as well as 'brands' was expressed by many, as well as parents' demand for education and fun content (D21, UK51). It was argued that many parents 'think that their children should be having fun as well as having that educational component' (UK51).

8.2.1 Entertainment and fun

Games and videos

First of all, the interviewees similarly held the view that children were most interested in entertainment and fun, especially games, because 'they love them' (UK55). As put by BBC respondents: 'I think with CBeebies, [...] the younger audience [...] they just want to play, and they want to play with their favourite brands and get the most out of them' (UK53). Regarding school-aged children, one respondent argued, 'I think for the other ages it is more

about fun. At the end of the day children still like to have entertainment and fun' (UK51). German respondents also stressed the importance of it: '[T]hey are looking a lot for games and fun, although there is a difference between what boys and girls look for, [...] girls are looking a lot for communication'²⁰ (D21).

In both countries respondents pointed to the importance of 'games and videos' (D28, UK51): 'We know that from research, it is games and videos that children are mostly looking for; those are the two driving powers. And through those two content types they come to the other content we have'²¹ (D28). '[T]hey come online looking for a brand that they are familiar with', was similarly stated by a BBC senior online producer: 'And what we are also seeing is, when they find their brand they then play the game as well as looking at the video' (UK51).

Games and brands

A difference at the BBC was that respondents emphasised children's demand for brands: 'Everything has got a brand focus, that is what for children look for' (UK53). This was echoed by another senior online producer:

'Games and brands is predominantly how people come into our sites. [...] within children I would say that 50% of the audience that comes in, comes in for the games that we have. And then the other percentage of the audience comes in for the brands that we have. So when you combine the games and the brands together, that is what gives us our big driving power' (UK51).

German respondents did not speak of brands, when they formulated children's specific interests, yet, some argued, 'children are interested in favourite programmes and protagonists'²², and 'favourite stars' (IV33; Programmdirektion Erstes Deutsches Fernsehen, 2010: 90).

8.2.2 Information and news

Secondly, children were seen to show a strong demand for information and news, including information about TV programmes. Respondents similarly emphasised the importance of news and information for children and argued that the online service as a source of knowledge 'is absolutely paramount for children'²³, and that children were looking for 'valid

information²⁴ (D21). As explained by a German senior online producer:

[A] very big demand, thank God, also for text content. They also really read the articles [on children's news site]. They don't just watch videos, [they are] also very important, but the [children's news site] clicks are mostly generated by articles. So, not only the modules or games or whatever, but they really read on it²⁵ (D05).

At the BBC it was similarly maintained that 'there is nothing like news to kick off interest in things, which a magazine show like *Blue Peter* – or some of the other factual entertainment content we do – can address' (UK57). At ZDF, the news programme *Logo* was 'one of the most successful offerings, definitely',²⁶ showing times of 'thematic ups and downs'²⁷ (D28), because specific 'subjects such as environmental issues' were 'very, very important to children'²⁸ (D28). The same observation was made at the BBC: '[A] quarter of our traffic online is through *Newsround*. So that is huge, that means that every week a quarter of a million children are coming to News stories. They look for information really a lot' (UK57).

In both countries, the demand for information was understood to be frequently related to school work and was 'demanded much less during the holidays'²⁹ (D21, 34, UK57, 59),

8.2.3 Social media

Thirdly, in both countries, respondents stressed the point 'that children love social media' (UK52). At SWR and ZDF the respondents specifically emphasised the importance of social media for children, at KiKA an importance for some children (D21, 26, 28). For some the demand was age-related (D28), for others less so, but saw historically a bigger demand from girls, with boys catching up (D21): 'Everybody who is ten plus, for them chats, homepages, exchanging views, [getting] in contact, are extremely important. For those below ten, nine, less so'³⁰ (D28). A difference at the BBC was that children were also believed to widely use third platforms, such as MSM, Facebook, fan-sites of TV programmes and online games sites, such as Moshi Monster, Club Penguin. As put by a respondent, 'Having an avatar-based personal representation of yourself, I think, is something that kids really understand and want' (UK51).

None of the German respondents pointed to commercial online games sites. There was also disagreement over whether or not children used Facebook

accounts. German respondents had differing views, some thought it only to be 'young people [...] who are on Facebook'³¹ (D23), but who were too old to engage with the broadcaster's content; some thought children would use it, although 'illegally' (FN03). At the BBC, children were regarded as a Facebook audience. It was held that children 'even though you have to be 13, 14 to have a Facebook account – they will have a Facebook account. Or they will have access to a parent's or an older sibling's Facebook account to interact with' (UK59).

8.3 The overall purpose of a multi-platform provision

The same remit

When it comes to describing the purpose of a multi-platform provision, in one regard, on a more macro level, broadcasters in both countries seemed to agree. Both public service broadcasting systems were seen to be built on a similar core purpose or remit, which can be described as to educate, inform and entertain, plus in the German context to advise. German respondents clearly expressed that 'in the area of multi-platform the purpose or remit of PSB does not change',³² but continued 'to educate, inform and entertain' children (D25). Similar views emerged from ZDF sources: 'According to the remit in § 11 Broadcasting State Agreement, tivi.de is an offering that serves the information, education, advice and entertainment of children'³³ (ZDF, 2010a: 40).

Similarly, at the BBC, it was argued that this core purpose had not changed in the multi-platform era. As put by a BBC respondent:

'The remit of the BBC is to educate, inform and entertain. And that is very much at the heart of everything we do; it is the same for children as it is for adults. So whatever we do on whatever platform, that is what we aim to do. So, the platforms [...] simply give us other opportunities to carry out our mission as public service broadcasters, content providers, regardless of the platform. And they all provide different opportunities' (UK52).

Another respondent argued similarly in regard to launching new games in HTML5: 'They are all just using new technology, but it is just the same core purpose that we are trying to fulfil' (UK53).

Fulfil the remit better

Although respondents agreed about the same overall purpose and remit in the multi-platform era, the research has shown that there were also considerable differences in how broadcasters understood the purpose and opportunities of a multi-platform provision. There are differences on both a broader level, and on a more detailed level.

On a broader level there was one notable difference. There was agreement among British respondents that the multi-platform approach brought real improvement for fulfilling the PSB remit. Most respondents pointed to an improvement in the areas of entertainment and learning. For example, one senior online producer said:

‘Numtums, which was a pretty full multi-platform project [...] that launched early this year, the idea could not have worked on television alone as kind of a truly learning numbers idea. [...] And what we were about to do on mobile screens [was] to help children to get a fully rounded learning experience, which, I suppose, isn’t changing our public service remit, but it is really fulfilling it as a whole. We are teaching very young children of one and two, sometimes it is their first experience with numbers and number repetition and playing with numbers, which you can’t do just by watching’ (UK53).

This view echoed earlier BBC sources, for example, what was put forward by director-general Thompson, who had argued that in the area of education and learning it was only through online media that the BBC would finally be able to fulfil its remit as a whole (Thompson, 2006a; see Chapter 7.3.1). This idea that a previous provision might have under-served some aspects of the remit, or that only now was it possible to serve the remit in full, did not arise in any of the German interviews.

8.4 Interaction/participation vs interaction/communication

Also on detailed level, there were several differences in the broadcasters’ understanding. In phase 4 (2010-12) at the BBC, the concepts of interaction/participation and learning represented the central emphasis, both among respondents and in the documents analysed. According to the BBC Trust, ‘Interactivity should underpin the service, with continuous interactive content at its core’ (BBC Trust, 2012c: 2). In Germany, participatory concepts appeared to reflect a general enthusiasm for the Web for democracy, characteristic of earlier periods of the multi-platform

era, and there was therefore still an emphasis on the interaction between children. At the BBC, interaction and participation was envisaged as taking place in four different categories: interaction between children and the BBC, between parents/carers and the BBC, among children, and among parents (UK51, 57, 59). At the BBC, interactivity was clearly understood as assisting two purposes: 'encouraging children to participate or to deepen their experience of a programme or topic' (BBC Trust, 2012c: 2). However, the concept of participation appeared less in the sense of participating in the wider world or interacting with other children, and more closely related to the idea of participating in the whole BBC endeavour and its content. This was probably also in response to the challenges and problems brought about by more direct ways of communication among children during earlier periods. The shift towards more safer forms of interaction that had begun in phase 3 (see Chapter 7.1.2) continued and was further developed. Direct interaction of children was now channelled into interaction with specific BBC content, utilising both old and new forms of audience interaction (such as *Bugbears*; games to explore the main idea of a TV programme, such as the *Beakeriser*; factual content; live phone-ins, video call-ins).

In the BBC's concept of social media for children, the addressing of both children and parents appeared to be of similar importance. As parents formed a central part of the CBeebies online audience. CBeebies was supposed to offer 'content for children under 6 as a shared experience operated by parents or carers' (BBC Trust, 2011c: 12), but also services that were directed specifically at parents, in order to impact on their child's online use and to '[e]nable all content to be categorised by age, so [that] parents can see the most suitable educational content relevant to their child' (BBC, 2012b:12).

8.4.1 Creating safer forms of interaction and participation

Social media for children

The research suggests that the BBC continued to search for and further develop safer forms of participation and social interaction for children. Social media content for children was understood less as social media talk/chat functionalities, but focused instead on four areas of more prescribed interaction: multiplayer games, personalisation, rewards and the

sharing of certain objects connected to BBC content (both among parents and children). The idea of children talking to children had moved into the background. Content sharing via personalised profiles, 'having a list of tags and interests, so that you can share your tags and interests with other children' (UK51), appeared especially important. The research suggests that an understanding of participation as in 'participate with the channel's output through innovative programmes, online offerings and use of interactive communications technologies' (BBC Trust, 2012c: 2) was regarded as a more important purpose than other forms of participation, such as enabling children to communicate with each other about other more external topics. Participation in this period appeared as interaction with BBC content and the ideas represented within the content. One example given for preschoolers was the animation brand *Tree Fu Tom*, 'developed in conjunction with child behaviour experts and movement experts', the Web application was described to be 'all about teaching movement and agility [...], a child can load up a webcam, sit in front of it, interact with their characters without really knowing they are actually [...] learning things' (UK59). Another senior online producer mentioned the Web proposition of life-action programme *The Story of Tracy Beaker* as an example for older children (UK57), which used the idea of games and 'collaborative narratives' to allow children to engage with the programme. They were regarded as 'really valuable things, which rarely are going to drive massive numbers, but that have a huge return for the audience that engages with them' (ibid.).

Social media for parents

As to communities on platforms outside the BBC infrastructure, this research showed that there were different strategies in regard to child and general audience. In regard to 'social aspirations that the BBC's other products, like obviously News and Sport, have [...] about sharing and social and Twitter and Facebook' (UK51), the objectives at BBC Children's differed a great deal, yet, communication on social media was emphasised for parents: 'In Children's, obviously, we have a Facebook interaction with parents on our CBeebies site, but that is about as far as we go with Facebook' (UK51). Third-party social applications for parents were clearly considered an important part of the BBC's objectives towards the child audience:

'[T]he ability for parents to communicate with other parents, so

enabling parents [to exchange] social objects. So if your child participates in game that is based around numeracy or literacy or creativity, being able to highlight those games for parents [...] So that they have a marker or a standard badge against them. A parent can then take those badges or social objects into Facebook to share [them] with other parents, so that the word gets around that there are educational content or literacy, numeracy or creativity type activities on the site' (UK51).

In the children's provision the overall trend was visible, that the BBC focused its social media activities for adults mainly on content-sharing and on external social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter. In 2011, the BBC announced: 'Standalone forums, communities, message-boards and blogs to be reduced and replaced with integrated social tools' (Huggers, 2011).

8.4.2 Continue building communities of communication

In the German context, interaction was emphasised not as personalisation, entertainment, sharing of objects or participating or engaging with PSB content, but here interaction was understood as communication. Often the image of communicating, talking children was evoked and a central concept was to provide a 'Community' for children, mostly understood as a chat community (D21, 25, 26, 28, 07) and therefore a 'space for communication'³⁴ (ARD, 2012a: 71). (Preschool children were supplied with a less explicitly described 'preschool portal'.) In the 'Community', children were seen to be given a chance to talk to each other (D21, 28), or to fictional characters in fictional blogs/chats (D28), or to the broadcasting departments (D26). The 2010 newly-introduced 'Community *my!KiKA*' ('mein!KIKa') was described with the established concept of a 'moderated community [where] children can inform and exchange themselves about favourite programmes and [favourite] stars on KI.KA and can make contact to children of the same age'³⁵ (Programmdirektion Erstes Deutsches Fernsehen, 2010: 90).

'The Community' in the German public service concept was a community of children, and the idea of parents communicating was not emphasised in the German sources. The participatory constructs aspired to by German PSBs were similar to those observable at the BBC throughout phase 2, before it had been shifting towards a more prescribed format of community in

phases 3/4. The idea of public service broadcasters providing a 'Community' seems to be built on a what, to German PSBs, was a very important concept: services in which people could 'inform and exchange themselves'³⁶ (ARD, 2010: 49), which was understood as part of the PSBs' remit to 'rebut social fragmentation'³⁷ (ibid). Understandings of participation as contributing or partaking seemed to still relate to concepts prevalent before the advent of digital media, as found in call-ins and mail-ins, for example. Now children were seen *uploading* their own content (drawings, audio, video) (MDR and ZDF, 2010: 41). Interaction was much less related to PSBs' brands than displayed at the BBC in this period, and it was the advising broadcaster, which remained an important concept in the ideas about multi-platform interaction. KiKA's general purpose was still expressed as 'to-go-person for preschool children until the transition to youth'³⁸ (ARD, 2012a: 71). Broadcasters highlighted this purpose typically for schoolchildren. While for many broadcasters, according to the respondents, the chat communities and social applications formed a central part of their children's proposition, other PSBs did not offer anything like it.

Playing and content-sharing communities

Notably, in this period the idea of community also emerged from the BBC context: 'CBBC and CBeebies will create a sense of community'. But here another idea of community was evoked, aimed at 'maximising the power of games, and promoting media literacy and online safety, increasing the content offered through partnerships within, and outside the BBC' (BBC Trust, 2011b: 20).

The community approach seemed to be focused on creating communities, as segments of the audience, where children could share similar interests in the BBC content, and allow children to find content they found interesting, and also to allow parents to 'see the most suitable educational content relevant to their child' (BBC, 2012b:12). Communities were envisaged as groups of children, of children and their parents and carers, and also as parents and carers as a separate audience community – but all gathering around BBC content. Whilst respondents agreed that community efforts for the younger age-groups tended to be aimed at both children and parents (on the CBeebies website and third-party social media), for the CBBC audience the communities were built around games and sharing content on profile pages (see Chapter 9.2.5).

8.5 Deeper exploration vs information and contextualisation

8.5.1 The information broadcaster

The research shows that information was the foundational concept upon which the German multi-platform provision for children was based. Thus, there is reason to argue that in this period the Internet was understood as an information platform rather than a content platform. German public service broadcasters were primarily understood as ‘information broadcasters’³⁹ (Landtag von Sachsen-Anhalt, 2010: 25) (the same term is also used in ZDF yearbooks). ARD Online was described as ‘foremostly information-oriented’⁴⁰ (ARD, 2004: 168) and the broadcasters’ role and remit was to produce ‘editorial-journalistic’⁴¹ content (ARD, 2010: 49). The 2009 broadcasting state agreement had formulated it as a prerequisite for all public service online content to be ‘journalistic-editorial produced and journalistic-editorial designed’⁴², but again confining it to only that range of journalistic-editorial content that was not ‘press-like’⁴³ (12. Rundfunkänderungsstaatsvertrag, 2009). This journalistic, informational paradigm or basic construct is quite different from that of the BBC. This is most clearly visible in the self-understanding of BBC Children’s as a creative network or ‘entertainment network’⁴⁴ (Michael Carrington, cited in Steemers, 2010a: 12, here addressing CBeebies).

Information as contextualisation

In Germany, information emerged as a central purpose for contextualisation, described as aiming ‘to offer background information to themes and programmes’⁴⁵ (SWR, 2012). For German respondents it was central to ‘offer additional information’⁴⁶ and ‘programme accompaniment’,⁴⁷ such as ‘additional information about actors, making-offs, background information etc.’⁴⁸ (D23, 25). As put by another respondent, ‘everything that can be offered to accompany the broadcast beyond the actual broadcast itself, specifically online, that is important’⁴⁹ (D25). Because German PSB online content was often stressed as generally being ‘editorial-journalistic’,⁵⁰ consequently it was also ‘offering both current as well as putting-in-context and deepening information’⁵¹ (ARD, 2010: 49-50). This approach was reflected in the child provision:

‘Tivi.de is a programme-accompanying offering [...], that can bundle themes and topics in a new context and can connect current with older topics, if this is useful for the better understanding of a topic or it can

better meet the circumstances of use of the child'⁵² (ZDF, 2010a: 37-8).

Also, the *information society* remained a frequently emphasised concept: 'tivi.de contributes to fulfilling the remit by enabling children to acquire the skills needed in the information society, and to take part in it'⁵³ (ZDF, 2010a: 40).

8.5.2 The entertainment network

Although contextualising and new connections of content and services on different platforms were also highlighted on the children's 'entertainment network', the BBC respondents did not share the above-mentioned German understanding of the whole multi-platform provision as mainly based on the idea of information or journalism, and the need of journalistic curation to deliver the context information to certain issues, in order to facilitate an 'opinion-forming'⁵⁴ process (ZDF, 2010a: 37).

When information and contextualisation were addressed in UK sources, it was more closely linked a) to the specific news provision, and b) to knowledge. Yet, it appeared to be equally important to provide children with entertainment. The balancing out of these ideas in the BBC provision can best be seen in the description of the purpose of BBC Online for children: 'It should reflect both entertainment and knowledge-building genres, introduce children to news, and encourage them to participate and create' (BBC Trust, 2011c: 12). Therefore, there was an acceptance for BBC online genres that entertained children, but did not explicitly build knowledge. News and non-news content appeared more distinct from each other than in Germany. The idea of information used in the German context, here seemed to be represented by the concepts of 'knowledge-building', education and learning.

Nevertheless, information as news was also important to the BBC provision. In both countries, broadcasters were clearly interested in deepening children's understanding of the world through news. In regard to a CBBC news service, respondents argued:

'Newsround is a really big property for us online. No one else does Newsround. And our website is like a junior BBC News really, providing loads of content sources. We know it is encouraged within classroom learning, we know it is encouraged for homework. [...] that Newsround element of us is quite strong as a public service' (UK59).

The concept of news and information at the BBC represented a more distinct concept vis-à-vis the important knowledge genres and, different to Germany, the Internet was primarily understood as a platform for *diverse* content.

Information vs exploration

Hence, there is reason to argue that the content paradigm among German PSBs was 'editorial-journalistic', whereas for the BBC it was probably *creative content* and *ideas*, where the production was described as 'a very creative space' with 'no shortage of ideas' (UK52), building on, what was once described as, a 'set of creative values' (Thompson, 2006a). From the audience perspective, exploration, rather than information, seemed the central concept here. It was not the concept of information, but the brand, the content and ideas carried by this content that were believed to be at the heart of this exploration. While German sources pointed to 'deepening information' (ARD, 2010: 49-50), BBC sources used the term 'to deepen their experience of a programme or topic' (CBBC Service Licence, BBC Trust, 2012c: 2). A BBC multi-platform provision 'should offer a rich array of related in-depth content' (BBC Trust, 2012c: 2), because, as argued by the respondents, 'children now – and very young children – they love their television programmes, but then they want to know more, they want to explore a programme or a brand more. And they'll go and look on another platform' (UK55). For some, 'deeper exploration' formed the main opportunity offered by multi-platform:

'The main opportunities are gaining a deeper involvement with and engagement with enjoying the [...] brand. [...] If it works well, a multi-platform environment will drive children from one platform to another. So they will watch the TV, then they will go on the computer and then they will work there for a while. Then they want to go back and watch the programme again' (UK55).

8.6 Entertainment and Learning

8.6.1 A lifetime of learning and play

During phase 4, while in Germany information appeared as the foundational concept of the children's multi-platform provision, at the BBC, it was entertainment and learning, alongside participation (see above). These ideas seem to have become almost inseparable by phase 4: 'It is imagination, it is fun, it is learning through play' (UK55), responded a senior BBC TV and online producer when describing the purpose of the online provision. The CBeebies and CBBC 'philosophy' *learn-through-play*, its variation *learn-and-play* and 'learning through fun' for older children (BBC, 2006a: 30) also appeared as the dominant BBC paradigm for the multi-platform provision during this phase. The children's departments' online provision was clearly seen as providing children on the one hand with 'education' (UK51) or 'learning content' (UK55) and on the other 'entertainment and fun' (UK51): 'We want to entertain young children with little intrinsic learning throughout' (UK53).

CBBC was described as having a 'particular focus on informal learning' (BBC Trust, 2012c: 1); CBeebies was thought to 'make a very important contribution to this purpose amongst its audience, and the service must have a very high level of educational output, including its interactive strand' (BBC Trust, 2012d: 3). However, this remit was clearly understood as distinct from the more formal educational remit of the separate learning department. Participatory, learning and entertainment and playing elements were understood as part of one concept.

Just fun and silly games

Entertainment and enjoyment, however, appeared in no respect subordinate to the purpose of learning; respondents agreed that children 'liked' games (UK51, 55, 57). As put by a senior online producer, '[a]t the end of the day children still like to have entertainment and fun' (UK51). The BBC saw '[i]ts role as providing content that encourages learning, supports understanding of the world and which makes children laugh' (BBC, 2010: 29-30). This attitude translated to the multi-platform provision. Also, the development of an online games platform, a so-called 'Games Grid' (BBC, 2012b:12), shows the continuing importance of entertainment in the multi-platform era.

Unlike the German context, playing content without a specific purpose of learning, 'just silly games' (UK55) or 'just fun games' formed an accepted and intentional part of the PSB provision. It was held that some games had a 'gentle purpose of creativity and play and a sort of community, but they are largely games, just fun games' (UK57). '[C]hildren love playing games online, even young children, they can't play sophisticated games, but they love them', argued also another senior TV producer. Another agreed: '[S]o we do build simple games that relate to some of the television brands, so that they can go online and they can play with those. So there is learning content and there is playing content' (UK55).

Stages of a child's evolution

Not only were multi-platform entertainment and games accepted as something to be provided by PSB, they were also seen as actively contributing to the aims and objectives of PSB. The research showed that with the move towards a multi-platform provision, one element became more important within the spectrum of public service entertainment: providing opportunities for competition and achievement in form of certain games and elements such as 'highscore tables' (BBC, 2012b: 12). Although not new to the PSB content for children, the scope of audience competition was new, and it now appeared firmly rooted in the established concept of children's developmental stages. Entertainment content was understood to contribute positively at various stages during the child's development and therefore appeared to be not less highly regarded by BBC respondents than, for example, its media educational undertakings. As put by a senior online producer:

'First [...] it is about developing fun, interactive, animations and games that kids can have fun with. But it is also about kids feeling that sense of pride and achievement. You have these different stages of child development in the psychology chart. And the early stages are all about proving who you are, you are proving to your parent that you are at a certain level [...]. And then as you get older, it is really about proving that you are on the same level or above your peer group, hence all [...] gaming things and the quiz question things. So you are starting to enter into that area of adulthood where you are ready to participate in a bigger and wider environment. So, I would say, that we are leading kids through those stages of evolution.' (UK51).

8.6.2 Conditional fun, entertainment as vehicle

The research has shown that, by phase 4, German broadcasters had developed a very different understanding of the opportunities and purposes in regard to learning and entertainment. Entertainment remained of secondary importance and, for some, entertainment was acceptable and necessary as ‘a vehicle’⁵⁵ (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2009b: 5), for reasons such as the opinion of KiKA’s governing board that ‘entertainment [...] especially for children is a prerequisite for attracting any attention at all for educational topics’⁵⁶ (Rundfunkrat des MDR, 2009a: 23).

There is reason to argue that broadcasters displayed a considerably more cautious attitude than they had displayed in earlier periods towards how a multi-platform provision, and specifically the online provision, could fulfil the entertainment remit that PSB clearly acknowledged⁵⁷ (see Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2009b: 10). The ‘pure fun’ and games for enjoyment purposes were now even regarded as illegitimate and outside the PSB remit for children. Whereas in this period some written sources expressed the legitimacy of enjoyment within the children’s provision, stating that ‘[g]ame elements are an important part of the children’s provision’⁵⁸ (ZDF, 2010a: 38), other sources said that the purpose of entertainment for the sake of entertainment was prohibited or restricted. For example, a senior online producer explained, ‘pure fun we are not allowed anymore’: ‘[A]fter the three-step-test we are not allowed to do games any more, which are only for fun. [...] Yet, I regard most of our games also as learning applications. Children learn something there’⁵⁹ (D21).

At ARD, for example, in the past, the online children’s provision was called ‘ARD-Online Play-Station for Kids’ (see Chapter 7.4), but in phase 4, games appeared to be a more serious business and had to be specifically justified by ‘higher’ aims. This was explained, for example, at KiKA: ‘The online games of KI.KA are directed only at children and serve the playful conveying of information and knowledge, promote diverse skills and contribute to the building of media competence’⁶⁰ (MDR and ZDF, 2010: 41).

8.6.3 Learning on the Internet

The research revealed considerable differences in what children were meant to learn by a provision on new platforms. At the BBC, the learning was described as ‘all the learning things that we traditionally think about children learning with their parents’ (UK51) and as shown above, learning was a key element of the online provision. In Germany, what was to be learned online was often seen as skills in relation to those ‘needed in the information society’ (ZDF, 2010a: 40), thus information or media literacy skills.

Handling the media and developing a child as a social individual

In Germany, new platforms seemed to have a more specific role to play in media education and lacked the wider social, cultural, democratic and developmental impetus of their precursors, TV and radio. For example, while the children’s TV channel KiKA was understood to have a much broader role to play as a ‘supporting power in their [children’s] development from preschool age until the transition to youth’⁶¹ (ARD, 2012a: 73), the same document envisaged a much narrower remit for KiKA’s online offerings:

‘From the telemedia offerings of KiKA, children learn the safe and right handling of the different forms of offerings on the Internet (chat, forum, greeting card system, voting, newsletter, upload-tools, social community, Mediathek etc.) and can co-create the offerings [...]. The KiKA programming and the KiKA online offerings orientate themselves towards the classical media pedagogy pillars: media critique, media knowledge, media use, media creation’⁶² (ARD, 2012a: 73).

Also at SWR, that had arguably always placed an emphasis on media education, it was expressed that an ‘important aim of the platform is to promote media competence among children’: ‘It is our responsibility as public service broadcasters to train the handling of analogue and digital media with playful offerings’⁶³ (SWR, 2012).

It seems as if there was agreement in Germany about the fact that the only way platforms like online media can – indirectly - contribute to PSBs wider cultural, social and democratic role was through educating children to handle and use media which would ultimately enable children to participate in their immediate social circles as well as in the wider social circle, the public. One ZDF source shows, how closely related the German concept of the ‘Community’ and ‘media competence’ were: ‘tivi.de promotes the

competence in the handling of the media, opinion-forming and stimulates them to exchange their opinions with others'⁶⁴ (ZDF, 2010a: 37). The ARD stated, media competence was even 'of ever greater importance'⁶⁵ (ARD, 2012b: 40), and it was now seen as the key competence for children for becoming socially-minded individuals. It was argued:

'For children, the education in media competence plays a very important role in the view of the broadcasters. The promotion of media competence not only increases their ability in the handling of different media, but above all the general competence to act, and helps to develop children and young people as socially acting individuals'⁶⁶ (ARD, 2010: 24).

There is therefore reason to argue that most German PSBs during this phase agreed that media competence building '[f]or children [...] plays a very special role' and formed a meta-rationale for almost all services directed at children on new platforms, from safe online environments and participatory elements to information content and lessons in netiquette and privacy (see ARD, 2010: 24).

It is noticeable that, although parents appeared not to have played the same role as part of the child audience, as they had at the BBC, in regard to media education, parents did indeed play a key role in broadcasters' understanding. To train parents as online guardians of their children was mentioned by many sources as an important goal to achieve by PSB. Even one of the more basically-designed child propositions, such as ARD.de's kinder.ard.de (basic, because it did not offer original content to children, but links to federal broadcasters' websites), it was explained that it had the objective to promote media literacy and 'offered parents important information about the child-appropriate use of the Internet in the family'⁶⁷ (ARD, 2010: 50).

Handling the media and popping balloons

BBC respondents also strongly expressed an awareness that a general purpose of the BBC was in the area of media education. Both the BBC and Ofcom were addressed as the institutions who had a remit in the promotion of media literacy. A senior BBC producer pointed to the BBC's and Ofcom's given remit to have 'a leading role in promoting media literacy and media education': [We] try and give children as many tools as we can to help them understand media, understand both the benefit and challenges and

dangers of engaging with different types of media' (UK52).

Yet, unlike their German counterparts, the respondents and the service descriptions did not point out media education or media literacy building as a central purpose or opportunity for a PSB multi-platform provision. Media literacy as a concept appeared to be much more implied as something that would be acquired automatically while using certain products and services (UK51, 53, 57). Respondents seemed to feel under no obligation to emphasise the BBC's commitment in media education; the only time that media literacy was explicitly mentioned by an interviewee was in regard to preschool children learning motor controls through PSB content:

'Some of them are just silly games, where for instance you race characters, pop balloons or do something. But at the same time they are learning motor control, they learn to use the mouse, they are learning their way around the keyboard. So media literacy is there as well. So even if it looks like they are just playing silly games, they are actually learning how to manipulate the computer' (UK55).

First steps on the Internet, or first steps in life

One concept used in both contexts in regard to education was that PSBs provided opportunities for children's 'first steps' on the Internet. In German sources this concept was widely used both for very young preschoolers and for older children, and the broadcasters seemed to play more of an active role in leading children through a process. How disparate the BBC and the German PSB approaches were in regard to education and how dominant the idea of Web-based education as a media literacy exercise, slowly evolving into Internet literacy, is shown in the following statement by a children's channel:

'Online means for KiKA: Future. The KiKA website is more than programming accompaniment, it is children accompaniment, is educational remit. The Children's Channel has to acquaint children with the Internet'⁶⁸ (KiKA, 2012).

The same idea was used at ZDF: 'tivi.zdf.de allows a gentle acquaintance with the Internet' (ZDF, 2010b). In contrast, at the BBC, the idea of multi-platform services assisting children in their first steps seemed to follow a wider concept of assistance, guidance and learning. For example, children's first steps related as much to 'first steps on social media' (UK51) as to 'teaching the first steps of learning a language' (UK53).

8.7 Creating a trusted and safe environment

Where respondents from both countries in phase 4 agreed, was the importance of the purpose of creating for children a 'safe online environment',⁶⁹ 'safe environment' (UK59,) 'child-proof environment'⁷⁰ (D23), 'safeguarded environment'⁷¹ (D28), built on the common belief that 'children need a safeguarded space for their Web activities'⁷² (SWR, 2012). A senior online producer in the UK explained that the main objective guarding the provision for preschool children was 'safety, so always have children in a safe place, where they are not being exposed to things that are going to give them strange attitudes to life [through] frightening experiences' (UK51).

Yet, the terms used to describe the rationale of the safe environment differed. In Germany, respondents were talking about 'child and youth protection' (D27, 28) or just 'youth protection'⁷³ although children were addressed (D22, 25, 29), while in the UK challenges were called 'safety issues' (UK52), 'child safety' or 'Internet safety' (UK51) 'online safety' (UK53) or often just 'safety' (UK51, 54). There is reason to argue that safety appeared to some respondents as a more important purpose for the provision on new platforms, because of the feedback from their audience and the perception that children and parents were experiencing horrors, terrors and fears and confusion (D21, 26, 30, UK59) about harmful content and privacy issues, while encountering new platforms: 'For a lot of the younger age-groups especially, there is a fear from the parental side [...] what their children can access online. They hear all these horror stories' (UK59).

In both countries, safety and privacy was therefore also seen as some form of advantage for PSB offering a safer alternative for children than other online offerings and being 'an incredibly trusted brand' in that regard (UK59). As similarly put in Germany:

'For the parents, that is an incredibly great security, because they say, Facebook, who knows what my child does there and what it faces there. But when they go into the Kindernetz-Community, there the parents simply trust it and will say, This is the SWR, so there they won't educe any data from us'⁷⁴ (UK21).

8.8 Integration and interlinking

The research has shown that one opportunity and purpose that was specifically emphasised in the multi-platform history in the German context

was the interlinking and bundling of the propositions of the different federal broadcasters and the ZDF (Chapter 7.6). Although, this purpose was not unheard of at the BBC, here integration carried a different meaning: 'On the web, the BBC can give the most integrated account of itself across text, audio, video and, over time, across an archive of almost everything it has broadcast since its foundation' (BBC, 2010: 35).

Still in phase 4, German broadcasters regarded as one purpose and opportunity of the new platforms to offer some form of bundling, integration and curation that would enable a better 'orientation' and use of the many services and products on offer. Interlinking/integration and accompanying still appeared as the two main functions of a multi-platform provision. There were several 'mid level' (D33) bundling services between ARD-broadcasters and ZDF. This 'bundling and networking function'⁷⁵ (ARD, 2010a: 49-50) was part of the purpose of the general services as of the children's propositions. It was stated that services such as 'kinder.ARD.de, BR Kinderinsel, ARD Checkeins, SWR Kindernetz.de and ZDF Tivi and kika.de [have] a cross-programme and bundling function'⁷⁶ (Rundfunkrat des Mitteldeutschen Rundfunks, 2010: 63).

However, the views about the purpose and the need of an integrated service for the child audience differed. At ARD it was argued that '[t]here is not one roof portal', and it was questioned if the child audience demanded it (D33); other respondents pointed to a need for a service that bundled or integrated services (D26); some demanded integrated services that offered the child audience information about public service content and services for a better orientation (D21). Again in other documents, MDR's director-general described KiKA as having a special purpose in this regard. Kikaninchen.de was to be functioning as 'online-roof-brand for the public service preschool provision by linking through to the preschool offerings of all broadcasters (ARD and ZDF)⁷⁷ (Udo Reiter, cited in Gremienvorsitzendenkonferenz der ARD, 2009: 17). Similarly put in a later sources:

'The further interlinking of the telemedia offerings with the linear programming as an essential part of the development work at KiKA has been continued and pushed forward. It is the aim to allow children the entrance to the public service media offerings on all for children relevant platforms'⁷⁸ (ARD, 2012a: 71; also, MDR, 2011: 26).

Therefore, there is reason to argue that still in phase 4 there seemed to be disagreement about whether a central PSB bundling service for children in Germany was needed and if so how it would best be designed.

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Chapter 9 – Strategies

Introduction

This second chapter of Part 3 examines the strategies of the broadcasters in creating a multi-platform provision for children and shows how broadcasters differed in their approaches to serving their audience.

There are certain differences and similarities in how publicly-funded public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany undertook the transition from broadcasting to a multi-platform provision for children in the period 2010 to 2012 (phase 4). First, this chapter compares how the transformation to a multi-platform provision was understood. Secondly, it identifies the strategies towards a multi-platform provision for children at the BBC. Thirdly, it identifies the strategies of the German broadcasters.

9.1 Understanding the overall transformation

9.1.1 Broadcasting to 4 screens vs linear to non-linear

There was a significant difference in how respondents described the overall strategy during the implementation of a multi-platform provision. This suggests that broadcasters in the two countries thought very differently about the overall transformation and the quality and characteristics of the challenges and opportunities deriving from it.

Comparing the current children's provision with the past, the BBC respondents spoke of a transformation from broadcasting to '4 screens' or from linear broadcasting to several 'platforms' or 'multi-platform' (UK51, 52, 53, 57). The term 'linear television vs interactive' was used by most of the respondents to describe those two poles. The hardware device (to some extent also the frontend application, such as iPlayer) emerged as a central concept in the understanding of current strategies. Respondents would speak about strategy in connection with the ways that the audience used and interacted with services on certain devices. The 4 screens paradigm seemed to lead respondents more often to talk about the multi-platform strategies from an audience's perspective, whereas their German counterparts saw the transformation more from a broadcaster's perspective.

There is reason to argue that German broadcasters were still more bound to previous constructs. The terms they used to describe the transformation were from 'linearity' to 'non-linearity' (D21, 22, 24, 32, 33) and from broadcasting to 'trimedia' (D21, 22, 32). At KiKA, respondents described the multi-platform provision as 'bimedia' and 'multimedia', typical terms used for innovative media in earlier phases. The transformation must therefore broadly have been seen as one from one medium to three, TV to TV/Radio/Online (trimedia) or to TV/Online (bimedia). The terms 'multi-platform' ('multi-plattform') or the equivalent to 'interactivity' ('Interaktivität') were uncommon in Germany. The often used BBC term 'interactive' was only used by one respondent in regard to one specific Web module (D28) and by another one to refer to one of the earliest forms of online content in the 1990s (D21). On the other hand, 'non-linear' and 'trimedia' were terms not common in the British context.

The different rationale towards the transformation among respondents suggests that the transformation was less thought of from the audience's perspective than from the broadcaster's. This attitude was also concluded by a senior policy executive:

'We come from the classic media landscape, which was and still is primarily organised in two categories: Television and Radio [...] And the development towards and in the Internet has long been secondary, in the beginning [...] like an annexe. And certainly, because of the digital developments, the convergent development becomes more and more important. [...] But [...] one should not hide the fact that the present structures and the world we come from and the concepts that worked then, in the thinking and also in the developing of programmes, still play a very significant role. And that leads to the fact that such a thing as [...] thinking from the target audience's point of view or just from the emphasis on the content is not something that is being done yet. But [it is being done] rather autochthonously from the different types of media [platforms] and then increasingly in the form of a link-up and networking towards a multimedia overall proposition'¹ (D29).

Contrastingly, in the UK, thinking from the audience's point of view very much characterised most strategic concepts stressed. One respondent pointed out that strategic concepts used certain terms purposefully: 'Language is really important [...] we think of [and] we are always talking about four screens' (UK59). The strategic objectives set out in the *Connected Strategy* for the overall BBC provision resonated clearly in how interviewees described the BBC's children's strategies. In 2011, BBC's Director of Future Media had envisaged 'the emergence of a post-PC world' and suggested 'embracing it as an opportunity to reach our audiences on

whatever “piece of glass“ they choose to use, with an experience appropriate for each device’ (Rivera, 2011). For example, a BBC online producer maintained that ‘change is not about more content, but about getting content out on more screens’ (UK51). The strategy was also reflected in the accessibility of CBBC and CBeebies services through PCs, television sets, games consoles and, over the period of this research, increasingly also through mobile tablet and smartphone devices. The idea of the 4 screens emerged as a key concept in this phase also in regard to research:

‘We have just launched a big project to look across digital in a broad sense, to try and figure out the current habits, lifestyles, having to interact with different products, having to interact between the four different screens, trying to give us an image to what a typical child’s life is now digitally’ (UK59).

Devices were conceptualised as four different types of screen devices (PC, TV, tablet PC and phone screen) and the different types of distributional contexts behind these devices: television (cable, satellite, terrestrial and over Internet Protocol), desktop and mobile PC, fixed and mobile broadband. It was not only the hardware devices that played a central role in the understanding of the multi-platform strategy, but also certain software applications, described as ‘enablers’ (UK51). In regard to the distribution on four different types of screen devices and connections between these devices, iPlayer was named as an important component and according to an interviewee ‘gave the BBC a real head-start on the whole kind of cross-platform thing’ (UK51).

9.2 UK strategies

9.2.1 Prioritisation of the children’s provision

The first element of the BBC’s multi-platform strategy for children in that period, the prioritisation of the children’s provision, was brought about by two factors. First, a strategic aim resulting from the decision of the BBC Trust and the BBC to safeguard and promote children’s content to one of the ‘Executive’s five editorial priorities: news, children’s, knowledge, UK drama and comedy’ (BBC Trust, 2012a: 5). Secondly, there was a new online strategy which consolidated the BBC’s online provision to ‘ten products across four screens’ (BBC, 2012b: 4), two of which were CBBC

and CBeebies. The rationale behind both strategies arose from fundamental budgetary readjustments at the BBC in that period in response to the licence fee settlement. The aim was

‘to protect largely those services and content that provide the most value to licence fee payers: those that deliver the BBC’s public purposes to large audiences, such as BBC One and BBC Two, the BBC’s main network radio stations and online offering, as well as the BBC’s news output, its children’s services, and national and regional content’ (BBC Trust, 2012a: 6).

One of the BBC’s priorities now was to provide ‘outstanding children’s content’ by ‘[d]elight[ing] and surpris[ing] young audiences - helping children explore their world in a safe public space’ (BBC, 2010: 8). Both the BBC and the BBC Trust supported this decision and the Trust pushed for an ‘increase in funding for children’s services, itself a response to the Trust’s review of those services’ (BBC Trust, 2010a: viii).

The guardians of BBC values

Among the interviewees, there was a strong awareness of this internal prioritisation and the ‘fortune’ of the children’s provision as opposed to the ‘30 or 40%’ cuts that affected other areas: ‘The recent cuts protect children, protect children’s online and linear broadcast provision. [...] “Children’s” is one of five editorial priorities of the BBC’ (UK52). A senior producer referred to the BBC Trust as ‘the guardians of the BBC values’ (UK55), another held:

‘[T]he BBC switched to a new approach to multi-platform [...] ten-product, one-service, four-screens [...]. And given that two of the ten products that are the core of the BBC service [are] two children’s products with CBeebies and CBBC, clearly [shows] children’s multi-platform activity or content for children across all platforms is one of the central tenets of what the BBC now stands for. There are five priorities on a content level at the BBC, one of which is children’s content. So that is now built into the fundamental purpose of the BBC for audiences’ (UK57).

Another senior producer reflected on the impact of the decision on the multi-platform strategy:

‘[T]hey worked out that the treasures of the BBC that need to be protected are things like BBC Knowledge, BBC Children, amongst obviously News and all the others. And that was great to hear, that there was still that protection there for children’s programmes. And the BBC is – we talk about cuts – but [the BBC] is in a very, very fortunate position still to have big funding for its children’s

programmes. Nobody is going to deny that we are fortunate in that respect. And actually to have the BBC Trust saying and publishing the fact that children's is one of the five editorial priorities means that although we are still going to get cuts, we know that we are not going to suffer in the way that some other children's departments have in other places. And there is a lot of investment in technology and in the interactive possibilities and now – onwards and out from there – not just a website, but dual-screen opportunities, mobile and tablet devices, and all of those kinds of things' (UK55).

First of all, the increased centrality of children's services within the renewed BBC strategy as one of the five editorial priorities and two of the ten online products had a strengthening impact on the multi-platform output and how it was perceived externally and internally. Respondents in the governance context found a 'very, very strong presence online through the CBBC and CBeebies on the Internet' and a 'very healthy state' of children's products and services at the BBC in that period (UK56). The prioritisation seemed also to have an impact internally. Among the broadcasters interviewed, this reflected on how they related their work to other BBC services. A sense of the importance of the children's provision was articulated in many interviews, for example, in the view that BBC children's multi-platform services formed the first 'exposure and experience from a very early age [to the BBC's values and purposes] that is to inform, educate and entertain', and the multi-platform provision was described as a life-long companionship (UK51, 57).

Secondly, investment was being made. The BBC had already planned to maintain the levels of investment in original content production for children in the preceding period, but in addition to this previous budget protection, in 2010, it announced a £10m increase in the yearly investment in children's programming (BBC, 2010). For the children's channels this new strategy therefore resulted in an increase in absolute spending after the strategy reviews. According to the BBC Trust, the safeguarding of the investment in children's content meant 'that the proportion of the licence fee spent on children's output (excluding productivity savings) will be higher than currently [in 2012]' (BBC Trust, 2012a: 12, see online budgets below). The yearly expenditure in 2011 had been £99.2 million (CBBC) and £39.7 million (CBeebies), and the planned (and actual) expenditure for 2012 increased to £107.3 million (CBBC) and £42.4 million (CBeebies) raising to £108.7 and £43 million in 2013 (BBC, 2012a: F8; BBC 2013, 2014).

9.2.2 Consolidation and reorganisation towards a multi-platform provider

The second element where the BBC's multi-platform strategy for children showed clear differences from the German PSBs, was reorganisation and consolidation. In this phase, the BBC had ultimately transformed into a multi-platform provider with an output across several platforms, and made a clear statement regarding the importance of the Internet for the broadcaster:

'The internet is now the BBC's third core medium, joining television and radio as a critical part of the way that it meets its public purposes. [...] As the internet comes to the living-room through television sets, it will become more important still - and indeed, one day, may be the only platform and delivery system that the BBC needs to fulfil its public purposes. - The internet is not an optional extra, then; it is the future for the BBC, just as it is for the rest of the broadcasting and communications sectors' (BBC, 2010: 35).

This period at the BBC is regarded as 'one of the most significant periods of readjustment in its history' (BBC Trust, 2012a: 1), because major readjustments to both budgets and strategies took place, reflecting the 2010 licence fee settlement, and included a new multi-platform strategy. The aim was to deliver 'a more distinctive online service with clearer boundaries and objectives' (BBC Trust, 2010a: viii). Respondents explained that the multi-platform strategies had moved thinking towards prioritisation, distribution across multiple platforms and an audience focus (UK51, 53, 57). The relevant strategy reviews during this readjustment period were the 'two-year-long transformation plan' (BBC, 2012b: 3) *Putting Quality First*, proposed in 2010, evolved into a 'review of BBC's cost base' *Delivering Quality First* in 2011, (BBC Trust, 2010a: 23), followed in 2010/11 by major readjustments to the overall service. Characteristic of this period remained the established concept to 'focus on doing "fewer things better"' (Huggers, 2010).

Later, a new three-year strategy for BBC's online and digital television (Red Button) activities, the *Connected Strategy* (Rivera, 2011), was announced, which consolidated the BBC's overall output (Huggers, 2010). The BBC decided to deliver part of the savings resulting from the 2010 licence fee settlement through a 25% (equivalent to £34m) reduction of the annual BBC Online budget by 2013/14 (BBC Trust, 2011b: 16), and through this aforementioned 'reorganised service, based around fewer core sections which focus on those areas which are most valued by users' (BBC Trust, 2012a: 24). As the main functional changes for BBC Online, the BBC

reduced the number of online products 'from around 60 to 10' (BBC Trust, 2011b: 6) – CBBC and CBeebies were two out of the ten consolidated online products (others were Home, Search, News, Sport, Weather, iPlayer & TV, Radio & Music and Knowledge & Learning) (BBC Trust, 2011b: 16; Rivera, 2011). Also, the top level domains (sub-websites of bbc.co.uk/) were being reduced 'from around 400 to 200' (BBC Trust, 2011b: 6):

For the BBC, the Web now 'ha[d] become more than just a distribution platform' (BBC, 2012b) and hopes were high at the BBC, that the strategy would 'do for digital and connected devices what the Coronation did for TV' (p. 3): 'We are now focused on getting our content on to multiple devices, anytime, anywhere. We want to use the internet as a medium that is social, interactive and non-linear' (BBC, 2012b). The *Connected Strategy* clearly resonated in the interviews as a multi-platform strategy that was implemented for content and services for children, as it was for those directed to the general or adult audiences. The interviewees consistently referred to this overall concept:

'We have what we call a *Connected Strategy* [...] and that strategy is one service, ten products across four screens. So the objective is to try, from each product's perspective, to get the message out there across the four screens. So, as well as desktop, we have big ambitions to get us [...] on to mobile and tablet. But also [...] on IPTVs, as well as the Red Button connections' (UK51).

Consolidation and budget cuts

Savings and cuts were element, both limit and catalyst, for the reorganisation process. The licence fee settlement reached with the government in October 2010 meant '£700 million a year of savings by 2016-17' or an 'equivalent to around 20 per cent of the licence fee' (BBC Trust, 2012a: 4). Budget cuts were realised as productivity savings, but also as savings in regard to content and services, resulting also in services being closed down (e.g., the teen services Blast and Switch). For BBC Online it meant a consolidation of the number of services the BBC offered online, a development which also impacted the children's provision. On an individual content level it meant a move towards prioritisation on 'big' brands. 'Everything has a brand focus' (UK53), argued a senior online producer. This was also echoed by the BBC Trust: 'CBBC and CBeebies will focus on big brands, reducing the number of bespoke programme sites' (BBC Trust, 2011b: 20).

In regard to budgets, the BBC online activities for children were generally being affected by lower reductions than other areas (BBC Trust, 2011b: 18), but, according to the Trust, still resulting in a (cash) budget reduction from £8m in 2010/11 to £6.6m in 2013/14 (p. 16). Editorially the BBC expressed the aim of 'Creating content for the web only, where it fits one of the five content priorities and is high quality and distinctive: for instance, an impartial news service free at the point of delivery' (BBC, 2010: 36).

9.2.3 Changes to production organisation, creative process and teams

Unlike the German approaches, the adult and child provision by the BBC formed parts of the same strategy compound and were therefore affected by similar organisational changes. For example, online-only brands became a concept of the past and from phase 4 the BBC aimed to create a provision where all content functioned as cross-platform content, with brands spanning multiple platforms.

New forms of managerial thinking, project management and collaborative techniques were introduced to production management and development, and covered the children's production too. Product management processes were introduced to enable staff 'to think more strategically about developing our online presence' and find 'better ways of working together' (Huggers, 2010). Because of the way that children's websites and other services were now produced and managed, responsibilities were changing between technology, design and editorial staff and between television and interactive teams.

From programmes to projects, to brands, ideas and experiences

The way that PSB content was described at the BBC also changed. In this period, the central role of the TV programme in a broadcasting context dissolved further, and the way that PSB content was thought of changed considerably. Online content and services for children (as for other audiences) were now referred to not only as projects or brands, but also as ideas, experiences and products.

In 2011, a seminar at the *Voice of the Listeners and Viewers* interest group asked, 'Children's Programmes – Out of Date in the Digital Age?' (Voice of the Listener and Viewer, 2011). For online products and services, product

management techniques also changed how the online provision was conceptualised:

[BBC Online] no longer build websites which are published and which sit unattended and slowly degrade; products will be managed within a life cycle. This could mean a gradual addition of new features, new content, new releases, but also includes the ultimate decommissioning of a product' (Huggers, 2010).

The understanding of children's interaction with BBC content was also subject to change with the 'programme' evolving into 'idea' and 'experience' (UK51, 53-59), or, in the words of the head of BBC's Future Media department, 'personalised, interactive and social experiences' (Rivera, 2011). Producing experiences and ideas instead of programmes meant that content was conceptualised in its variations on the various platforms and in ways for the audience to experience it. As put by a respondent:

'If you are developing a new idea for content for the channel, you have your TV development team, but you also bring in an interactive content development producer as well. So that as the idea evolves you have it working not just on a linear route for television, but you also get a much deeper exploration of the idea. [...] As we begin to work on the development, we'll always build the interactive idea alongside it. So that is what we mean by multi-platform' (UK55).

This phenomenon represented another step in the evolution of children's PSB content. In phase 2, the BBC had moved away from just producing programmes to creating projects (see 'bundled projects' in Chapter 6). In the present phase, respondents explained that they produced ideas and experiences (for evolution of 'idea' in preschool production ecology, see Steemers 2010c). As stated by a senior online producer:

'Years ago, our remit was to provide television programmes for young children on CBeebies and CBBC. They were fully public service and entertaining and educational, and that has shifted and changed and our strategy has moved out a lot. And our remit has moved [...] into providing a wide range of digital experiences for young children. [...] For example, if we've got an idea, we are trying to work a lot more in ideas rather than TV shows, because that changes the emphasis of what we do with that idea; we don't just naturally see what works on telly and then see what happens with the rest of the website and all the screens' (UK53).

The BBC Trust also used similar terms to describe the multi-platform provision: 'Both products will deliver more personalised online experiences through rich user journeys within each product, between the two products, and beyond' (BBC Trust, 2011b: 20).

Brand and idea, for some respondents, seemed to be interchangeable when talking about strategy. Therefore, apart from a commercial interest common to brands, there is reason to argue that brands also gained in importance for other reasons, namely for organising content to work across multiple platforms under one overarching coherent idea. Some respondents argued that the BBC aimed at ‘creating ‘big multi-platform ideas, that really feed into each other, so that you have got a really strong brand’ (UK53). The same respondent also explained how idea and brand came together:

‘To me, an idea is developing a brand and characters and everything. What is intrinsic to our strategy is we know that the biggest successes that we have are around our big brands that appear on television, appear online and appear on all screens; and some will start online, some will start on – most – 99% will start on television or be on television as well as on other devices. And it is that looking at the idea in its purest form first’ (UK53).

Multi-platform model – fewer brands not more diverse

As the research has shown, children’s brands and branded characters have been a characteristic of the BBC’s children’s provision from early on (see Chapter 4.4.1). The research suggests that at the BBC during this period, brands, as well as ideas, were seen as a form of organisational module to enable a more integrated production and distribution and prioritisation of the children’s provision, but also to enhance usability of the output for users. At the German PSBs a similar development took hold, although ‘brand’ was not the term used here: respondents referred to similar concepts of ‘flagship formats’, ‘flagship projects’² and ‘highlight projects’ (D28), and ‘prioritisation processes’² (D30). On the other hand, the brand focus might also be a reflection of a general professionalisation of storytelling and the result of more commercialised production processes in the overall children’s content provision, the increasing amounts of content available to children, and the role of independent producers and rights owners in the public service production ecology. However, the research can clearly show that the ‘big brands’ that respondents referred to were not overall brands in a commercial sense, directed at international distribution or those that ‘travelled well’, but public service brands built around key public service goals such as live-action drama series *Tracy Beaker*. This brand, based around the adventures of children at an orphanage in the UK, included a range of content and web-based applications such as the ‘Beakeriser’ for

children to engage with content and the specific challenges of the characters. That public service goals are also in a multi-channel, multi-platform era not automatically given up, because of content having more universal and brand characteristics (see also Chapter 3.5) may be exemplified in that period by factual natural history cross-platform brand *Deadly 60*.

Brands as tools to organise a coherent approach across platforms that BBC Children's had adopted in the previous phase 'in order to secure more audience impact and enhance quality perception' (BBC, 2008: 10; on coherent design for children's 'sense of place', see also Messenger Davies, 2004) and to consolidate a provision by prioritising certain brands, brought about by the strategy of 'fewer, bigger, better', is partly a continuation of a broader phenomenon characteristic of digital strategies in this period. An understanding of multi-platform that had initially been described as to 'focus spending on a smaller number of high impact, high quality programme brands, whilst maintaining range and diversity and appealing to a broad range of audience' (BBC, 2008: 10), had become an industry-wide phenomenon of greater standardisation and reduced diversity through selectivity and prioritisation. The concept of 'fewer, bigger, better' has been described, for example, by Doyle (2010: 14) not only 'as a response to recession and tighter programme budgets', but also 'as a formula for managing adaptation to a converged multi-platform model':

'The "fewer, bigger, better" formula adopted at the BBC as part of its restructuring as a multi-media entity clearly acknowledges that breadth must suffer in order to support more innovative and potentially high-impact content proposals. In the commercial sector, because of the recession in television advertising expenditure, many broadcasters are also embracing the need for greater selectivity in content decisions as part of their digital strategies. So, rather than contributing towards diversity and choice, multi-platform distribution is in some senses liable to encourage standardization around safe and popular themes and brands' (p. 16).

Move to Salford

Another major reorganisation that affected the children's multi-platform provision and the people working at BBC Children's, was the long planned relocation to Manchester/Salford, which took place in this period. That integrating the BBC children's provision under one 'umbrella' was benefitting a multi-platform provision in the past was argued, for example,

by Messenger Davies (2004) during her review of the BBC's digital services for children in phase 2. Hence, the current move was not only envisaged as a relocation in order to open up the BBC to regions outside London, it was also seen to impact specifically the character of the multi-platform provision for children and provide 'a unique and valuable opportunity to strengthen these services to enable them to thrive in the Internet age':

'It will enable the BBC to establish new relationships with staff, the wider creative community and local audiences, to ensure interactivity and on-demand are fully integrated into every aspect of our operations' (BBC, 2008: 52).

9.2.4 On-demand on-the-go

A better mobile provision for children

The research showed that it was realised, both in the UK and in Germany, that the new technologies brought opportunities in terms of distribution. However, there were differences in how broadcasters saw the biggest opportunities in regard to distribution. In the UK, video-on-demand over mobile broadband, but also dual screen experiences, were among the ideas highlighted for mobile use. Most opportunities were seen in making broadcast programmes available, 'to get out there and all these different platforms and smart TVs [...] And enhance video service, making better use of our iPlayer' (UK53). Mobile provision for the two 'screens', tablet PCs and phones, such as websites customised for mobile use, was communicated as specifically important to the BBC's child audience, parents and children: 'With the proliferation of smart devices and smart television [...], the purpose has changed, in that it is [about] getting content out there, on multiple places, for people-on-the-go' (UK51). Another respondent similarly maintained that 'on-the-go use' was both an opportunity and a demand by parents: 'If you are on a car trip and you've got two children in the back you can hand them something with an app on it and they can play on that and keep them quiet' (UK59). However, by phase 4, mobile provision had already evolved from an opportunity into an established strategy; the Service Licences have declared since 2007 that CBBC and CBeebies 'may also offer its broadcast content on fixed and mobile Internet protocol networks or via other platforms' (BBC Trust, 2007b: 1; BBC Trust, 2007c: 1; BBC Trust, 2012d: 1; BBC Trust, 2012c: 1). This strategy was also apparent within the BBC Online work-plan 2012/13 for BBC Children's, which

highlighted the further development of '[m]obile games' in HTML5 (BBC, 2012b:12). According to a senior online producer, 'Mobile is starting to happen, we have done our own experimentation on mobile and we have developed HTML5 games. And we are now looking to optimise the mobile sites' (UK51).

A better iPlayer for children

Two of the objectives of this phase for the child audience were to make 'more video content available online' (UK51) and on Connected TVs through an improved iPlayer. The 'presence of the Children's channels on iPlayer, including safety measures that block unsuitable content from these vulnerable audiences', was improved and for CBBC, the 'integration of IPTV services linking to iPlayer content' (BBC, 2012b: 12). It was explained:

'iPlayer for children's certainly is a big component of how we will get across four platforms very quickly. So by Q4 next year, we will have children's on the latest version of iPlayer and that will be on the desktop, on the broadcast IPTV platform and also on mobile. So effectively, once the iPlayer exists in the latest form, you have all the latest features [and] you've got a whole lot of features that are not on any other product. But you can also take the iPlayer that lives in the App Store, rebranded as CBeebies or CBBC' (UK51).

9.2.5 Social media and social play

After periods of experimentation, both CBBC and CBeebies moved away from previous participatory approaches that had characterised the BBC multi-platform provision towards safer forms of interaction (see Chapters 7.1.2, 8.4). In the present period, the BBC were in the process of considering and building a distinct form of social media environment for children. As put by a senior online producer: 'It is the first step to social media, but it is not Facebook and it is not open chat. And it is not all the things that traditionally we would think about as social media' (UK51). This BBC type of social media for children was being designed using single elements of social media, chat and sharing sites, online gaming and virtual worlds, together with the television (and radio) content. The BBC had retracted from several previous ideas, such as message boards, one-to-one interaction, virtual worlds and open chat applications. Although the BBC had retracted 'from the whole concept [...] of virtual worlds', for providing

social media for children, it still considered 'components of virtual worlds that make things work' (UK51).

The emphasis on interaction seemed to have moved to interaction with audiences, and less between individual children. Yet, the approach that the BBC took instead in this period was not to offer 'a completely safe moderated social network' (UK52), but other ways of safe social interaction among children. As explained by a senior television and online producer,

'I think we are seen as the safest place for children to go, because we don't have that much in the way of one-to-one interaction on any of our sites. The closest we get to that will be when we launch multiplayer games. And even then it will be very controlled. You will be playing against somebody, but if you want to have an interaction, it'll be moderated, prescribed' (UK52).

The two main elements of social interaction and participation in this period were, first, sharing and likes feature that were designed to enable sharing BBC content among the audience; and, secondly, a multiplayer games environment, which aimed to offer 'that interactive experience where you can play against your own peer group. You can play against your own friends' (UK51). Using components of virtual worlds, such as 'profile pages, avatar representation and then multiplayer' and 'the whole reward system, collecting badges, and having kudos as a result of being better than somebody else at a game', the BBC respondents explained, 'we are creating our own environment' (UK51). The aim was to create a more distinctive 'safe social' PSB offering, which offered something that other media did not offer to children.

Multiplayer games that emerged in this period was a very new concept for the public service broadcaster, because before games were 'either against the computer or they are turn-based games, where you play on the same machine':

[T]his is the first time we have moved into a message passing multiplayer game environment. And the next stage for that is having something called Connected Friends. So once you are registered on the site you can sign up and say I want to play against my friend. [...] We are looking at various technologies that will help us do this' (UK51).

9.3 German strategies

9.3.1 Low status within broadcasters

According to interview and document analysis, children's services in Germany compared with the BBC were accorded a lower status among public service broadcasters. Yet, some broadcasting institutions appeared overall to be more committed to child audiences than others. There is reason to argue that in Germany a somewhat contradictory development seems to have been taking place. On the one hand, no similar increase in the importance of the children's provision within public service has been expressed. On the other hand, whenever PSBs have most needed justification, children and young people have been identified as strategically important audiences for PSBs.

There are indications that the marginalisation of the children's provision observed in the 1990s (see Chapter 3) may have continued, as there is evidence to show that the multi-platform children's provision had not been playing a very significant role and had a lowly status within public service children's broadcasting during this phase. While it was argued that a multi-platform children's provision played a role on a 'legitimatory level'³ (D27, see Chapter 8), other respondents commonly held that it played a minor role in the broadcasting executives' strategic 'priorities' (D02, 05, 06, 07, 10).

For example, many respondents explained certain phenomena by pointing to the low status of the children's provision, such as untypical sign-off competencies retained in children's departments (D02). One senior management executive expressed the view that the children's provision was mostly a matter of 'Sunday speeches'⁴ and explained that everybody was 'for children's television' like everybody was 'for peace' and 'a clean environment'⁵ (D09). Another senior producer maintained, 'You do ask yourself, if those at the relevant places, if it is a priority for them. Obviously it is not, or has not been in past years'⁶ (D06). An online and television producer found that while the children's provision was seen as important and its budget had received less cuts than others in the institution, at the same time other areas were seen as more important (D30).

The recognition as innovators that German children's services shared with their BBC counterparts in previous periods, seemed not to have migrated

over into phase 4. What now appeared to be strategically more important with the German PSBs were those at the other end of the spectrum of the 'young audience', the young people and young adults. BR, for example, continued to offer BR-Kinderinsel, but its strategic direction seemed to have moved away from children, and online was regarded foremost as the platform to connect in innovative ways with what was perceived as an under-served audience of young people and young adults. Compared with the innovative youth brand, a proposition that combined radio broadcasts, Internet live streams and television in novel ways (ARD, 2012b), BR's children's online proposition Kinderinsel in this phase continued in its 2000 conceptual framework. When one senior online producer spoke about a comprehensive truly multi-platform 'trimedia project', this did not refer to children's services, but to those young people and adult audiences. Some felt that, overall, PSB had been providing 'enough' for children (D22), but not for those audiences.

That the status of the children's provision had probably also impacted on the multi-platform strategy was suggested by another senior television producer:

'The issue is probably not regarded so highly by the executive level that one would say, OK, that needs an overall strategy for all propositions, also for the combined services, also for all combined channels and especially for the children's channel'⁷ (D25).

As one online producer argued, the children's online provision frequently found itself facing the question of whether it was 'worth the effort for this small, relatively limited target audience'⁸ (D28). Another pointed to the dilemma that if children's intended to create something 'big' it was weighed up against something else that had higher priority (D22).

KiKA, a success as a reason for children's low status

In some respondents' view, the existence and success of KiKA led to an even further diminishing of a contemporary multi-platform strategy for children at other broadcasters. One senior producer argued, 'There is children's programming, but less and less, in my view. And therefore, the issue of children does not have as big a lobby as one would wish. For this [the children's provision] we have KiKA!'⁹ (D26). For example, a senior respondent at a federal broadcaster argued:

'We have the perception that we are really well placed with the Children's Channel. And that our deficits at the moment really lie elsewhere, not with the children. What this absolutely does not mean is that we could not do more [here]. But it does not seem so urgent to us at the moment' (D01).

Overall online budget increase, but not for KiKA

Although public and commercial media sectors in Germany were severely affected by the financial crisis of the time and broadcasters received lower than expected licence fee increases in the preceding periods, this period, unlike that of the BBC, was characterised by an increase in the PSB's overall spending on its online activities (Kommission zur Ermittlung des Finanzbedarfs der Rundfunkanstalten, 2011: 11). Broadcasters had reported that costs for their online provision would increase by around 8% per year in 2010-2012 (p. 141). Many services directed at the general audience were, according to the regulator's figures, allocated higher budgets every year, however, ARD and ZDF's budget forecasts for KiKA's online services were lower for 2012 than for 2009 (Anhang 1, Kommission zur Ermittlung des Finanzbedarfs der Rundfunkanstalten, 2011: 11).

9.3.2 Broadcasting, plus additional services

Additional multimedia

The German PSB's strategy for children in regard to new platforms remained linked to the idea of providing broadcasting plus additional services, and there was no general move towards a multi-platform consolidation to be observed. When KiKA introduced a new preschool portal in 2010, it was announced as 'KiKA with multimedia additional offerings¹⁰' (ARD, 2012b), a concept that Steemers (2001b: 127) had argued had been overcome at the BBC by 2001. KiKA in this period was still not regarded as a multi-platform brand, although the public service remit clearly entailed programme-related and non-programme related online media since 2009 (see 12. Rundfunkänderungsstaatsvertrag, 2009) and had offered a continuous and popular multi-platform provision for children since the late 1990s. Despite this long and successful tradition as a multi-platform provider, respondents at KiKA declared, 'We are not a bimedia house or multimedia house'¹¹ (D26). It was held, 'KiKA is still a television

channel, and understands itself as such; that means television is its key business'¹² (D26). Another senior television producer at KiKA held a similar view: 'Television is still the leading medium with children. And I think that still impacts that quite a lot. But Online comes from a different tradition. Online will become important, but it is not the key business'¹³ (D25). A longer-term multi-platform strategy was described in similar terms: 'Were you to ask the management, he would say, KiKA is a television channel and online is also important'¹⁴ (D15). The idea of new platforms as platforms for additional services also resonated in the name given to KiKA's on-demand video player KikaPlus, launched in 2010.

A strategy in infant's shoes

There is reason to argue that among German public service broadcasters in general there was not yet a clearly defined multi-platform strategy for children. Although broadcasters offered some sophisticated services on new platforms, and although research by KiKA's parent broadcaster MDR concluded that kika.de would witness a usage growth of 13,1% every year between 2009 and 2011 and 'that media consumption by children over time will further shift away from television and towards the Internet'¹⁵ (Hildebrand and Böge, 2009b: 79, 83-84), the concept of a public service multi-platform strategy for children appeared to be immature. One senior producer argued that PSB's multi-platform strategy for children was still 'in its infant shoes'¹⁶ (D25). According to a senior policy executive looking onto children's media from a governance context, PSB not only lacked a clear multi-platform strategy for children, but also faced uncertainties over major questions for the multi-platform transformation *per se*, such as 'which media forms to step into, how to understand oneself as a broadcaster [...] do I have to understand myself less as a TV channel or as the distributional platform of a platform provider?'¹⁷ (D32). The respondent maintained:

'[T]he Internet will be the leading medium in the future, that principally in the next 10 to 15 years the agenda has to be changed. But not yet. Now, one can still say that one is a broadcaster and does the other part as well. I believe that, as the users grow up, this will slightly change'¹⁸ (D32).

The strategic aims for KiKA in this period, according to the parent broadcaster MDR, remained closely connected to a public service television rationale, 'to set quality standards for children's broadcasting, and not only value high rating'¹⁹ (Landtag von Sachsen-Anhalt, 2010: 26). The same aim

was formulated a year later,²⁰ in 2011 (Programmdirektion Erstes Deutsches Fernsehen, 2011a: 93). The strategic aims resembled ideas from earlier periods under the former head of KiKA, and its quality standards were the quality standards of a broadcasting medium and were related to 'offering the greatest diversity in programming genres, themes and programme formats'²¹ (Programmdirektion Erstes Deutsches Fernsehen, 2011a: 93). Online and TV were still perceived as two separate and opposing ideas:

'I assert that linear television will always have a future, because it is much simpler and more convenient to use: one can switch on the TV and be sure to get presented with his/her programme'²² (Steffen Kottkamp, cited in Promedia, 2009: 17).

9.3.3 Cautious vs connected strategy

During this period, the general tone of the multi-platform approach remained cautious compared with the tone observable in the UK. Although some online technologies and platforms had by then been part of the public service children's proposition for more than 15 years, they were still regarded as 'new' technologies. For example, the ARD still argued, 'Children, in particular, must be acquainted with the new technologies'²³ (Programmdirektion Erstes Deutsches Fernsehen, 2011a: 90). Innovative projects and services continued to be justified by the 'wishes' of the audience and less with other strategic editorial, operational or remit-related rationales or for the sake of creative innovation, even though the multi-platform remit of PSB had been more strongly established. In 2011, the ARD visualised its future strategy in regard to its overall strategy for its children's output as follows: 'To stick to the approved, and try new things wherever the viewers wish for innovation or change – this is the headline principle for children and family programming over the next two years'²⁴ (Programmdirektion Erstes Deutsches Fernsehen, 2011a: 92). The reasons for cautious attitudes and the lack of an integrated strategy, which the PSBs had chosen before in the TV era, seemed to be found in the specific challenges of the public service children's provision in Germany, the federal set-up, but also in the way change processes were undertaken and in strategic considerations during periods of an increased need for justification vis-à-vis a lack of a positive lobbying climate for PSB children's media (see Chapters 10, 11, 12).

In Germany overall, opportunities offered by the new platforms appear to

have still been communicated as necessity, rather than opportunity. Survival and the youngest audience formed elements of an argument that characterised considerations about the Internet from early on. More than a decade after the PSBs had argued for the survival of PSB by turning to the young audiences, it was still argued in 2011:

'Trends and developments in the everyday life of the youngest target group have to be recognised and, in a determined way, realised in programme innovations, so that the audience does not turn to other providers or divert to new technologies and distributional platforms, and thus evades the public service programme services'²⁵ (Programmdirektion Erstes Deutsches Fernsehen, 2011a: 92).

However, there is some evidence to show that the tone and attitude to multi-platform media for children may have begun to change when, for example, the head of KiKA articulated his vision of KiKA's online offerings: 'The older children shall interact in the same way with the programming as they do with MySpace or YouTube and digital portals'²⁶ (Kottkamp, cited in Steinbuch, 2009). Yet, another source from the same year showed that the brakes were still put on for any more visionary thinking about a multi-platform provision among KiKA executives: 'Television is still the leading medium for children, but that the Internet will gain importance is uncontended. It is not so much about more online offerings, but about quality'²⁷ (Kottkamp, cited in Promedia, 2009: 17).

9.3.4 Individualised and diverse online strategies for children

From a researcher's perspective it is easier to sketch the publicly-funded children's multi-platform strategies in the UK, because there the provision is supplied by the BBC as a single broadcaster with two cross-platform brands, CBBC and CBeebies. The publicly-funded public service multi-platform landscape for children in Germany is very different, mainly because it is shaped by several independently and co-jointly acting public service broadcasters, and not just one. This situation for PSBs in Germany, with a group of regional broadcasters under the ARD umbrella and the ZDF, means that in Germany different approaches to PSB multi-platform media have developed at a different pace and scope and with different aims and purposes. Some have been provided as joint services, and at the same time all regional broadcasters have been producing 'their own internet content'

(Woldt, 2010a: 177). Among these several offerings for children evolved (see Chapter 1).

In addition to the individual efforts of the individual regional ARD broadcasters that characterised the early beginnings of public service online activities, the ARD community developed joint services, such as roof portal ARD.de, which had been functioning as an access point to the different products and services of the regional ARD-broadcasters (therefore, excluding the ZDF) and kika.de and KiKA Text.

In phase 4, the broadcasters' strategies towards multi-platform showed two main characteristics. First, individual broadcasters followed more individualised strategies in regard to the child audience in the multi-platform context than they had done in the TV context, while at the same time they continued their various methods of collaboration in the children's provision. Secondly, strategies for the children's multi-platform provision differed in every case from the provision for the general audiences.

Different individual interests, also towards overall PSB

On the one hand this research found that to a certain extent there was a will to join forces and collaborate across factions, but on the other hand, it found indications of challenges which suggested the very opposite, namely, more individualistic strategies in regard to child provision (see Chapter 11).

Although a central children's multi-platform proposition in Germany had not developed, during the course of the interviews, however, the concept of a combined public service offering for children was regularly referred to by interviewees as a concept that included ARD and ZDF's efforts for children. Some of the individual broadcasters aimed to offer some form of central information point for this compound of diverse public service offerings (D21). Other respondents put their efforts into the children's provision in relation to this virtual overall offering; for example, also to justify their own rather low investment and efforts in this area (D22). Some tried to visualise it as part of the broadcaster's Web services (D21, 22). By others, any overall category was dismissed by making the point that 'there is nothing such as the ARD's children's offering'²⁸ (D33). Others again, referred to children's channel KiKA's online activities as the central ARD proposition for children that it jointly created with broadcaster ZDF (D22, 25, 29).

The strategies in regard to a multi-platform provision for children in phase 4 was characterised by the interests of individual broadcasters. This led to PSB approaches to multi-platform for children which differed on several levels, and broadcasters seemed to follow separate pathways in regard to addressing audiences and for editorial decisions, but also in regard to the choice of platforms, devices, functionalities, the introduction of different names for similar services and similar names for different services. A particularity of the children's PSB set-up in Germany was not only that one broadcaster's approach differed from another's, but also that broadcasters differed in their approach to the virtual overall PSB offering and in how they understood KiKA's role in relation to their own multi-platform provision (see chapter 11).

The regional broadcasters were editorially independent and formed separate financial and organisational entities. However, the ARD broadcasters acted as a joint network in financing and providing national channel Das Erste and other aspects too, including some mutually financed online services, such as ARD.de or tagesschau.de or boerse.ard.de. As to multi-platform media for children, both ARD and ZDF acted independently and jointly at the same time, offering products and services with a wide range of potential, characteristics, organisational structure, purpose and financial resources.

While the ZDF, as a single broadcaster, has over time developed a central access point to its children's offerings under TV brand ZDFtivi, the integration of all children's services offered by the various ARD broadcasters and outlets under a one roof portal had not become a joint effort by the ARD broadcasters or an individual effort by any of the regional broadcasters, including KiKA, by the end of this phase.

The above resulted in the situation where PSB television distribution for children seemed more or less bundled under the KiKA brand, together with ARD and ZDF's weekend morning brands. On the other hand, in regard to new platforms a large variety of Web-based services for children existed, offered by KiKA, SWR, BR, MDR, ZDF and other broadcasters such as NDR, and WDR with different levels of technical sophistication, brand-relatedness to the broadcasting institution, functionality, usability, purpose, backing by resources and TV colleagues, and self-understanding as a representative of the above-mentioned overall public service compound offering.

Different strategies for children and adults

The research clearly showed that unlike the BBC approach, German PSBs employed different strategies for the online provision for children and adults. Respondents had different explanations for this. Some pointed out that the online services for children and the transition towards a more integrated multi-platform provision has been faster than for the general audience (D28). Also another online and television producer at ZDF explained, 'We are relatively far ahead'²⁹ (D30). Some pointed to the fact that 'children's programming is relatively externalised',³⁰ because of having moved most children's TV on to KiKA (D06). Children's online services were therefore believed to have developed more separately and faster. Some respondents pointed to the rationales behind different content management systems for adults and children as a reason for the separation, as it enabled them to remain independent from technical providers (D05). Others explained that the reasons were to make available interfaces for children that answered children's different needs (D23, 28) and safeguarding requirements, where the broadcaster's main on-demand offerings were regarded as unsafe for children (D23, 05). Others again explained the separate nature of children's services by the low status which they apparently held (see 9.3.1).

9.3.5 Changes to production organisation and teams

Transformation processes also took place at the German PSBs. For example, at ZDF, a formal transformation process was initiated, the so-called Trafo-process, drawing on similar concepts to those at the BBC, such as *360 degree* provision (see Chapter 6.6.2). However, due to different approaches to the adult and child provision and also because, as one respondent argued, the transformation of the children's provision into a multi-platform one had already reached a much further stage of development than had other services; children's was not part of this formalised transformation project (D03).

Although in general, the multi-platform strategy for children appeared as less integrated (into the overall output) than at the BBC, organisational transformation also took place here. A senior online producer explained, online teams have been among the fastest growing teams at PSBs children's departments (D26). Organisational changes that affected the children's multi-platform provision, for example, originated in the new role of

the governing boards in the evaluation and governance of the online offers. Also in regard to the production processes, major changes took place at some broadcasters. For example, in 2011, teams of two formerly separate departments merged at ZDF, New Media Department and Children's and Youth Department (D28). At ZDF, also, project management processes characterised children's production and a system of online product types was developed ('basic-, accompanying-, extended offering, integrated offerings')³¹ (D15). Here, it was argued that, in regard to its transformation, the BBC approach to multi-platform had been an important stimulus.

While ZDF had combined online and television teams, for example, at KiKA, changes in the online department primarily consisted of the employment of new technical staff to 'create a technical department' (D26). The respondent pointed out: 'It is very uncommon that in an editorial department there is also a strong technical component. We will create a separate area in the editorial department'³² (D26).

It is noticeable that the teams who worked together on the multi-platform provision were described very differently in Germany, and their roles and responsibilities also differed at the different broadcasters. This suggests the BBC and German broadcasters differed in the way that they approached the organisation of technology and editorial teams. The set-up of the teams working on a multi-platform provision seemed significant in how the respondents described the quality of team collaboration.

Job roles differed in the two countries. In the UK, the teams that worked on the multi-platform output were technical staff like developers and product leads, editorial, UX-design, plus the 'commissioner' (UK51). Respondents also added to this team concept the researchers on the 'data side' (UK59). At the BBC, team descriptions reflected the recent strategy towards a triangular organisation in multi-platform production: 'Technology, Design and Editorial, the three streams' (UK51), with the related triangular set-up on each level of the organisational hierarchy, from head of department to individual editor. Interactive or online staff were referred to merely as 'editorial' (UK59), without the prefix 'online' (which was used in the German context). Staff in different areas were seen to belong to different 'sides' or 'teams' (UK53, 57, 59) or 'streams' (UK51) and 'pillars' (UK57). One BBC senior online producer saw 'editorial, technical and design and UX all in a big creative puddle' (UK53).

In the German interviews, team set-ups seemed less to follow a formalised concept, when respondents described the teams: '[E]ditors, a media pedagogue, a graphic designer, we also have a technician there, so that really different competencies work on a product'³⁴ (D21). The term 'Onliner' (D23, 28) was regularly used and seemed to distinguish online staff as a special species from their TV/radio colleagues. Respondents also made a distinction between 'online editor'³³ and 'TV editor'³⁴ (D21, 23, 28) or 'online editor' and for TV just 'editor' (D22, 35). On the other hand, the 'technician',³⁵ (D21, 23, 26), 'graphics designer'³⁶ (D21, 23, 28) and 'media pedagogue'³⁷ (IV21) were additional individual staff, while editors formed bigger groups. At BR those in charge of the new platforms were the 'editors' from radio and TV, an online editor and the 'online department', and the role of some staff was described as the 'filling with content'³⁸ of content management systems. At ZDF, however, the team was described differently as 'project manager' or 'online-editor, TV editor, graphics designer'.³⁹

9.3.6 Catch-up and time-shifting, mobile for the future

Mobile or 'on-the-go' consumption was clearly one of the biggest opportunities for the BBC respondents, 'now with iPad and tablet and mobile, we have got the opportunity for children to access content without always sitting at the screen at home' (UK55), whereas viewing content on PC screens on fixed broadband at home appeared as a much more established part of the service and taken as a prerequisite of public service (UK51). Contrastingly, in Germany, families engaging with PSB online were pictured by respondents at home at the PC using 'time-shifting' and 'catch-up' functionalities (D21, 25, 28). Applications on Smart TVs, smartphones, and video games consoles were regarded as future uses (D21, 26, 28).

It is noteworthy that at the same time as at the BBC a similar concept of 'people on-the-go'⁴⁰ emerged at the ARD. Whereas at the BBC children were understood as those people 'on-the-go' (UK51, 55, 59), in Germany the term was used to describe adults under 30 and was a concept that explicitly excluded children (ARD, 2012b: 46).

Chapter 10 - Contributory factors

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Chapter 10 - Contributory factors

Introduction

The last chapter has shown that one of the differences between the two countries is that during phase 4 the BBC children's provision on all platforms had gained in importance and had become one of the five editorial priorities at the BBC. Nothing similar had happened in Germany. There is evidence that not only has there been no similar increase in the importance of the public service children's provision, but that there is reason to argue that since the 1990s almost the opposite has been taking place (see Chapters 3.3, 9.3.1). This chapter looks at the specific circumstances that may have led to this difference in development, by examining specific contributory factors that may have supported its increasing status in the UK, and the specific factors that may have hindered its growing importance in Germany. The research looks at the child population in the two countries first, then at the specifics of the UK context where this research has identified several contributory factors, and then at the German context.

10.1 The child population

There are certain differences and similarities that may have impacted on the differently perceived status of the children's services in the period 2010 to 2012 (phase 4). First of all, there are differences in the child population. With a population with the highest average age in the European Union of 44.2 years (2011), Germany is regarded by some as the 'old people's home of the EU'¹ (Spiegel Online, 2011). In 2009, there were around 82 million people living in Germany and, of the 40.2 households, around 8.2 million were households with children (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2010b). 9.4 million were 0-12 year old children, representing 11.5% of the population² (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2010a). The number of households with children had been decreasing since 1996 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2010b).

In comparison, in 2009, the UK population had grown to 61.8 million, with 9.33 million 0-12 year-olds or 15% of the population³ (Office for National Statistics, 2011b). Like Germany, the UK population overall was ageing. It is

estimated by the Office for National Statistics that this trend will continue, and by 2034 23% of the people living in the UK will be over 65 and 18% under 16 (ibid.). These figures show that in the UK children made up a bigger part of society, but in absolute figures about as many children were living in Germany as in the UK.

However, there is one clear difference between the two countries. In Germany, during the period under investigation the birth rate was continuously falling (with some years excepted) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012). In the same period, the UK had witnessed 'an up-turn in fertility rates from the early 2000s onwards. With the exception of 2009, this positive trend broadly continued throughout the last decade' (Office for National Statistics, 2011a). While in Germany in 2010, 1.39 children per woman were born (the so-called 'total fertility rate') (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012), in the UK the total fertility rate for the four constituent countries ranged from 1.75 (Scotland) to 2.06 (Northern Ireland) (Office for National Statistics, 2011a).

These figures are relevant to this analysis, because some had argued that for German broadcasters the demographics in Germany had been affecting how they viewed and planned the children's provision (e.g., see Müntefering, 2007). For example, a senior KiKA executive pointed out: 'In the ten years of KiKA's existence, the target audience has decreased through the decrease in child births by more than ten percent'⁴ (Blickpunkt: Film, 2006). Respondents also pointed to the small size of the target group (IV22, 28). Similarly, it could be assumed that the baby boom and growing child population in the UK may also have impacted the behaviours and attitudes of broadcasters and governing bodies in the UK, which could explain part of the rationale behind the stronger emphasis on the children's provision in this period.

10.2 Lobbying for children's media from outside the broadcasters: UK

There was another difference in the environment of broadcasters, where there is evidence to argue that it may have also affected the prioritisation of the children's provision. In the UK, a strong lobbying and public debating culture around and in favour of children's media and television had established over the years. In Germany in the same period such debate seemed to have disappeared.

There is evidence to show that in the UK four circumstances may have

acted as contributory factors here: civic and industry groups lobbying for public service children's media; the commitment of individuals towards children's media; provision at regulators for children's media; and a broad availability of research data including market research on the children's media landscape. All factors have probably added to a prioritisation of the children's provision that began at the BBC in phase 3 and was established in phase 4. The prioritisation of children's media was seen by many respondents as a result of internal change processes and the public debate and responding engagement of the BBC Trust in this matter. One senior policy executive pointed to the importance of lobbying, and maintained that, in regard to the policy debates around children's broadcasting, 'it was the lobbying which created this debate in the first place, [...] we are very good at that in the UK' (UK56). A senior BBC executive agreed and argued that British lobby groups 'are very political' and 'have had a lot of success actually [...] They go to government and Secretary of State. They are very – not powerful – but they are very influential. [...] They've got a voice' (UK52).

Another BBC senior online producer maintained in regard to children's media lobby groups that '[t]here is power in what they do' and also found the yearly get-together of children's media professionals, the Children's Media Conference, 'very political as well' and one of the events where debates about the children's provision were pushed forward (UK53).

What were the reasons why respondents perceived such a significant lobbying culture for children's media?

10.2.1 Producers

Many found a main driver for the lobbying and safeguarding efforts in the UK's strong children's broadcasting culture, and also in its strong production/industry culture. A senior producer at the BBC maintained that strong lobbying existed, because there was 'such a strong tradition of children's programming – on the production side and on the broadcasting side': '[T]here is a big economy built around it. [...] when you look at those organisations [lobbying groups], they are largely driven by people who used to work in the media' (UK52).

A senior policy executive agreed: 'The main lobbying came from the producers. And they used this argument, actually [because] they were

going out of business. So they had a strong financial reason for doing it' (UK56). Another respondent thought producers were 'a good central pole [...] they've always got to protect their people as commercial environments got harder, to make sure that there still gonna be work' (UK55).

It was held that the BBC itself, as a significant commissioner and distributor in the production ecosystem, may also have played an important role in why lobbying developed so strongly in the UK by investing in children's media. As put by a respondent: 'I think spend drives critical mass, which drives impact on children. And it also drives industry and it drives the commercial economy' (UK52).

10.2.2 Civic and industry groups

However, many respondents agreed about the fact that it were not only the producers maintaining the debate, but that there was a 'content side and an industrial' side to it, with numerous vocal lobbying groups for children's media in the UK ranging from industry bodies to trade unions and civic groups (UK52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58). PACT, VLV, the *Writers' Guild of Great Britain* and *Save Kids' TV* (now *The Children's Media Foundation*) were named by most of the respondents. Pointing to the moment when ITV 'pulled out of children's programmes, because it couldn't make money when advertising rules changed' and 'budget cuts' at the BBC, a BBC senior producer argued:

'We have three big organisations. Voice of the Listener and Viewer, which is very active in children's. We have Save Kids' TV, which does what it says. We have PACT, the producers' association. They lobby to make sure that children's content is still funded, because they see the value of children's content, because content that is appropriate for children is much more beneficial for them than a lot of the adult stuff that they are watching. [...] The Creative Economy is a big part of our society and they want to protect that. So you have a content side and an industrial' (UK52).

For example, during the time of the research the citizen and consumer interest group, Voice of the Listener and Viewer (Voice of the Listener and Viewer, 2011), held a conference on the subject of children's broadcasting in the multi-platform era. A senior BBC producer pointed to the long tradition of media lobbying in the UK, with 'historically [...] a lot of people there protecting it':

'[B]ecause over the past decade, or two even, as more and more channels have sprung up in the digital era, there was always a community of people who felt they had to sort of safeguard children from the dangers of getting the wrong content [...] protecting children, making sure that they got what they needed. [...] Also the UK television industry for children was much bigger [...] there are people in this country who have written for children's, they have directed for children's, they have been producers who know how things are. And who are really, really out there to protect' (IV55).

The most recent development in this period, which arguably broadened the impact of the lobbying for children's media even further, was the installing of an All Party Parliamentary Group for Children's Media and the Arts. The aim of the founders was to create an awareness among media policy makers that the diversity in children's media was at risk, due to the consolidation in the television and film industry, and to obtain 'political backing to find ways to offer children more choice', so that 'children do take more of a centre stage in how policies are created' (UK58). A representative of a civic group lobbying for children's media described the impact of a first session that this group had organised in parliament to show that children's television and online media could be very different from 'miserable telly' and could be 'about making, creating possibilities for children':

'[T]hat was quite a revelation to the parliamentarians, because a lot of them, they [...] only ever read the headlines that the researchers give them. And that is alarmist. They think, children, if it is online, then they are all being stalked, or whatever. They don't understand what is really going on. So that was quite an educative session' (UK58).

Also at the BBC producers were aware of the work of civic lobbying groups:

'[T]hey are very articulate, they are very pugnacious, they are very tenacious [...] If you go to the government lobbying anything, the government will be being lobbied about a million of different things. So if you want them to understand how important it is to uphold a good children's television or multi-platform community, you have to get in there very, very strongly. And these people [are] used to arguing the case' (UK55).

10.2.3 Regulator Ofcom

A second factor that may have contributed to the prioritisation of children's provision was the role played by regulatory body Ofcom. There were indications that lobbying efforts had made politicians and Ofcom aware of the changes in the children's production industry which were thought to be

endangering the plurality of content produced. Ofcom prepared a review of the children's television market in 2007 (see Ofcom, 2007a). According to a senior policy executive, there was 'anxiety and concern about what was happening, because people felt that if children's TV was left just to the BBC with no competition [...] the quality and the amount produced by the BBC would go down' (UK56). While reviewing the children's TV landscape, some held that Ofcom addressed the BBC Trust to argue that 'this could be a crisis', it was argued that 'if the BBC does not step in and fill the gap that ITV has left, then this will not be good for the country' (UK13).

10.2.4 Research

It is noteworthy, that, in the British context, there was a strong understanding of the importance of the provision of research supplied by the BBC, the central regulator Ofcom and other for-profit and not-for-profit parties, in the process of lobbying for and safeguarding the public service children's provision (UK51, 52, 54, 59). There is reason to argue that the availability of research data has contributed to a more active and wider public debate in the UK. For example, the creation of the independent regulator Ofcom brought a greater provision of market research in the field of children's television research, but also research about children's media use and media literacy (Ofcom's own research and commissioned third-party research) (Ofcom, 2007a; 2007d; 2011a; 2011b; 2012a). In the knowledge exchange with the academic community, Ofcom also played an active role by presenting on conferences (e.g., see Thickett, 2008) and by commissioning expert reviews (e.g., Buckingham, 2004). It is probable that the online presence of the BBC, the BBC Trust, Ofcom and other stakeholders in the policy community had also had a great impact on the visibility, openness and breadth of debate. These stakeholders' documents offered valuable research material to the academic and civic society communities, as well as to broadcasters themselves. For example, it is held that Ofcom's report on children's television (Ofcom, 2007a) 'represents a valuable addition to the policy literature on children's television in Britain' (D'Arma and Steemers, 2009):

'It fills the gap in previous research, particularly by providing an in-depth analysis of the economics of the sector. In their written responses to the consultation opened by Ofcom following the publication of the report, several stakeholders (among others VLV, PACT, Save Kids' TV, now The Children's Media Foundation)

congratulated Ofcom on the richness of the data gathered and on the comprehensiveness of the analysis undertaken.' (ibid.)

Many academic researchers and interest groups who look at the UK media utilise Ofcom's and BBC's publications (e.g., see Bennett et al., 2012; D'Arma and Steemers, 2010a; Humphreys, 2009a). In addition, respondents frequently stressed the availability of research data; at the BBC, respondents pointed to research findings created by regulators (UK52), in the regulatory context respondents referred to those published by the BBC: 'The BBC does a huge amount of research, so there is no shortage of information' (UK13).

The greater availability of market research in PSB governance in the UK can be partly explained by the rationales that underlie the public value testing processes. In the UK, as Radoslavov and Thomaß (2010: 6) show, the public value forms a 'quantitative concept that wants to state the benefit of new services on monetary grounds'. Market research data thus form a central element of the scrutiny. One central driver for safeguarding efforts here was seen in the provision of such research data to rebut 'bad argument' in the public and political debate (IV56). According to a senior policy executive, the reason for the success of these parallel lobbying efforts in strengthening the children's provision had been 'because [Ofcom] brought the facts and figures and created an argument based on evidence. So that everybody could see what the issues were' (UK56):

'There had been a lot of bad arguments in this sector, because the producers were all saying [...] people should commission from independent producers, the broadcasters were all saying, this is economics, why should we do this? The lobby groups would say, this is a crisis, our children are being let down. The politicians, the *Daily Mail*, were doing the same. So, everybody hears a lot of noise, but very little evidence' (ibid.).

Because the BBC's public service remit remained one of the last policy tools in the children's provision during that period, this meant that it had a greater responsibility. When Ofcom, as one respondent maintained, prepared the report to understand 'what was happening [and] what could be done', it was argued that as a regulator Ofcom could do 'very little', therefore 'nearly all of the recommendations [were] around the BBC' (UK13).

10.2.5 Lobbying impact on the status of public service children's provision

Although it is probable that a combination of several parallel developments within and outside the BBC ultimately resulted in the 'reprioritisation' of children's, there is reason to argue that the lobbying for children's media played an important role in this development. The interviews suggest a relation between the lobbying and the BBC Trust's strengthened commitment to children's provision. One respondent, who represented a lobbying group, concluded it was a 'major success' of the activities of the lobbying group 'getting children's named as one of the five [...] core purposes' of the BBC: 'I honestly believe that, because we kept shouting and kept shouting, that the BBC realised they had to step up' (UK16).

Among regulators and the BBC, the relevance of this active lobbying culture in the process of the prioritisation was reflected in the interviews. Many respondents maintained that the BBC kept any interest groups at arm's length, yet several respondents pointed to the importance of the lobbying groups for the status of children's provision in the UK: 'SafeKidsTV has done a massive amount of lobbying for us. VLV is always there supporting, making sure, that in the rush forward the traditional values are still there. And we need that lobbying' (UK55). Another senior executive agreed: 'I suppose it does protect us a hell of a lot and gives us a lot of value within the BBC. [...] It is helping us to remain really important to the BBC' (UK53). A respondent in the regulatory context suggested a 'direct effect' between lobbying and some activities initiated, arguing that Ofcom 'would not have done the review, if there had not been lobbying' (UK13).

10.3 Lobbying for children's media from outside the broadcasters: Germany

In regard to lobbying for children's media outside the broadcasters, there was a stark difference in the German PSB context. Many respondents pointed to significant lobbying out of commercial interest (D07, 22, 26, 29, 30, 31, 35), but none to lobbying in support of children's provision. Only one respondent pointed to VLV in the UK (D27). As stakeholders in the public debate, respondents mentioned legal professions, but no other disciplines, and an ARD senior policy executive commented that 'specifically in England

this seems to be different⁵ (D29).

Respondents agreed with the view that there was basically no lobby for children's media provision. Some argued that debates on children's broadcasting had been silent for a long time, while others maintained that a debate about a multi-platform provision for children had not yet taken place and was not expected to take place in future (D09, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34). As put by one KiKA senior online producer: 'My impression is that the children's area does not have such a big lobby as other subjects have'⁶ (D26). Another KiKA respondent held that 'the issue [of] children's television [...] is a relatively set issue now'⁷ (D25). Yet many emphasised the positive response to KiKA and its 'prestige' among viewers. KiKA was often described as a 'viewers' success' (D28) and some pointed to parents as KiKA's lobbyists (D30), while a senior KiKA executive argued that the individual children's editorial staff were KiKA's best lobbyists, because no one could better remind the federal broadcasters of their duties towards children (D09).

Respondents found a reason for the lack of debate or interest in children's provision in the fact that it 'is accepted everywhere, is not questioned anymore'⁸ (D25). *Teletubbies*, it was held, formed the last 'huge issue'⁹ (D25) of dispute in Germany (on *Teletubbies* phenomenon in Germany, see, e.g. Schäfer and Schulte-Kellinghaus, 2003). The public silence following this last debate is described by children's broadcasting executive Gert K. Müntefering: 'I regard this rather as a sign of indifference'¹⁰ (Müntefering, cited in Gangloff, 2007b). The reasons suggested for this lack of debate were diverse. A KiKA executive suggested that there was no awareness that there was anything to debate, because everything worked well for KiKA (D09). As put by another respondent, 'People are glad that KiKA exists [...] it is very successful'¹¹ (D26). It was held by others, debates would only arise if there were problems, and then 'heads would roll quickly' (D07).

There were also differences between the BBC respondents in how they understood public debate and its advantages and disadvantages for PSB. On the one hand, it was argued that broadcasters would sometimes 'miss the support and lobby work'¹² while developing new services, such as a new online service for preschoolers. For example, it was held, arguing the case for the children's online provision with the broadcasting councils often 'was extremely difficult'¹³ without a supportive environment (D26). But the disadvantages of a public debate were also highlighted, as put by the

senior online producer: 'In regard to the public debate, advantages come to my mind, but immediately also the disadvantages come to my mind'¹⁴ (D26).

Others saw a reason for the lack of a wider public debate in the lack of an internal debate and openness to change. It was argued that for some the 'primary focus is always [what] the federal constitutional court has said, the secondary regulation has ruled this and that, and that is why things have to be as they are' (D29):

'But out of this no legitimation will arise, but sustainable, lasting legitimation arises simply by making the society overall and their representatives [...] understand that we are continuing to be important. But at the same time, we do understand that external circumstances change, [and] that can mean that we also have to change and adapt within these circumstances'¹⁵ (ibid).

For example, in phase 3, attempts had been made by the public service broadcasters in the ARD-network to enrich and open up the political and public debate about the relevance of PSB services by establishing a new central institution, the general secretariat ('Generalsekretariat'), which was instructed to represent and support the federal broadcasters, for example, by formulating 'argumentational help [...] to reply to critique towards ARD's digital strategy'¹⁶ (Wolf, 2007: 113; e.g., see Wiedemann, 2008). According to respondents at KiKA, the department had also been important during the second run of the new approval procedure at KiKA, when the kika.de website was tested. The department had supported the children's channel in the policy debate and dialogue with civic groups, in the end more diverse voices were engaged in this second approval process (D10). However, during the period of this research, the activities of the general secretariat had come to a halt until 2014 with the resignation of the department head and a legal dispute over controversies in regard to competencies (Hein, 2012).

10.3.1 Producers

In contrast to the lobbying activities of producer groups and their specific reasons for engaging in the debate in the UK, which was seen crucial to the prioritisation of the PSB children's provision, the engagement of producers in Germany in the whole 'debate' around PSB was described very differently. In the UK, some assumed that the spend on children's content

was the driver for a critical public debate, because producers, who relied on a flourishing production landscape, were threatened with decreasing investments from the private sector. In Germany, such an independent producers' voice did not emerge from the research. Some argued that generally not much money was spent on children's TV content:

'Germany is not a very child-friendly country. The reality shows a stark contradiction to the Sunday speeches, where it is always said [that] the children are our future. But if things get real, if a playground has to be maintained, then there is no money. [...] And this applies exactly to television'¹⁷ (children's producer Armin Maiwald, cited in Helbig, 2009).

In Germany, the children's broadcasting industry was changing, but here the producers' protests were directed at the PSBs rather than at the loss of private broadcasters' content investment. A research report undertaken by the Hamburg Media School in co-operation with a producers' industry body (Allianz Deutscher Produzenten – Film & Fernsehen) pointed to the pressures on independent producers deriving from decreasing public service programme spend per minute of content, 'complex decision pathways' and a 'low willingness for (financial) investment' (Castendyk and Müller, 2011: 55). Despite this research undertaken, only one respondent pointed to producers as a possible interest group for a children's multi-platform provision. However, the respondent argued that independent producers were not lobbying for children's media, but fighting a 'phantom war'¹⁸ against public service broadcasters, because they fought those who invested in children's content (D09).

10.3.2 Civic and industry groups

Unlike the UK, where many respondents pointed to the same lobby groups, none of the respondents in Germany could name a group that was related to the promotion of children's media. Only one respondent pointed to members of a broadcasting council who supported a children's film festival (D36). Another respondent maintained, 'I cannot think of a specific person or group. In the expert literature, there it is indeed a subject. And with our media researchers it is also a subject'¹⁹ (D27).

One respondent found lobbying activities at festivals such as Prix Jeunesse, but questioned its impact: 'In this sense there is a lobby. But if this then results in money or in opportunities that you then have for producing that is

again another question. It is certainly seen, but it also has to be expressed in money²⁰ (D06). A senior producer felt that a reason for the lack of a lobby was the low status of children in German society (D30). Children's media were seen to share the fate of children's issues in general:

'It is the question whether those people who are in positions of authority see it as a priority. They do not, and obviously have not done so for years. It is a fact that children in our society just don't have relevance, they've never had it. Children, old people are the same. [...] Children, old people they do not have a lobby²¹ (D30).

A further reason for the lack of public debate was identified as the lack of possibilities for women, who were regarded as those who mostly work and spend time with children, and could not afford the time and money to engage in public debates (D30). Another respondent held the same view, but had also noticed a quiet protection of PSB for children:

'In regard to children's offerings, one doesn't hear anything. KiKA is very popular, but there is not a noticeable lobby, that I would say; I read a lot in the press about children's programming. It is not like that. But [there is] also nothing against it. On the contrary, if it were cut, then there would be an outcry. So then, I think, something would happen. [...] Nobody would dare to say anything against things like *Maus* or *Löwenzahn*. which are cultural goods. So, I think, it is ur-public-service the children's programming, that no-one has to debate about it obviously. Because there is no debate about it²² (D28).

10.3.3 Broadcasting Councils

Some respondents argued that a public debate was taking place in Germany, but in an 'institutionalised' manner within the broadcasting councils, pointing to the concept at work here, namely the 'democratic principle of representation in regard to the dialogue with the socially relevant groups²³ (D33, on ARD-wide governing, Giersch and Pfab 2008). However, a former member of a PSB broadcasting council had made different observations about the children's provision:

'Had not played a great role. Had not a great role, one is glad that [the children's provision] exists, it is unproblematic. It was seen as such somehow. But I can't remember that [the children's provision] was often shown on the agenda²⁴ (D31).

Other respondents held that there were no members who specifically represented children in the councils (D22, 36). Some also saw no reason for this, because children's interests were not 'sensibly separable from other

societal groups',²⁵ and were therefore automatically represented by most council members (D22). That children's interests were represented by council members, however, was strongly questioned by another current member of a broadcasting council. It was held that members of a broadcasting council were not representing children, merely because they lived with or had raised children (D36). Although it is held, that, for example, 'the broadcasting law orientates the whole procedure to the notion of the needs of the society and empowered every broadcasting council member to control if these needs are well served for' (Radoslavov and Thomaß, 2010: 7)', it was argued that council members did not have the remit to represent children's interests and needs, because their very own opinions and experiences were not supposed to influence the work of the broadcasting councils (D15). Representing the children's interests was clearly not seen as an appropriate role for a council member, but as the role of external experts (D15). Others pointed to the observation that those representing children's issues in the councils were not necessarily representing or lobbying for children or children's media, but rather brought forward their specific agenda in regard to programming (D07).

10.3.4 Research

Another difference that emerged from the research was that, unlike the UK, Germany had no similarly broad availability of research data, including market research, on children's broadcasting. A central regulator like Ofcom did not exist, and although some federal bodies regularly published research on, for example, children's media use (e.g., see Feierabend et al., 2013), the 'German film and TV landscape is scarcely researched empirically' (Castendyk and Müller, 2011). In contrast to the greater availability of market research in the UK, because of the regulatory approach in regard to fair trading principles and the market economy, public service scrutiny in Germany builds more on qualitative than quantitative criteria (e.g., Radoslavov and Thomaß 2010).

In addition, the public service broadcasters' own publications differed in the extent that they were suitable for contributing to a public debate. Before the introduction of the three-step-test in 2009, the institutions had not published extensively about services for children on linear television, radio and other platforms. Most public insights were channelled in the ARD and ZDF

yearbooks, which consisted of a mix of corporate anecdotal essays and some data (e.g., see ARD, 2004). Furthermore, as Radoslavov and Thomaß (2010: 7) have shown, ‘there had been in Germany until the implementation of the three-step test no specification, what can be meant by public value’.

There is reason to argue that the idea of formulating and publishing a description of a service and its objectives by the broadcasters did not take root until phase 4 after the technological changes and new multi-platform activities of the broadcasters had taken place, together with the responding commercial lobbying against it, and the involvement of the EU Commission. However, the newly introduced obligatory publications to describe the fulfilment of the remit and future strategies were not automatically benefiting a widening of the public debate. Some observed that these new measures for accountability had been exercised by PSBs more as marketing than strategic publications for management purposes or for the public domain (Robin Meyer-Lucht in Berlin Institute, 2008). Therefore, it can be assumed that not only in the short term did this approach miss an opportunity for strengthening the relationship between the public and PSBs, as Lucht (*ibid.*) argued, but also missed an opportunity for creating valuable data that could inform a public or academic debate about the public service multi-platform provision in the long term.

In Germany, comprehensive research was certainly being undertaken by several internal institutions close to public service broadcasters: e.g., media journal *Media Perspektiven* (situated at the Hesse state ARD broadcaster HR), the KIM (children’s media use) and JIM (youth media use), reports (produced by ARD broadcaster SWR’s Audience Research and two Federal State Media Authorities (Landesmedienanstalten) of Rhineland-Palatinate and Baden-Wuerttemberg), and the IZI Institute (based at Bavarian ARD broadcaster BR) devoted themselves to research into children’s television and electronic media. Broadcasters and broadcasting councils did publish a number of policy and research documents on their websites, yet most of them were state treaties or those produced around the three-step-tests.

Aside from a general lack of transparency in regard to publishing information about internal protocols and procedures, here the main reasons seemed to be how broadcasting councils understood their role in the approval of PSB services (see Chapter 12). A broadcasting council that functions as a public information hub and comprehensively publishes documents and research for the public is a concept that could only be

found on smaller scale (e.g., see the research undertaken during the three-step-test (Hildebrand and Böge, 2009b). Also Kleinsteuber (2011) points to the 'lack of accountability to the public' and a lack of transparency of many German broadcasting councils, contrasting the way the councils work 'to the public' with the work of the BBC Trust (see also Kleinsteuber, 2007).

The Web propositions of the broadcasting councils appeared to be run with less resources and made fewer relevant documents accessible compared to the websites of their UK equivalent, the BBC Trust, which publishes research and governance documents on the BBC Trust website (e.g., see research on multi-platform provision published on www.mdr.de/mdr-rundfunkrat and www.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust; on differences in Web representations, see also Kleinsteuber, 2011). A senior executive in Germany held that broadcasting councils had only just matured and professionalised with the new responsibilities in the governance process during the three-step-tests and were expected to play another role in the future accountability of PSB (D11).

However, as a response to the March 2014 court ruling at the Federal Constitutional Court on the diversity, impartiality and 'independence from state intervention' of public service broadcasting councils (here, ZDF broadcasting council) (Bundesverfassungsgericht (BVerfG), 2014), the governing boards' transparency and accountability were beginning to be addressed by many broadcasters. For example, the broadcasting council of KiKA's parent broadcaster MDR announced transparency measures for an 'improved public representation of the work in the broadcasting councils',²⁶ as well as considering improvements to the 'Internet presence of the broadcasting council'²⁷ (Rundfunkrat des Mitteldeutschen Rundfunks, 2014).

10.3.5 No debate, but legalistic warfare

The understanding of lobbying mainly as lobbying for competitors' interests also formed part of the considerable difference in how respondents across ARD and ZDF described the character of the debate that was taking place as 'warfare' (D09, 12, 29, 33). As put by a German respondent:

'[The debate] takes place in form of trench warfare. Not in the form of a discussion about what is eventually regarded as societally

necessary regarding the present and changing circumstances, but out of existing battle arrays and trench systems it is reacting to changes from the outside in order to preserve vested rights and interests²⁸ (D29).

Another respondent similarly described the debate in Germany, when ‘the alarm bells ring and this discussion, the sometimes ideological dispute, becomes more massive again²⁹ (D31). Notably, a British respondent also characterised debates around children’s broadcasting in Germany similarly:

‘This is the problem with the German system. It is not collaborative, it is incredibly combative; everyone is fighting for their corner. [...] It seems to be in the nature of professionalism, that people are combative rather than collaborative. [...] Whereas in this country, if you have a good idea, people will listen to it’ (D12).

A respondent pointed to the problem that such war-like debate culture hindered change processes considerably, because there was a ‘lack of a desire to discuss any topic in a righteous, let’s say, intellectual or also media political manner³⁰ and maintained that in regard to some issues thinking was ‘not allowed³¹ (D11):

‘Debate cannot be held, because I make myself vulnerable to the competition. That is the problem. And that has also to do with – and I don’t know why it is like that, it just is like that – media politics in the sense of politics as creating is a minefield and so barricaded by the different parties, that whenever you open a door complete cohorts immediately come in and do horrifying things³² (D11).

Another element probably impacting the lack of debate about children’s media emerging from this research is that, as respondents agreed, media policy debates in Germany were described as ‘deeply legalistic’ (D29) and held within an enclosed circle of stakeholders and as ‘something that took place in the media newspaper sections, then stayed rather in such an enclosed group³³ (D26). Others explained:

‘[T]his is not societal debate, but to a great extent a self-interest-led “campaign” of the German press publishers, who deny public service broadcasting the right to develop further, who have problems with the media revolution themselves³⁴ (D33).

Only a few non-legal professions, academics or civil society groups were seen to share in the public debate:

‘The debate about the development of the media in Germany is deeply legalistic. It is being held in form of paragraphs and rules and regulatory concepts, and not in the sense of media-specific and

broadly societal concepts, led by democratic development, etc. I think that is a fundamental problem³⁵ (D29).

Adding to this, as the respondent argued 'the academic debate also is mostly legalistic³⁶ (D29). The research has shown that more diverse academic fields characterise the deliberation about children's media in the UK than in Germany, which may potentially counteract a tendency towards a predominance of legalistic arguments as found in German policy debates. Despite substantial research on children's media use, the impact of media on children, and in media pedagogy, research on children's content production and the regulatory issues affecting it that could contribute to public and policy debates were sparse. In the UK, recent academic research on children's media showed this greater diversity of engaged academic fields with research that was dealing with diverse policy issues connected to children's media, from policies that affected audiences to those that affected the children's media industry (Livingstone and Bober, 2006; Steemers, 2010a).

The fact that the public debates 'take place in the form of legal categories, what is permissible, what is not permissible. Not what is necessary and desirable in regard to the societal development and what is eventually not³⁷ (D29), was understood as the main reason why the children's provision could not become a matter of media policy and politics in Germany. As put by media executive Müntefering, who held that the children's provision could never 'grow up' to be a subject that the largely legalistic media policy community would seriously discuss: 'Children's broadcasting cannot grow up, therefore cannot become media politics'³⁸ (Müntefering, 2007). Whereas in the UK the children's provision had 'grown up' to a national media policy level in phase 3, in Germany, on the contrary, as an observer argued, the children's multi-platform provision and how it was scrutinised during the public debate about the role of PSB in the online era was seen to have distracted from more substantial PSB debates:

'The actual question about the substance of ARD and ZDF on the main channels and in TV production does completely get out of sight while the relevance of some kind of Kikaninchen websites is being lovingly discussed'³⁹ (Lutz Hachmeister, cited in Funkkorrespondenz, 2009).

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Chapter 11 - Challenges - Broadcaster

Introduction

This research has shown that German respondents saw the majority of challenges deriving from two areas, 'Broadcaster' and 'Regulation', while the UK respondents perceived challenges mainly in the areas of 'Products/services' and 'Audience'.

German respondents pointed to several different institutional challenges that could be attributed to the category 'Broadcaster', and this thesis highlights the most significant ones. Although some of the challenges in this category emerged in both countries simultaneously, the BBC respondents overall pointed to fewer challenges in this category. In Germany, issues repeatedly mentioned were those related to the organisational transformation and the coordination of different stakeholders involved in the children's multi-platform provision. In the UK, the overall fewer issues were related to the scarcity of funding and some also to the organisational transformation.

Before this chapter looks into these challenges in more detail, it first of all aims to clarify how broadcasters differed in their views about the process of transformation and the broad challenge deriving from it. Although this thesis speaks in terms of 'transformation and change from broadcasting to a multi-platform provision', one cannot assume that respondents will have the same general understanding of this process.

11.1 Understandings of the overall challenge

11.1.1 Broader provision vs more complex provision

This research has shown, first of all, that the broad understandings differed because the German respondents had several different understandings of 'The transformation' and 'The main challenge', while respondents at the BBC (as well as those respondents outside the BBC) appeared to have a similar understanding. In general, there were two images that described the modes of change or transformation used by the respondents and these illustrate how respondents may have viewed the changes differently. One points towards a broader provision, a quantity increase, and the other towards a more complex provision, a complexity increase. UK respondents referred more strongly to the first, German to the latter.

Broader provision

At the BBC, the transformation was described as a quantitative change of delivering products and services on 'more platforms' (UK52), resulting in more fragmented distribution channels to the audience (UK53, 57). The more fragmented supply chain caused broad challenges in regard to appropriate budget allocations and a greater need for selectivity. The multi-platform provision was described as 'a hell of a lot broader' (UK53). As put by a senior online producer:

'[T]he world is in an interesting place at the moment, budgets are being cut, we are still very privileged in how much we get to spend on multi-platform and make us all world-class, but we are being cut. Still with the same challenges to go on to multi-platform, to go on to all these screens, to be innovative, to have good reach. So that is a real challenge. Trying to make more out of less' (UK53).

Another senior executive at the BBC stressed the point of more platforms vis-à-vis tighter staff capacities and budgets as the main challenge:

'[E]ven though we have more platforms, our budget doesn't really increase exponentially to provide that. So you have to be careful. [...] It is a question of finding what we can do, finding our niche, but not – we call it, not robbing Peter to pay Paul. So to take money away from here to make that' (UK52).

A senior policy executive pointed to the quantitative change and the challenges deriving from it in regard to serving the different audiences:

'The challenges faced by the BBC are similar to what they have been facing since they've had digital television [...] that is the fragmentation of audience [...] down to a multiplicity of channels. And [...] digital interactive media, by which we mostly mean online – but now we might equally mean apps and distribution on tablets and on mobile devices, on one level you could simply see that [there are] yet more channels that they have to deal with. And that fragments [the] available audience. And that is a challenge in itself' (UK56).

More complex provision

In Germany, the transformation was described more as a complexity change, highlighting an increased complexity in regard to the provision, content, work processes, decision-making, conceptual thinking, audiences, distribution and others (D27, 28, 31, 33, 36). The provision for some had become 'much harder to organise and provide' (D33), and 'complex responsibilities' would make transformation processes more 'confusing/unclear'¹ (D31) and processes 'more difficult' (D24):

'To organise and make intuitively and ergonomically available non-linearity is always much harder than providing a programme along a simple timeline. With the latter, the complexity is much less, yet therefore also the functionality; what has been broadcast, is gone, what I have missed, I have missed for ever'² (D33).

Also here, an interviewee from the perspective of the broadcasting councils agreed with the broadcasters' view and emphasised the complex decision-making as the main challenge during the transformation:

'In order to come from linearity of a programme to the non-linearity of a multi-platform, that is the main challenge. That means the content decisions, technical decisions, structural decisions that are to be made there'³ (D36).

11.1.2 Fast change vs slow change

Another key characteristic of the responses on transitional processes in the two countries differed. While the German respondents agreed that the changes that took place were too slow, many of the UK respondents thought the changes that took place were too fast.

Fast change

A senior BBC online producer explained that the 'big challenge is how to be innovative and creative in such a moving world' (UK53). A former BBC online producer spoke of 'enormous significant things coming through, not just coming through, but have been there for four or five years' (UK54). The respondents agreed that the present changes differed from the changes familiar to the television industry. While 'the traditional broadcasting world has had to meet some really big challenges – radio, and then moving to colour, different TVs, the smart TVs, and things evolving and moving forward in that way', an online producer argued, 'Digital, that is a big evolution, a big change' (UK53). With the present changes, it was held, people would 'struggle with how much change there is, how things evolve quickly [...] that feels like we are on a very changing ground at the moment. And who knows where it will go?' (UK53). Another senior online producer at the BBC argued: '[C]learly, a big change has been going on for the last few years and will continue for the foreseeable future' (UK57).

Slow change

Contrary to the UK experience, this ‘massive’ change was not felt by any of the German respondents. Two interviewees thought that the challenges of the multi-platform era were ‘normal’ for broadcasters and not ‘the huge break that is often assumed’⁴ and very similar to the challenges faced by the PSBs in the past (D25, 32). Much in contrast to the powers perceived in the UK, the way that the public service broadcasters described the changes differed considerably. Changes were described as ‘slow’ (D29), ‘too slow’ (D25, 29) or ‘very slow’ (D23), and were most often related to the actual changes that were taking place at an institutional level. Respondents agreed that they were not oriented towards certain aims (D25, 29, 23) and it was assumed that such a process of change would be ‘naturally a long and complicated process in television’⁵ (D23). This was explained by a KiKA respondent: ‘I find it in parts almost too slow, because also very many things have to be done in the background, in order to basically facilitate certain technical solutions’⁶ (D25). An ARD online producer argued ‘[t]here is indeed a re-thinking happening, but the mills of public service broadcasters grind slowly. But it would be rather nice to offer children much more additional information, additional possibilities on the Web’⁷ (D23). A senior policy executive maintained:

Broadcasters were aware ‘that external factors change [...] which can mean that we also have to change and adapt. And these conclusions are certainly being discussed internally and externally. But the follow-up in the sense of sensible actions and changes while keeping things that are necessary, does take place in the German context a little too insufficiently and too slowly’⁸ (D29).

A senior executive argued that broadcasters ‘shouldn’t always wait so long that new legal frameworks would force [them] to do certain things’⁹ (D11). Some held that broadcasters were urged to develop a ‘self-interest, but also a legitimacy and communicatory interest to show [...] that we are able to change. And in this ability to change deliver our specific service to the public’ (D29). ‘But’ as the interviewee continued, ‘as it is, in big humble structures [...] such things do not happen so quickly’¹⁰ (ibid.).

11.2 Organisational transformation - processes and teams

In regard to the organisational transformation of broadcasters there were some similarities between the two countries, but some of the challenges were described differently.

11.2.1 Two worlds - television/online

First of all, the different processes of producing linear television and producing interactive content were emphasised as an issue that for some never 'was a challenge' (UK55), but for others it was an almost resolved, but ongoing challenge at the BBC. As put by a respondent:

'What [TV teams] were used to work in, and they still haven't got their heads around it, [...] what was a very set process. You make a telly programme, you edit it, you post-produce it, you give it to some scheduling people. There just is an engine and a process that works. It is not the same at all with what we have. So I think they struggle with how much change there is, how things evolve quickly, how we have to work in such a unique way [...]. Understanding who can do what [...]. How a proposal or a brief can change because of a certain technology, or the way that we are working. [...] [W]e have an editorial team and then we have an FM technical, design/UX team, and we have to work together to try and make this animal work. So it is a bit political. And that is not the world that TV is used to working in' (UK53).

Another BBC producer disagreed:

'I don't think it was a challenge. I think it just evolved naturally. And the people who came from interactive did come from a very different way of thinking and producing. And people, traditional television makers, came from a very linear way of making something. And the hardest thing has been getting those two groups of people to understand the way they think and work. [...] I think it has grown kind of organically' (UK55).

Most significantly, BBC respondents and their German counterparts seemed to be observing different stages in this process of two worlds merging. At the BBC, the process was mostly described as a past challenge and a settling in process (UK53, 54, 55). In Germany, the process to find the best way to collaborate was described by many as a process, that 'for all TV workers first of all has to begin'¹¹ (D23), or as a very current process where 'the new world now grows together with the old world'¹² (D28). An executive producer pointed to the importance of individual staff attitudes for the quality of collaboration: '[A]bove all, the editorial work is a challenge'¹³ (D28). Animosities, here between 'old' and 'new world' staff, but also between radio and TV staff linked to online output, were mentioned more often in the German context (D35, 27). An ARD senior online producer explained that collaboration within the broadcaster worked very well, because online editors and technicians regularly sat together in editorial conferences, where tasks were distributed on an informal basis (D21). At

ZDF it was held:

'We are relatively far ahead, people realised that you have to merge things. [...] The TV colleagues didn't know what to do with it in the beginning. Or the specific characteristics, that you have always to appreciate differently with online. But that has changed a lot. By now, I think, it is not any more the problem that people have to realise it has to be done and want it to be done. Everyone wants it'¹⁴ (D30).

11.2.2 Different responsibilities and competencies

Teams - A big creative puddle

With the creation of the Future Media department, which was described as 'the driving force behind [...] products' (UK51) and a move towards product and project management a change in hierarchies and responsibilities between editorial and technical staff was also observed (UK51, 53, 57):

'The technology teams were just seen as service providers to the editorial and controllers, so that is starting to change now. And the division that has been best funded is Future Media. And the other divisions having funds slightly reduced, because they see that change is not about more content, but about getting content out on more screens' (UK51).

Only one respondent suggested some tensions in regard to new responsibilities; others, however, emphasised the good team-work between editorial and technology:

'[W]e have processes by which we have reviews every couple of weeks. So, [for] every project that [...] our teams are working on, it is a matching of [the product lead], our controller, [the head of interactive] and all the editorial team [...] And us as a group have to agree, what is the way forward. And it works really well for [the children's channel], because it is a nice brand and [...] we are all pretty much experts in what we do. But there is not that without that. [...] It can be really difficult and having that review in place is essential. And we work like that across everything' (UK53).

It is probable that an issue that may have caused the challenge mentioned by one respondent was one important change, namely that now the 'final sign-off' for online products lay with the product lead in the technology stream. (UK51, 53). The idea of tensions between technologists and editorial staff was absent from the German context, probably because here 'technicians' (D21) didn't have similarly powerful curating positions with similar sign-off responsibilities.

Respondents largely agreed that the triangular production set-up had proved beneficial for team-work and processes, but had also brought certain new challenges:

'[I]t is different worlds that have to collide properly. Because if technical people were to build things on their own, then it might be in danger of being one thing that wasn't right and if it was just an editorial team that would do just things on their own, then it would be something just as bad. We did probably try that for a while, it didn't work. So we acknowledge and we recognise from the ground up, that we [have] got to all work in a triangular way – so editorial, technical and design/UX all in a big creative puddle. And that brings interesting challenges' (UK53).

Lack of multi-platform thinking from commissioning

There was one issue where BBC and German respondents agreed, the challenge arising for those who designed and produced the online and mobile propositions through not being involved in the commissioning process early enough. A BBC senior online producer explained the way the teams currently worked was that 'controllers of the children's channels, they buy a lot of content. And up to now, the product lead hasn't had much input into that' (UK51). It was envisaged that in future the product lead would be able to 'sit at the table with the controllers as they buy new content':

'So that we can see if the company we are buying the content from has an interactive arm and at that stage decide should we develop an interactive proposition within their group or outside of their group depending on what we feel [...] that is where the decision should start. It should start from the commissioning table. And I think that is one thing we are trying to get in place [...]. And then once we have got that decision in place, the rest should flow fairly easily' (ibid.).

A German senior online producer pointed to the same challenge '[t]o expand into the established work processes that [...] online is put into contract considerations, and it is considered in terms of brands, less in TV format plus online offering' (UK28):

'This works better and better, and actually works quite well in some parts, but is still impacted by the persons [dealing with it]. When the persons are "online-affine" very well, then that works super. But when they are less "online-affine", then it is harder. [...] Therefore, we are on the path, but we haven't got to the end yet'¹⁵ (ibid.).

11.3 Coordination and communication

There was one great challenge that emerged only from the German sources: the challenge related to coordination and communication. Because sometimes broadcasters followed different individual interests, and also had a different understanding of an overall PSB multi-platform provision for children (see Chapter 9.3.4), this research showed that the communication and coordination of the multi-platform public service provision for children between the different parties proved to be one of the greatest challenges for the German respondents. Several issues related to this challenge.

First of all, the multiplicity of involved parties consequently brought about a multiplicity of interests, set-ups and strategies. More complex responsibilities in the children's provision were caused by the fact that German PSBs offered both individual and joint propositions to children, a set-up that was mainly due to the federal organisation of PSB in Germany. But it also resulted from the specific ways of collaboration that the broadcasters had established in previous decades in order to serve the child audience. The German PSB multi-platform provision for children was characterised by a multiplicity of offerings, which, on the one hand, resulted in a diversity of offerings differing in content and characteristics. On the other hand, offerings also differed in functionalities, aims, technologies, funding and different concepts of an overall PSB offering for children and the role of their own service within this construct. Importantly, it also resulted in very different set-ups of responsibilities and ownership that extended beyond the TV broadcast. This resulted in several challenges related to the interaction between broadcasters and the audience, and also to the interaction between the broadcasters.

11.3.1 Transformation processes in a fragmented provision

Complex structure and responsibilities

Respondents mentioned several challenges in regard to coordination and communication in these more complex structures. First, respondents similarly highlighted the point that complex organisational structures in Germany resulted in more 'complex responsibilities' (D31) and therefore more challenges for coordination and collaboration within these different responsibilities (D21, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31). For example, ARD was described

as a 'complex shop'¹⁶ (D27), where the multiplicity of children's offerings would result in 'fragmented', 'individualised', 'splintered' and 'chopped up'¹⁷ PSB propositions (D21, 23, 30). As put by a senior online producer, '[W]e are pretty much chopped up at the ARD'¹⁸ (D23), another held:

'[T]here are many good public service offerings. What they lack a little is, it is so individualised, very splintered. You have to search for it. I think the public service offerings are lacking a common homeland'¹⁹ (D26).

One example is the challenge to create an online representation of children's offerings in the ARD-network, for which *kinder.ard.de* tried to present an overview. *CheckEins*, the branded children's TV slot broadcast on joint TV channel *Das Erste* (the TV channel was created by regional ARD broadcasters in collaboration), had a separate online proposition. Editorial, programme planning, scheduling and marketing for *Das Erste* children's provision on television and online were dispersed over several departments, e.g. in Munich, Cologne and Frankfurt.

The BBC was repeatedly described as advantaged in this regard (D03, 25, 28, 30, 31). Complex structures resulted from the fact that many broadcasters had set up the online and interactive children's departments and teams in different ways, and they had also evolved differently over time. The challenge of fragmentation was probably even more significant in the children's context, because the provision grew organically over 15 years (Chapter 9), although none of them had a specific regional outlook or catered for specific distinctive audiences. Furthermore, German PSBs decided to create separate on-demand systems for their child and general audiences and this must have led to a further fragmentation of budgets, knowledge and expertise.

Respondents often pointed to the different set-ups in regard to how the online/new media department was related to the content producers in TV/radio (D29). For example, *Kinderinsel* (BR) and *Kindernetz* (SWR) had completely different organisational set-ups in that regard. Some children's departments which produced for online services were more closely 'docked on'²⁰ to a central online department with close links to the radio department (D22). Some were based within the children's TV department, and therefore 'sat together with the genre colleagues'²¹ (D21). Some formed a separate department and were more closely linked to sections of a TV department (e.g. *KiKA*, *Kikaninchen.de*), some online and TV departments had just

merged (e.g. ZDF). Some children's online teams, as strategically relevant projects, were also more closely related to the general-director departments than to children's departments.

As a result, the way that online content for children was planned, produced and distributed displayed very few parallels between the different broadcasters, with their various hierarchies and responsibilities, and followed different rationales. For example, at BR, children's online content appeared to be more closely linked to the online output of the children's radio department. The radio team were the only content department to produce content that was aired on BR channels, whereas BR's children's TV department only produced content that was aired on KiKA. This specific set-up may have resulted in different levels of ownership felt by the different BR children's content departments for the Web proposition (here radio and online editors were described as those looking after the BR-Kinderinsel), but it was also a source of animosity: 'Radio people' were described to dislike too great an involvement of the TV content on the website, 'because they certainly know that television embraces children simply a bit more than the little radio'²² (D35).

Other complex structures and responsibilities could also be observed within the organisational structure of KiKA, a joint effort of the ARD-network and the ZDF. A respondent described these specific challenges for KiKA to be set up within this complex construction:

'That comes from the specific situation of KiKA, which is some kind of partner programme, the responsibility of MDR, but carried by the whole of ARD, and the ZDF is also part. These are always the German peculiarities of such complex responsibilities. Anyone looking at it from abroad, will shake his head, whereas for a centralistic BBC it will be considerably easier. And when transformative processes are added, then certainly it will get more diffuse'²³ (D31).

Fragmented PSB proposition

Fragmentation of services and audiences brought challenges internally and externally. A concern considered at ARD was that it might lead to unwanted internal competition of PSB services. According to a senior executive, it was discussed ARD-wide 'if the present structure makes sense, because it can lead to inner-competition on a middle level'²⁴ (D33). Furthermore, the fact that products and services were produced separately resulted not only in a

multiplicity of websites, but also in a multiplicity of different on-demand and catch-up systems – with smaller budgets available for each separate service. It is probable that this had formed a disadvantage for some broadcasters, for example, compared to the BBC, in regard to the resources for long-term content and service innovation, such as those for the iPlayer and its variations for the child audience. The commonly as too low regarded budgets for KiKA's on-demand application, launched in 2010, may be one indication for this. Together with the challenge of faster turnarounds for soft- and hardware technology in the online sphere and the need for continuous technology and staff development and investment (a challenge highlighted in the UK), the range of budgetary and technical challenges for German PSB must have been many times greater than the challenges for the BBC.

Externally, fragmentation also brought challenges for the transformation of PSB into a multi-platform provision. As some interviews suggested, the online provision was often not created with the audience perspective in mind (see Chapter 9), but reflected the complexity of the PSB compound in its online structures. A senior executive at one of the ARD broadcasters held that for someone in the audience in order to comprehend certain aspects of the multi-platform public service provision for children, and, for example, find the whereabouts of certain content online, 'I have to have special internal knowledge of the structure of the ARD, otherwise I don't understand why there is the one [service] and the other'²⁵ (D02). Also another respondent at ZDF explained that parts of the provision were 'probably constructed so complicatedly that it is not found unfortunately'²⁶ (D06).

Another issue for the audience mentioned by respondents was the on-demand applications being 'very differently constructed'²⁷ (D30). With the introduction of new types of content consumption, such as on-demand and catch-up applications, broadcasters also introduced new terms. What the audience used to know as a 'TV programme' was now marked as 'videos' or 'clips', and sometimes a video led to the availability of full on-demand programmes, sometimes just to 'snippets' of programmes or promotional trailers. A senior producer suggested that at times an uncomprehensible mixed display of snippets and full programmes may lead to dissatisfaction among children: 'This Mediathek has also a mixed construction. Sometimes there are complete programmes, [...] but very often there are just those snippets [...]. Which then is indeed not very satisfying, if you are sitting there as a child'²⁸ (D06).

11.3.2 Coordinating the old and the new world

Among the biggest challenges in a complex structure can be coordination and collaboration. The challenges indicated by respondents were working with structures deriving from the 'classical' media (D21, 26, 29) and the coordination functions that had originally been created for TV and radio schedules. As put by a senior online producer: '[W]e are coming from the classical over decades-practised structures, with TV here and radio there'²⁹ (D26). And respondents similarly expressed the view that 'established structures and the world we come from, and the concepts that ruled there in thinking and developing [...] still play a very significant role'³⁰ (D29). That the quality of collaboration can form a critical factor for transformation processes shows, for example, that 'part of the success' of ZDF's children's Web proposition *tivi.de* was explained with an 'always exceptionally good and well-practised collaboration of the two departments', the Online and the Children and Youth Department. It is argued that *tivi.de* was from its outset envisaged by the two department heads Susanne Müller and Michael Kramers as 'a cross-departmental collaboration project' (Hübert, 2008).

At the ARD-network, former organisational structures and functions, such as the coordinating function of ARD Family Coordination based in Munich (historically coordinating the TV output), now faced the challenge that coordination might evolve into a completely different task, with the ARD-network being a compound of several networked multi-platform propositions for children.

Finding the coordinates for the coordination

According to the respondents, there were several institutions, business areas and departments involved in strategic decisions and governance related to the multi-platform provision for children at the ARD-network, such as the *Redaktionskonferenz Online* ('*Editorial Conference Online*'), the *AG Online* ('*Working Group Online*'), the *Fernsehprogrammkonferenz* (*Television Programming Conference*), the *AG Multiplattformstrategie* ('*Working Group Multi-platform Strategy*'), the *ARD Onlinekoordination* ('*ARD Online Coordination*'), the ARD (*Kinder- und*) *Familienkoordination* (ARD Children and Family Coordination) and the *Programmkommission* of KiKA (KiKA Programming Commission). The research showed that more complex structures led to more challenges for coordination and collaboration. In

regard to the multi-platform provision and strategy the respondents had different understandings of the role and competencies of these departments or bodies. Respondents also expected some of these bodies to have competencies that their representatives dismissed or disregarded during the research interviews. For example, some also pointed to the CheckEins.de team to have some kind of coordinating function within the ARD compound, 'coordinating what Kindernetz does and what BR Kinderinsel does'³¹ (D03, 07). Yet, during the interview there this function was not mentioned as such.

Questioned who considered or coordinated the ARD multi-platform strategy for children, two respondents pointed to 'the ARD Kinder- und Familienkoordination, there exactly those questions are discussed'³² (D21). Also at KiKA, the same department based at BR in Munich was named as the ARD institution with the competence to consider the children's multi-platform strategy for the ARD, but also partly for KiKA (FN07). However, at the ARD Family Coordination (*ARD Familienkoordination*) it was argued that their role in the day-to-day coordination of services on new platforms was minimal: 'Primarily, it is the linear output to deal with, but [...] with the time and the demands of the new networked world, the scattering in the non-linear offerings has got bigger'³³ (D24). The same respondent explained:

[E]ditorially, the segment Multimedia is fully acknowledged and there is certainly also an awareness [for it]. But the questions of the Koordination still primarily focus on where you play which linear programme – that is certainly still high on the list, and everything else is secondary'³⁴ (IV24).

According to the respondent at the *ARD Familienkoordination*, despite other respondents pointing to this role in the ARD compound, a long-term multi-platform strategy was not part of the considerations at the *ARD Familienkoordination*:

'We do not deal in our general coordination meetings with what one wants to do in 3, 4, 5 years. But it happens the other way around. You create offerings first of all linear, and then you say, what does the corresponding best practice use look like also for online, in order then to reach those target groups, which you do not reach linear with the children's programme'³⁵ (D24).

The respondent explained that '[t]here are several institutions that deal with the subject [of] multi-platform strategies'³⁶ (D24), but questions in regard to a 'networking [...] that is indeed done by [a member of the *AG Multiplattformstrategie*]³⁷ (D24). It was held that other ARD institutions had the responsibilities and powers, which other respondents believed the

Family Coordination had:

‘It is indeed a subject, we are working on it. Because in the ARD there is a working group, that is exactly called *Working Group Multi-platform Strategy (AG Multiplattformstrategie)*. There, exactly those questions are being looked at. There, it is exactly said, how do we place ourselves where? Is it comprehensible, is it transparent, what we do there? [...] And lastly this now also scatters into all the Coordinations’³⁸ (D24).

Also another senior online producer at one of the ARD broadcasters pointed to the *ARD Onlinekoordination* as the one who considered strategic questions in regard to the child audience (D21). However, a representative of the working group *AG Multiplattformstrategie* and the *ARD Onlinekoordination* explained that the children’s provision had not been part of the remit of the *ARD Onlinekoordination* or *AG Multiplattformstrategie*:

‘Also in the future, this will probably not be a subject of the *Working Group Multi-platform Strategy [AG Multiplattformstrategie]*, because it is not part of its remit to deal with children’s propositions. It has been established for overall, not editorial questions. The children’s propositions kika.de, CheckEins on DasErste.de are being discussed in the *Fernsehprogrammkonferenz*’³⁹ (D33).

It was explained, ‘It is not within the remit of the *ARD Onlinekoordination* to coordinate the online propositions (or teledmedia) for the ARD, because there is nothing like an “ARD children’s proposition”, which is jointly financed’⁴⁰ (D33). And throwing the ball back, it was added: ‘For the coordination of the children’s programmes [...] the Familienkoordinator [*ARD Familienkoordination*] is in charge’⁴¹ (D33).

Therefore, although the *ARD Familienkoordination*, the *AG Multiplattformstrategie* and the *ARD Onlinekoordination* were by several respondents recognised to consider the overall questions and strategic considerations for a children’s multi-platform provision and all of them had some function in regard to organising the collaboration across broadcasters (e.g. see Landtag Rheinland-Pfalz, 2002), all understood a multi-platform strategy specifically for children not as part of their remit.

Joining in the coordination and collaboration

Another example of a challenge in regard to coordination and collaboration between the PSBs was that some of the regular forms of exchange between the different online stakeholders that were charged with governance

functions excluded some key parties involved in the PSB children's multi-platform provision, because of organisational roots in previous TV structures. There is evidence to show that this hampered communication between some parties, because certain PSB parties were included in the strategic exchange, while others were excluded.

The way the exchange between different stakeholders worked, was perceived very differently. Whereas at one federal broadcaster the coordination of those staff members working on the online output 'from far across the broadcaster'⁴², was described as functioning very well (D21), for other forms of communication and exchange that spanned different departments at different broadcasters, communication was described as quite challenging. For example, at the *Redaktionskonferenz Online*, a regular conference meeting, which regularly brought together representatives of all online departments of the ARD (Landtag Rheinland-Pfalz, 2002: 25), it was argued 'however, KiKA is not a member'⁴³ and KiKA's online department was represented by the parent broadcaster MDR (D10). This, for example, as some respondents suggested, led to the situation that KiKA's interests were not comprehensively represented in the two-weekly online conference, because, as suggested, 'MDR then represented mainly also its own interests'⁴⁴ (D10). There is reason to argue that this may have made communication between PSB stakeholders more difficult. According to a respondent, for example, the exchange about the new online regulation and restrictions had taken place in the *Redaktionskonferenz Online*, but, according to the respondent, without a representative of KiKA (D10).

Another example, was the relatively newly established so-called Online Working Group (*Online AG*) which once or twice a year institutionalised ARD's, ZDF's and KiKA's knowledge exchange and collaboration for children online. It only included a representative of CheckEins.de, ZDFtivi.de and the head of KiKA's online department, where collaboration and, for example, interlinking and cross-platform announcements were considered. Some pointed to the challenge that most ARD representatives were not part of this formalised exchange, because they were supposed to be represented by the online editor of CheckEins.de, who was responsible for the children's website of the children's TV slot of ARD's national channel Das Erste. 'I would like to see more ARD colleagues at the table',⁴⁵ argued a respondent:

'It made more sense [...], if [ARD colleagues], if they sat at the table. Now, the CheckEins colleague also always has a mediating role, because [the CheckEins colleague] speaks about things, that [the CheckEins colleague] doesn't do. [...] [I]t would be better if that very person would join the table in the first place'⁴⁶ (D03).

11.3.3 Integration ever more challenging

Another challenge in phase 4 was that a central purpose for the German broadcasters of utilising the network characteristic of the Internet to integrate the different German PSB offerings and link separate propositions together to a coherent overall offering (emphasised by PSBs since phase 1, see Chapters 6, 7 and 9), in regard to the children's provision was apparently partly realised, partly dismissed. The research showed that bundling was an important purpose of the online provision, but there must have been disagreement about a central bundling service for children. Integration had always been put forward as one central opportunity of the new media for PSB, also for children. For TV, for example, 'a better integration of KiKA with Das Erste'⁴⁷ of the children's provision still remained common goal. (e.g., see ARD, 2012a: 74). There is reason to argue that several challenges had emerged that might have impacted the broadcasters' diverting strategies in regard to the children's multi-platform provision.

There are several factors that suggest broadcasters may have diverted from their initial strategy: one being the fact that there was no service for children at the time of the research that integrated or connected PSBs' propositions, other than sporadic links on certain websites, and that KiKA's Mediathek, had not become the unique bundling service MDR and ZDF had envisaged, and only offered a limited range of video content that was mainly produced or acquired by KiKA, and did not display content from the parent broadcasters (In late 2012, Ki.KAplus began to offer more content from its parent broadcasters).

Either a lack of strategic considerations or actions to implement certain objectives have caused this delay, or it is the result of challenges during the implementation of such an integrated proposition. One can assume that the integration of PSB offerings for children in the online sphere may have been a more sensitive issue than for the TV sphere. This is suggested by the fact that it has been subject during the approval process of KiKA's online

services raised by commercial media lobbying groups, but, notably, also by a group representing family interests, which pointed to possible 'double structures in regard to the telemedia offerings'.⁴⁸ Yet, the comments were largely aimed at pointing to alleged inefficiency and alleged overspending, rather than pointing to the needs or demands of audiences (see, e.g. Rundfunkrat des MDR, 2010: 64; see also, Gremienvorsitzendenkonferenz der ARD, 2009b: 17).

It is also likely that an integration task had become more complex with more parties joining in. It will also have become more complex with different conceptual and technical solutions and a multiplicity of different vocabulary and terms used for similar user interfaces, services or functionalities at the different outlets ZDF, ARD, CheckEins, SWR, KiKA and BR. Also, the above-mentioned more organic growth of services building on legacy TV structures and past rationales may have had an impact on the feasibility of such an integration. For example, for the *ARD-Familienkoordination* which probably observed the ARD-broadcasters' children's online output, coordination appeared more challenging in the online space, because of the diversity of approaches. As suggested by one comment: '[P]rimary homework [task] is first of all the linear segment, clearly, [this] is also caused by the fact that the houses [broadcasters] partly have their very specific own structures and they are not linked together everywhere'⁴⁹ (D24).

Challenges must have emerged that hampered a timely development, because integration was clearly stressed as common goal. As explained by a senior executive:

'[W]e try, that is a homework, that we have given ourselves for the relaunch, to make the interlinking more attractive. At the moment, it is not very attractive, not at ours, not at KiKA. So, also the KiKA sites that link to us are not nice and not child-appropriate. And actually we want to change that. The same applies to the Mediathek. Here as well, we want to interlink the Mediatheks better'⁵⁰ (D03).

However, respondents differed in their views about the reasons for a current lack of such an integrated overall proposition. According to a senior policy executive, there were likely to be no constraints coming from broadcasting councils or rights considerations for an ARD-wide service, because it was likely to be regarded as of 'qualitative public value',⁵¹ adding that if the ARD wanted to push forward such a thing, the respondent would not see any problems other than 'very practical and real-world reasons'⁵² (D29). A senior online executive at ARD argued that the reason for a lack of a roof portal

was that there was no demand for it by the audience, given children's demand for orientation in regard to 'favourite programmes and protagonists',⁵³ who were completely disregarding the broadcaster who offered it (D33).

A senior producer suggested that any such considerations in regard to an overall multi-platform strategy (or a specific concept for an integrated proposition), because of its lower priority, would be only in the very early stages, if at all, and explained:

'[A] decision would have to be made rather topdown, and there I think this issue is lastly probably on the level of the director-generals not so highly regarded, that one would say, OK, it needs an overall strategy for all the propositions, also for all joint channels and explicitly for the Children's Channel. But that is an assumption. That is speculation'⁵⁴ (D01).

Another indication of challenges either in regard to the integration of a children's multi-platform provision, but possibly also in regard to the low status of the children's multi-platform provision in the broadcasters' strategic considerations, or possibly an indication of the decision against an overall ARD-wide proposition, is that kinder.ard.de did not display a specific strategy for a children's provision or facilitate any vision for it. It was, according to a respondent at one of the ARD broadcasters, created with minimal effort (D23) and was designed not as a website for children, but one for general information, largely for parents (D33). Also, the fact that the Mediathek of ARD and ZDF did not incorporate content of the KiKA Mediathek during phase 4 (D28, 33) may be regarded as an indication for either a lack of vision, a lowly status in the overall strategy, technical challenges, a dismissal of the concept that KiKA should further evolve into the integrated service once envisaged, or a conscious decision by individual broadcasters to retain the children's services under their own wings, because of their long-term strategic worth as key public service propositions.

11.4 Coordinating KiKA's multi-platform provision

There is evidence to argue that German broadcasters faced another great challenge that can be attributed to institutional issues. The coordination and communication about the role and tasks of KiKA's multi-platform provision formed a major challenge at the time of the research. The challenges

derived from the more complex structures of the German PSB system and also from the way that KiKA was set up within this system, where each platform seemed to follow different rules and rationales towards a children's provision. Several related challenges were pointed out. First of all, the organisational structure, specifically of KiKA, but also of the children's online provision of federal broadcasters and ZDF, who collaborated with the headquarters of KiKA at MDR to produce the channel's output. The second challenge was that the German PSBs seemed to have developed two different strategic directions for KiKA – one for the TV and one for the online sphere. Both added considerably to the challenges for the coordination and communication between the involved parties and may have ultimately impacted KiKA's transformation into a multi-platform provider.

11.4.1 KiKA - a child with many parents

KiKA's organisational structure was repeatedly mentioned as a source of challenge. One respondent commented that it would be easier for the BBC to coordinate and create their children's provision; ownership was one great challenge: 'It is indeed easier for them, because it is their channel and we have the "hermaphrodite/hybrid" KiKA, which makes a bit more complicated'⁵⁵ (D03).

German PSBs seemed to have developed a peculiar collective conceptual framework to make sense of the institutional challenges of the children's channel, of which the roots can be traced back to the very launch of the channel. There were several ways in which respondents described the challenges in regard to KiKA's organisational structure using this framework. The basic conceptual framework of KiKA comprised:

- 'One child with many parents', with different authoritative and caring characteristics (ARD broadcasters, MDR and ZDF)
- An increasing emphasis on the role of the 'Parents', despite an increasing 'Maturity' of the 'Child'
- A tendency of the 'Parents' not to share assets with their child and to hold on to their own online children's provision out of long-term strategic considerations
- Disparate concepts of the autonomy of the 'Child' among 'Parents', as well as its specific relationship with each of the many 'Parents'

The parent-child metaphor that was repeatedly used for KiKA and its specific relationship to the ARD broadcasters and ZDF (and MDR, where it was based) pointed to challenges deriving from its specific organisational structure. KiKA was repeatedly described by respondents and in documents as a child with many disputing parents. KiKA was described as a 'child'⁵⁶ by many (D05, 21, 25, 26, 28, 32), and 'ARD and ZDF [as] the parents of the Children's Channel'⁵⁷ (IV32). Therefore, ARD and ZDF's role in regard to organising a public service children's provision was seen as 'parenthood'⁵⁸ (D05). The basic challenge for KiKA was that it had many parents, or that it was 'the child of both'⁵⁹ (D26). Also KiKA's early historic challenges were described by the terms 'labour pains'⁶⁰ (D03). Others had described it as 'a planned child, but with ulterior motives'⁶¹ (Müller, 2001a: 173, see Chapter 3.3.3). The family relationship was characterised by 'rivalries'⁶² (D03). Also, the child itself was referred to as the 'hermaphrodite KiKA', emphasising its challenge to find its place even more. One respondent summarised the present state of the family relationship: 'A lot works very well together, but there are points where there are tensions. [...] Like in a family, we often say, so the child becomes an adult and voices demands'⁶³ (D05).

Notably, although the BBC is sometimes referred to as 'Auntie Beeb', also using the family metaphor, during this research no similar picture of 'Auntie's' children emerged from the sources in the UK. When the family dispute characterised the organisational attitude towards the KiKA provision, then this may have formed one reason why strategy considerations in regard to KiKA and an overall multi-platform strategy were still in the early stages, or, as some suggested, in 'the infant shoes' (see Chapter 9.3.2). Attempting to draw out the PSB multi-platform strategy for children and the role of KiKA within it, a respondent explained:

'That is always difficult to explain in one sentence. I can answer it in so far as the Children's Channel is indeed a part of the overall strategy of ARD and ZDF. And, therefore, the online/multi-platform strategy also plays a role in the second instance. That one could describe in a concrete way an emphasis on multi-platform, saying that one has already tried to develop a concrete strategy in that regard, that is still, if at all, only in the infant's shoes. Hence, it is noticeable that working groups are being formed, connections are being made, in order to shine light on exactly these questions. But this is still in the early days'⁶⁴ (D01).

As a result of the above challenges, it can be argued, PSB in Germany had developed for their children's channel KiKA two differing thought systems

and strategies, one for the TV sphere and one for online.

More emphasis on parenthood

Instead of emphasising KiKA's individual brand profile (a strategy displayed for CBBC and CBeebies in the UK), it was held that ARD and ZDF in this period put 'strong emphasis on the parenthood [and] where that [programming/content] comes from'⁶⁵ (FN06): While 'in the past it was just "KiKA", now it is always said "of ARD and ZDF"'⁶⁶ (FN03). It was widely held that PSBs also tried to improve 'the recognition of KiKA on the main channels' (ARD, 2012a: 72). Respondents explained that this had been a response to KiKA not being regarded by the audience as related to ARD or ZDF, and therefore as licence-funded public service (FN03, 06, 08). This would cause 'headaches' for strategic considerations (FN06, 08), mainly in regard to 'politics'⁶⁷: '[J]ustifying the licence fee funding you do by making transparent that this is a channel financed by the licence fee, so that parents like to pay the licence fee'⁶⁸ (D06).

In Germany, respondents held, the 'debate [about the licence fee was] on at the moment', a reason why PSBs had to justify the 'money they used', and 'it was important out of strategic reasons to emphasis where it [KiKA] comes from' (D03). For some broadcasters, as this research has shown, the question 'which online platform gets the pay-off of a certain brand',⁶⁹ must have formed an important issue for strategic considerations, as many had been transferring their produced – and often popular – children's content on to KiKA, away from their own branded outlets, because that had been an agreed strategy in the multi-channel TV era since 1997. It was mentioned by many respondents, both ARD and ZDF. One respondent pointed to this specific 'dilemma' for some broadcasters:

'[T]he problem is that the children's programming is relatively externalised. There is no pay-off for [the broadcaster] really, because the children's programming, which is produced by [the broadcaster] and which runs successfully, is then shown on KiKA. It pays into KiKA and not so much into [the broadcaster]. That is a little our dilemma, that one doesn't say, Hey, that's [the broadcaster]!'⁷⁰ (D06).

This Germany-specific PSB challenge had also been recognised from the UK's viewpoint:

'The whole system is designed not to produce a holistic approach. [...] It is almost designed with the idea that these people are bound to war

against one another. [...] The most interesting thing they did was to create KiKA. Because KiKA was forward-thinking. They managed to create KiKA before we had [...] public service channels here in the UK. And that was [...] a great thing. But what they didn't do was really empower KiKA [...]. It would have been interesting if in some way they had made KiKA the sort of federal headquarters of Children's [...], so that the head of KiKA potentially became the head of children's public service [...]. It is nowhere near that. Because the head of KiKA is enthralled to all the warring factions' (D12).

11.4.3 Holding on to the online children's provision

Several bodies were involved in strategic decisions regarding multi-platform efforts for children and therefore also with KiKA's role within a multi-platform public service provision. There is reason to argue that different broadcasters had different views about their own and KiKA's role in regard to how PSBs should provide content and services to children in a multi-platform world. They had also a range of different attitudes towards 'brand-building' and 'safeguarding' their own children's brand/s or the brand of 'children's PSB' (D03, 21, 22, 23, 33). It was argued that agreeing about the role of KiKA as a multi-platform provider, in the first place, was a major unresolved issue among the public service broadcasters. Many issues remained unsettled between the broadcasters, were the cause of dispute or under consideration (D03, 05, 06, 07, 10, 23, 24, 25, 27).

The challenges were caused both by the more complex structures and interests naturally at play in a federal set-up, but probably also by the perceived greater need for justification in a multi-channel, multi-platform era leading to a growing strategic importance of the new platforms and the child provision. These developments must be seen in context of what PSBs experienced at the time, namely being 'tied-up into a much too tight regulatory corset, that restricts it considerably in its freedom to act and to evolve'⁷¹ (Burggraf, 2008). There is reason to argue that external pressures probably led broadcasters to hold on more strongly to their own content and propositions on the new platforms (which they had financed and produced). D'Arma and Steemers (2010a: 1-2) observed:

'PSB organisations have singled out children's media as a strategic field of activity [...] trying to legitimise their future existence' by trying to build among child audiences 'a sense of "loyalty" towards their brands' and because children's content could be 'showcased to demonstrate public service credentials'.

Steemers had argued elsewhere that PSBs were and had to become masters of their own justification (Steemers 2002). The research has argued that PSBs – and not only in Germany – understood the children’s provision as core public-service remit (e.g., see Chapters 1, 10) and it has shown that this specific value sometimes had meant for the children’s provision that it was used to pave the way for the political and public acceptance also for other PSB services in the strategic pipeline (see Chapters 3, 8). Therefore, strategic considerations may have played into broadcasters’ holding on to their own broadcast content for the online provision. The online provision for children was expected to increase in importance over the next years, on-demand repositories in general were considered ‘strategically important’ (D03, 06, see also Chapter 6). Respondents also pointed to another factor that a successful children’s website as well represented a justification for the children’s provision within the own broadcasting institution itself, and therefore led some departments to hold on to quality interactive and on-demand video content and intellectual property created for the Web (D03).

Holding on, letting go

However, rationales here appeared not very clear-cut. The attitude towards the in-house produced children’s online (and TV and radio) provision, as well as the expectations towards KiKA, seemed to differ widely from one individual public service broadcaster to another. A KiKA respondent commented on these different attitudes towards the joint children’s channel:

'I believe, that is foremost a political interest, the powers, so I say, the needs between ARD and ZDF are very different. The ZDF, that is a very centrally-run company, there it is relative easy to ask for certain attitudes. At ARD, I will not talk to one, I will talk to seven or eight and each of them has a different interest. That means, the ARD is only hard to manage and bring down to a common denominator; there are just different needs. And that also reflects in the offerings'⁷² (D26).

Differing attitudes can be found, for example, in an ARD strategy paper which described KiKA’s online strategy as one towards a more ‘specialised and differentiated’ provision and with ‘selected programmes’⁷³ (ARD, 2012a: 71), whereas from the KiKA management perspective (representatives of the individual PSBs) KiKA’s on-demand function ‘creates in a bundling fashion a direct *access to all* public service children’s offerings and thereby offers orientation’⁷⁴ (MDR and ZDF, 2010: 39, italics not in original). In contrast, again, an ARD executive with insight into the multi-platform strategy argued that ‘there is at this time no strategic decision by ARD and

ZDF to only have kika.de as the central portal'⁷⁵ (D33).

Another respondent explained that the parent broadcaster's managing board was not specifically interested in the pay-off of the children's online proposition for the broadcaster, because the children's proposition was not significant in relation to the broadcaster's present brand-building activities. In this case, it was argued that efforts to move the children's online proposition closer to the parent broadcaster brand were initiated from the children's online editorial team itself. They did not built on the dismissal of KiKA as the main PSB children's brand, but rather on a strong editorial identification of the department with the broadcasting institution and the concern that the audience did not adequately recognise the children's online brand as made by this very broadcaster. A senior online executive producer held that the broadcaster's commitment for children on new platforms (also budgetary-wise) needed pointing out: 'I find that is superb, that [the broadcaster] does something like it. I find that is absolutely to be praised, role-model-like. Yes! And therefore, I think, that should also be announced loudly'⁷⁶ (D02).

This shows that considerations in regard to the multi-platform children's provision were not only of strategic nature in regard to the justification of PSB overall, but were carried by diverse rationales. Yet, there is reason to argue that from KiKA's perspective the challenge of these diverse understandings of the parent broadcasters' own role in the PSB children's provision and the role of KiKA in the PSB compound presented KiKA with a considerable task to balance out the different interests and manage each relationship with the supplying broadcaster differently - with the 'limited resources' it had to serve ARD, ZDF and the KiKA productions. The different interests at play in the children's PSB compound were explained:

'[W]e have a Working Group Online, in order to discuss those issues. But there the interests are very different. The BR has decided that for them children's offering of whatever nature that is KiKA [...] they demand a lot [...] Therefore, one has to find the middle way [...] entitlements and demands are high.

But if we take WDR, for example, the WDR has a completely different interest. They have their own children, follow another policy. They have a commitment to children's programming that is very strong. And that is not questioned at the moment, I think. They rather say, No, we do our own thing [...] we only want a link [...], we don't want anything more. So, that basically means [...] different partners with different intentions/characteristics. And that is represented in the proposition accordingly'⁷⁷ (D26).

11.4.4 KiKA's disparate TV and online strategy

Success stories and collateral damage

There is evidence to show that the above challenges, ultimately, led to a lack of available online content for 'bundling' channel KiKA in phase 4. It arguably formed another set of challenges, which hampered the development of a coherent multi-platform strategy for KiKA and hindered the children's channel in creating the on-demand and catch-up service once envisaged. It was claimed that the KiKA Mediathek was not supplied with all the online content or catch-up content that it asked for in line with its TV schedules (D07). The KiKA on-demand provision represented only a small segment of KiKA's output, largely the content that was also produced at KiKA. For example, according to respondents, the on-demand provision lacked those programmes that other parent broadcasters regarded as 'special highlights' content. This led to the peculiar situation that, while one respondent described one parent broadcaster's on-demand service for children as 'a success story'⁷⁸ (D03), from the perspective of KiKA it was a concern that – despite the fact that the on-demand service *KiKAplus* was approved during the three-step-test, '[W]e have no Mediathek at all' (D09). And in regard to challenges in the regulatory context KiKA's multi-platform provision was described as a 'collateral damage' (see Chapter 12).

Two rationales - KiKA on television, KiKA on the Internet

Therefore, there is reason to argue that during the transformation to a multi-platform provision, PSBs (but not all) turned away from the TV strategy of KiKA's central role for the child audience in the compound. Although, having bundled most of their broadcasting efforts for children under the children's channel KiKA, on the distributional level (production split by one-third among KiKA, ARD, ZDF), German PSBs did not bundle public services online activities under the KiKA brand in a way comparable to the approach in television. The evidence showed that the family dispute and the perceived need for justifying public service externally, but also justifying children's departments in-house, and the challenges in regard to collaboration and coordination, led to the fact that ARD and ZDF's children's channel KiKA had not evolved into a central PSB multi-platform service similar to the role it played in the TV sphere. KiKA's TV strategy differed

considerably from its online strategy. For services other than traditional linear television, such as browser-based websites, games, social applications or on-demand services, PSB's KiKA-focused strategy had to some extent been given up in favour of the individual strategic interests and necessities of its parent broadcasters.

11.5 Resource scarcity

In the BBC context very different challenges were highlighted by the respondents in regard to institutional challenges, which this research would place in the category 'Broadcaster'. The great majority of challenges emerged in other categories (see Chapter 13).

11.5.1 Budget cuts and scarcity of funding

Also at the BBC, observers found challenges deriving from institutional developments. Here, respondents similarly expressed one significant challenge: budget cuts and scarcity of funding. As summarised by a senior executive:

'I think the limitations are budgetary. There is no shortage of ideas, this is a very creative space. We could spend hundreds of millions of pounds on fantastic online and mobile applications and devices and games. But we just can't afford it. So we have to be very strategic and focused in terms of what we do' (UK52).

Several elements were related to the challenge. First of all, the organisational changes brought about by the *Connected Strategy* and the financial readjustments after the licence fee settlement that impacted the overall BBC strategy, together with the strategy for children in this phase, led to a prioritisation and redefinition (see Chapter 9):

'I think it is sort of restating the principles of public service broadcasting, so that cuts [...] were both a pragmatic response to the frozen licence fee, which was frozen to 2017, and it is redefining us for the future. It says that [...] regardless of platform [...] journalism, arts and comedy, children's and nationally unifying events are all core parts of what a public service provider will do' (UK52).

However, this prioritisation led also to a greater need for selectivity, resulting in a focus on some brands. According to a senior producer at the BBC, the

'main challenge is that like everywhere else in the UK, budgets are being cut' (UK55). For example, in 2011, BBC Online announced an estimate that posts will need to be closed, including in Children's (Huggers, 2011). One senior online producer maintained that they differed from 'TV people' in that they had to have 'political conversations about budgets' and it was argued that it was a 'real challenge' in the online space 'to make more out of less' (UK53). Another respondent put the budget challenges for online into the context of budgetary challenges at other departments:

'Children's was protected in the recent cuts. In fact, our investment is protected. We still have productivity savings [...] but that is not a lot compared to other parts of the organisation. Online, we did save. There was an online review before these current cuts, where BBC Online had reduced their budget by 25%. Which we have done, but we have actually managed to do that by being more efficient in the use of webpages and so we use more templates. We don't create new things all the time' (UK52).

Some respondents were critical towards the strategy 'to reiterate things and template things, that normally we would probably have done something quite unique with, so that we get more out of less' (UK53). These savings presented a challenge specifically for a provision on the Internet, it was held by an online producer: '[I]f we have to have more and more of the templated experiences, we begin to ruin our quality. And that is a big risk that I see at the moment. So, I think those things are the biggest challenges' (ibid.).

It is noteworthy that none of the German respondents pointed to the challenge of scarcity. One argued that the child provision was well funded compared to others (D22), another spoke of protected budgets (D30). Another questioned in regard to funding compared to other genres whether more money led to a better product or service and argued scarcity would foster creative energies and collaboration, therefore, had 'something unifying'⁸² (D21), because it would lead teams to think:

'[T]hat is really important to us, this programme. And we just don't have any money, and what can we now do about it? And everybody contributes a part, the graphics, technology, editorial, and all put in their competencies and then create their own product. And certainly the outcome will be something very different'⁸³ (ibid.).

11.5.2 Selectivity, brand focus and commercial imperative

Secondly, respondents pointed to the challenges deriving from the strategy that much children's content now was made up of big brands with higher on-screen value. Some found a 'commercial imperative in terms of keeping up', which would result in a lack of experimentation (UK55) and ultimately risked blurring commercial and public service ideas and endangering public service content. Another senior producer pointed to the fact that 'children's media is now an international business, most of the very high impact programmes have to have some international component' (UK52). This perception reflected what Bennett et al. (2012: 18) observed in this period: 'A reduced emphasis on experimentation and innovation in their own right' due to the circumstance that at the BBC 'multi-platform must now fulfil more tightly defined strategic goals.' Also the different ways of producing and testing content was pointed to. In the digital space, user testing and incremental improvement of content and services were established ways of production and therefore differed from some past approaches to broadcasting production:

'[I]t is all down to the research into the audience and the age-group, testing with them [...] And that is true for interactive, as well as the linear content. Everything [...] is tested big-time before it is gone online or on the site' (UK55).

It was held that the internationalisation of the children's production landscape had led to the challenge to fight the corner for public service goals in the production ecology. Raising enough funds to create public service content that didn't 'travel' well and was relevant only in the national or regional context, was seen as one challenge for PSB, where 'the same does apply [for] programmes [and] interactive' (UK55):

'[I]f you are making preschool programmes particularly for a domestic audience, you have to fiercely guard the public service end for them, because otherwise it just becomes a commercial playing field' (ibid.).

In the UK context, it was clearly argued that children had specific needs embedded in regional and national culture, 'our children need programmes for them, German children need programmes for them, to mix in with all the other stuff' (UK55). Therefore, public service content was understood as locally-embedded (as opposed to just locally-produced) content and the BBC was seen to play an important role in providing this kind of content.

Chapter 12 - Challenges - Regulation and Competition

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Chapter 12 - Challenges - Regulation and Competition

Introduction

Chapter 12 will look at the challenges related to the category of 'Regulation' and 'Competition'. It will demonstrate that the broadcasters perceived several challenges in regard to regulation and related issues in the transformation to a multi-platform provision for children.

The regulatory challenges mentioned by broadcasters fall into three categories: first, broadcasters' understanding of regulation as constraint; second, the regulation of the online provision, which proved to be challenging for the multi-platform provision for children – specifically, the rules set out for on-demand and catch-up provision, and the rules for online provision more generally; third, the challenges related to the newly established governance role of internal broadcasting councils.

12.1 Regulation as constraint

One difference rapidly revealed by this research was that the German respondents, more often than their UK counterparts, pointed to regulation and declared it as a constraint, frequently mentioning regulation as a limitation or as additional bureaucracy. Adding to this difference were the relatively recent problematic issues during the implementation of the German version of a public value and market impact test. Although this had been a recent problem, the challenges that the broadcasters were pointing to also suggested a longer-term impact by challenges deriving from regulation on the multi-platform provision for children. In the UK, too, regulation had certainly brought challenges for the broadcaster, some of which were not unlike the challenges in Germany. For example, former director-general, Greg Dyke, is reported to have argued that 'the idea of the approval of public service was principally not wrong, but the actual implementation would only favour lawyers and consultants'¹ (Greg Dyke, 2009, cited in Funkkorrespondenz, 2009, not an original English language quote, translated from German). The article continued that, for Dyke, lengthy regulatory procedures were challenging in a dynamic media environment, because 'One dies of boredom during these procedures. [...] And I have

seen many good ideas dying, because of the people not being able to stand the delay'.² Also academics speak of a '[d]ouble bind faced by the BBC [...] between positive growth and "colonization", between publicly funded innovation and anti-competitive skewing of the market' (Strange, 2011: 133).

Yet, the theme of *regulation as constraint* did not emerge from the UK research interviews. None of the UK respondents in this research pointed to regulation as a challenge. A former BBC senior online and television producer assumed the German overall regulatory framework to be more challenging than for the BBC and commented, 'They managed to create a situation in which the German broadcasters have to pass a public value test for the smallest thing, just to create a website. I mean, the BBC at least doesn't have to do that' (UK54). This difference is most remarkable, considering that public value testing had first been introduced by the BBC (see, e.g., Collins, 2007; Bauer and Bienefeld, 2007; Donders and Moe, 2011). When specifically questioned about challenges deriving from regulation of the on-demand provision, few respondents pointed to the BBC Jam withdrawal; in regard to the 7-day-rule for the iPlayer, some respondents expressed agreement with the rationales of certain limitations to the multi-platform provision for editorial reasons (see below).

However, in the German context, there is reason to argue that for the children's provision, the regulatory framework introduced in phase 3, its implementation and the debate that had surrounded it, had carried more risks than opportunities for children's PSB, and had had limiting effects on the development and production of a public service multi-platform provision for children. Most respondents associated the new regulation with complications and bureaucracy, and agreed that the approval process was part of what one respondent described as a set of 'cordialities', arising from competitive complaints, which had brought a lot of 'bureaucracy work'³ (D24). In addition to that, regulation was expected to be damaging the use of PSB services for the audience (D33), and some spoke of children's services as the 'collateral damage'⁴ (D07) of the new regulation. Many respondents similarly expressed the view that the new regulation for the public service online provision, as set out in the broadcasting state agreement, presented one of the greatest challenges in the move towards a multi-platform provision, together with the newly established role of internal broadcasting councils that followed the new regulation. At KiKA, the three-

step-test, its rationales and objectives and the way it was implemented, were seen by a senior executive as the 'nucleus' of what hampered a timely online provision for children (D04).

12.1.1 Different attitudes towards regulation

There is reason to argue that among the respondents there was a different attitude towards the regulation of public service media on new platforms. Most German respondents spoke about challenges caused by the new regulation:

'[W]e have now left behind us a few years where we have dealt with the telemedia laws and all those cordialities that produce a lot of work and also have produced a lot of administrative work. And now basically one has a clear legal position which one has to adhere to'⁵ (D24).

Some respondents were more critical towards the regulation, some less: 'I have to accept that, what else should I do. If this is the regulatory and legal framework, in which we have to move about, then we just have to do it. Then we have no other option'⁶ (D29). Similarly, another online producer stated: '[W]e have certainly intensively discussed this internally. However, we cannot disregard legal guidelines; they are there now'⁷ (D22). Another senior executive was more explicitly critical of the online availability and the negative list:

'In our opinion this obligation overall contradicts the nature of the Internet. [...] A further differentiation of the negative list would [...], because you can always argue where a genre begins and where it ends, lead to a multiplication of undefined legal terms, therefore to more uncertainty'⁸ (D33).

Apart from the online availability periods mentioned here, respondents pointed to several elements of the regulation that continually proved challenging for the children's provision (see details below). A broadcasting council member held the view that, because of the challenges evoked and the flaws of some regulatory elements, a revision of the regulation was needed in regard to online provision periods (D36).

In the UK and Germany, the shared concept of the seven-day-rule, but with different application to scheduled broadcast and non-broadcast content, provides an example of the different attitudes. The seven-day-rule was explicitly highlighted as a challenge for German broadcasters. At the BBC,

the seven-day-rule was not mentioned as a challenge in the move towards a multi-platform provision, although also the BBC aimed at establishing for children a longer standard availability window for broadcast content (e.g., see BBC Trust, 2009a: 64). A BBC senior online producer argued:

'[B]ecause we repeat a lot [...] we don't have those issues to solve. Our biggest brands can be on iPlayer all of the time [...] So, it is less problematic. But then again, once a moment of a programme has gone, and those are the big marketing moments, have gone, less people seem to view things anyway [...]. I think the bigger problems will be for things like the big titles that come out, where people want to watch the whole box-set back to back and keep it forever. But even more so with CBBC. CBeebies' *In the Night Garden* is always on at the same time every day. And so it is always on iPlayer' (UK53).

Further questioned to understand why the respondent did not point to any challenges deriving from regulation, the same respondent explained:

'[W]e have been in this world for a few years. At the beginning, we didn't understand how it was going to be a success, but it is a success. People by their nature are still very schedule driven. I think people expected five years ago, when I was in an innovation meeting, that there were not scheduling teams any more, everyone wanted to be on-demand and picking and choosing their schedules. That is not how it works; people still like to be led to the big moments. And that is still happening' (UK53).

12.1.2 Homemade constraints

A significant difference between the two countries is how the roots of regulatory challenges were understood. For example, the regulatory constraints in regard to BBC Jam were described in the UK context as constraints deriving from European regulation, since the government was involved in the implementation from early on (see Chapter 5.1). In Germany, most respondents clearly understood the regulatory constraints as home-made constraints, rather than as deriving from EU regulation. Some also saw many constraints deriving from the secondary level, not from the legislation, but from the governance (see below) (D24, 27, 28, 31, observing challenges for own or other broadcasters' provision). The complex system of differing online provision periods, for example, was described as a 'rather German problem'⁹ (D27). Even the regulatory conflicts with the European Commission were described as largely home-made: 'The state aid compromise is in good parts of its intensification a result of the German debate, of the German domestic politics, less the EU'¹⁰ (D27).

There is reason to argue that not only were many of the constraints homemade, but that the different attitudes towards regulation were also partly homemade. One possible reason for the different attitudes towards regulation can be found in the individual histories of the implementation of the regulation for new platforms and the approach to media policy at the time (see Chapter 5.1; see, e.g., Steemers, 2012; Humphreys 2009a). In the UK, the regulatory framework clearly also drew out a remit for the BBC to venture into the online space, and the BBC was part of designing new policy terms and constructs and from early on had the remit to create innovative and popular online and mobile services for both adults and children.

The respondents seemed not contentious when speaking about the online provision and its regulation. This lack of contentiousness was reflected in the broadcasters' attitude and understanding of their remit as well as of the rules that applied to the online provision. In contrast, German respondents, appeared more contentious in what they said and did not say, which one may understand, considering that the relationship of politics, regulators and broadcasters was described by some as 'sceptical observation':

[T]hat the BBC was really given this function [to "Build Digital Britain"], this had never happened in Germany, but we only always recognise sceptical observation, whether public service broadcasting doesn't do too much. And then possibly limitations [...] the broadcasting law, that followed the state aid agreement with the EU, had formulated that much content must only be provided on the Web for seven days, which led to the fact that the broadcasters [...] had to depublicise 80% of their sites – with this specific wording, with this alone one can see how great the differences are'¹¹ (D31).

The legislator vs the government

Significantly, in almost all interviews there was mention of some kind of observing authoritative persona guarding over the public service provision; many respondents spoke about the 'Legislator'¹² and its vision of and impact on the provision (D07, 22, 24, 25, 26, 33). The powers of this 'Legislator' seemed not to be confined to a specific legislating institution (Länder parliaments, state chancelleries, governments a.o.), but seemed to be used as a broader metaphor for external legislating powers. In the German understanding, the 'Legislator' was not only capable of 'regulating' (MDR and ZDF 2010: 4), but also of 'creating theoretical terms'¹³ that did not coincide with the common usage of language (p. 8), of 'envisaging

independence¹⁴ for certain stakeholders (p. 4), of 'setting boundaries'¹⁵ (D22), 'setting the rules' for broadcasting councils (D07), of imposing on broadcasters' processes and ways of doing things¹⁶ (D24). It also 'preferably want[ed]'¹⁷ games to be designed along the 'theoretical terms' it had created (D26); it also 'intended'¹⁸, 'had an eye on'¹⁹ developments (Rundfunkrat des MDR, 2010: 62, 25), and could also 'privilege'²⁰ (p. 23); consequently broadcasters were 'respecting the will of the Legislator'²¹ (MDR and ZDF 2010: 4).

A powerful singular persona as this German 'Legislator' did not emerge from the interviews in the UK. Here, the 'political class' and the 'government' were mentioned, not the parliament (D51, 52). Not only was it necessary for the BBC regularly to reach a 'settlement [...] with the Government' (BBC Trust, 2012a), it had also a '(government's) philosophy around safety' (D51) and a 'government's approach' (D51), there was also 'a belief within the UK government' and it was 'focusing on' certain issues (D52). The attitude towards the children's online provision of the authoritative body here – despite some challenges – was also described in positive terms: '[T]he government is very concerned about children being online at the moment. And they know that BBC Children's is high quality safe programming for children' (D52).

Response to competitors' criticism

German respondents seemed to agree that the new regulation and the approval test was largely a response to external criticism from commercial media, specifically print publishers, but also from commercial broadcasting and film (D04, 22, 24, 27, 29, 36). One senior policy executive described the legal debate as 'a complex story',²² which was 'clearly also about issues of fair trading'²³ with 'additional arguments with the publishers, educational publishing houses'²⁴ (D27). At KiKA, 'the publishers' (D04) were highlighted as those that had been most critical and impactful towards the multi-platform provision. Respondents seldom spoke about regulation or the de-publishing of online content in relation to any editorial or remit considerations, but only in relation to competitive rationales. In regard to new rules that led to the deletion of a considerable amount of online content ("depublicising") a senior online producer argued: 'I don't think that that has helped any of the print publishers, everything what we have deleted there.'

[...] this was also a central factor that the newspapers and private broadcasters have filed court cases there¹²⁵ (D22).

The children's provision was regarded as having provided some argumentative ammunition for those competitors. One example, that games without a programme relation were not permitted on public service media, was understood as a result of specific criticism towards the PSB online games provision for children. It was held:

'[T]here are those forays from the private film economy and all those and also from competitors, which have simply said, Wait a minute! This has certainly also been a trigger in that case. When you suddenly do some things online, which have completely no equivalent in the linearity, then you are in big competition, and then we don't want that!¹²⁶ (D24).

The respondent concluded that the criticism was directed at games where you 'can catch things', where children 'can play, etcetera, there it has nothing to do with the programme. And at this moment, it is obvious, at this moment it is litigable¹²⁷ (D24).

12.1.3 Opportunities of a new regulatory framework

There is reason to argue that the new regulatory framework had not brought the opportunities that some had still foreseen in the period preceding it. In phase 3, broadcasters and observers had highlighted both the risks and opportunities of the new, more detailed, regulation of PSBs, with the three-step-test and the obligatory descriptions of services. For example, observer Meyer-Lucht (in Berlin Institute, 2008) argued that public service 'needed to re-connect more strongly with society',²⁸ in order to prevent a complete disconnect at some later point. The risk of the new regulatory system of PSB, it was held, was clearly that it might turn out to be 'dysfunctional, in the sense that it hampered the public service broadcasters in their development, because a great legal uncertainty for the departments accrues' (ibid.). But not only for observers the three-step-test was also regarded as one of very few opportunities 'for the [public service] system to communicate with its legitimacy environment' and as a possible 'catalyst' for internal reform of PSBs, an adaptation to the different media environment of the Internet, and ultimately for creating a strengthened and future-proof public service (ibid.; see also Schulz, 2008a/b). The public service broadcasters argued similarly:

'The ARD broadcasters see also an opportunity in the setting out of these obligations and the undertaking of the three-step-test to reassure oneself about programming content and standards, to present to the public the publishing relevance of their own offering and ultimately by doing this to raise the acceptance of these offerings'²⁹ (MDR and ZDF 2010: 4).

Meyer-Lucht pointed out that it was important that the new regulation for PSBs and introducing the concept of public value to the German context was not only understood as 'a test constructed externally', but also as a 'management technique applied internally' that supported 'the will to reform'³⁰ (Robin Meyer-Lucht, in Berlin Institute, 2008). Comparing the different legal frameworks underlying the BBC and the German broadcasters, it was argued that such internal tools for reform would be more important in the German PSB context, because broadcasters were by nature of their legal construction less dependent on 'the acceptance of the population' than the BBC, and therefore not under the same pressure to reform (ibid.). However, some respondents also found that there was a lack of proactive strategies for change (see Chapter 11.1.2), and it was held that broadcasters would often 'wait so long that new legal frameworks would force [them] to do certain things'³¹ (D11). Therefore, although previous opportunities for applying and communicating positive change had been acknowledged, for example, in the newly introduced obligation to produce reports on the fulfilment of the remit and the public service strategies (see, e.g., ARD 2012a), Meyer-Lucht concluded that these opportunities had remained largely unused by the PSBs, arguing that the PSBs had facilitated the publications more as a marketing exercise than as agreeing and publishing corporate strategies about specific public service goals. Therefore, there was also 'the great danger to miss another opportunity'³² now presented by the three-step-test (Meyer-Lucht, in Berlin Institute, 2008).

This research found no indications that the new framework and the newly introduced service descriptions had been of any other practical or strategic value to the children's broadcasters, other than answering legal obligations with the rationale 'to give no sail area for any legal claims' (see Chapter 5.5.2). There were also no indications that the approval tests represented to respondents any considerable move towards more transparency, or were used to re-connect to the audience (D09, 15, 22, 24, 26). The procedures were simply a 'duty' (D07, 22, 24). Respondents associated the new procedures with complications, agreeing that they had only brought a lot of 'bureaucracy work'³³ and at best some 'legal certainty'³⁴ towards their role in

the media economy (D24). A senior online producer at one of the ARD broadcasters argued that these procedures had not brought about any opportunities in regard to transparency, for the simple reason that broadcasters had always been accessible and accountable to those who enquired also before those procedures were introduced (D21). Others were convinced that those regulatory tools, such as the three-step-test, which introduced the online service descriptions ('Telemedienkonzept'), or earlier the descriptions of the fulfilment of the remit, were clearly of no interest to any stakeholder in the public realm other than the PSBs' competitors. A respondent assumed that those publications did 'indeed not get to the wider public,' but were only ever read by 'print publishers'³⁵ (D35). In regard to any positive opportunities as, for example, 'reconnecting' with the public, more transparency and accountability, a senior online producer argued:

'It was a huge effort to write these telemedia concepts, everything in detail. It's there [now], that's fine. I meet relatively few people who have then actually read it or have taken note of it. So, in this regard transparency is completely OK. And we have done it dutifully. But I do not observe now, I do not remember that anyone had ever spoken to me about it: "Oh, I have just read in your telemedia concept, and I did not know this! And I find it good that I know it now!" No!'³⁶ (D22).

12.2 Rules for on-demand/catch-up and online provision

12.2.1 Online availability periods and programme-relatedness

German respondents not only understood regulation more generally as a constraint, but pointed to challenges deriving from specific regulatory concepts and rules. As a source of limitations or challenges, rules were mentioned relating to on-demand and website provision, provision on third platforms, apps, the 'negative list', online availability periods and the so-called 'depublicising' of content.

There were two legal concepts that seemed to have caused a significant number of the challenges for the public service children's provision in this period: the concept of 'online availability periods' similar to the BBC's '7-day-rule' and 'programme-relatedness' ('Verweildauerkonzept', 'Programmbezug'). These were regulatory concepts that the BBC and the German PSBs shared. Their goal was to pre-determine the time windows during which online content was made available to the audience, and to present a manifestation of the concept that PSB online content had to

display a connection to broadcasting provision and could not be detached from it. For example, one worry that turned into public service regulation in Germany was that PSBs must not turn press-like content providers, but also not into online dating or online shopping and online games platforms (see, e.g., Loebecke et al. 2003: 11, for European perspective, see, e.g., Donders, 2012). In the UK interviews neither concept, CBBC/CBeebies' remit to 'offer programme-related content' nor the 7-day and 30-day-rule (BBC Trust, 2012c: 1-2) was mentioned as a challenge.

The damages perceived as a result of these rules in Germany were considerable. A senior online executive argued that the concept 'overall contradicts the nature of the Internet'³⁷:

'We have presented a concept for the online availability periods, because we had to. We are not interested in a further differentiation of a rule, which we regard as media-untypical and which stresses an analogue term (timeline), in order to steer a digital development, and we also don't think that this is expedient in the long term. We believe that one shouldn't damage the use for the licence fee payer with online availability period limitations'³⁸ (D33).

However, in the German context, these two concepts were regarded as challenging, not only because they occupied the mind as representing an attempt to shape media policy under competition rationales by creating a system of legal restrictions, but were also challenging on a very practical day-to-day level, specifically in the children's context. For example, online availability periods and a programme's relationship to games were mentioned as the two main causes of discussion and intervention by governing boards in the children's provision. A respondent described the interaction with the boards: '[The] main issue was programme relation of games and online availability periods. Online availability periods, online availability periods, online availability periods!³⁹ (D26).

12.2.2 Online availability periods, online availability periods!

Under the new 2009 regulations, broadcasting councils were now responsible for setting the limits for how long certain online content was permitted to be made available to the audience - the so-called 'online availability periods' (for some content pre-determined by legislation, e.g., sports). The regulatory concept of the 'windows of availability', and the procedure to design and approve these, also existed for the BBC provision.

The difference was that the rules for BBC children's and the overall provision were less complex with only some exceptions and applied to 'broadcast content' online. It was probably also the reason why the impact on children's provision was described differently (see 11.1.1). According to CBBC/CBeebies' service licences of 2008 (BBC Trust, 2008a, b) on-demand access to broadcast content was to be given

- 'for seven days after it has been broadcast'
- as downloads of first-run series 'until a date no later than seven days after the last episode', limiting the amount of available downloads to '15% of all television content offered on demand'
- for storing content for '30 days after downloading the content'
- for seven days 'to repeatedly consume downloaded content' after the first access.

Legal certainty or regulatory shenanigans

In the German service context, however, online provision periods ranged from several days, to months, to many years, to unlimited and were applied to all PSB's telemedia. Respondents pointed to the challenge to find technical solutions for organising the different online availability periods and the editorial classification of the different categories (D21, 26). However, many respondents were highly critical of the rules for online availability periods, because they led to the peculiarity that the rules for those periods were different for each of the different children's provisions; thus, the same content was allowed to be offered for a longer period on the one broadcaster's website or on-demand player than on the other's (D03, 04, 26, 30). Hence, a senior executive argued that online provision periods were 'shenanigans'⁴⁰ (D10). The same content would be associated with different availability periods at the different broadcasters, because these periods were assessed and agreed upon separately for each federal broadcaster (and KiKA) at each of the individual broadcasting councils of the federal broadcasters and the ZDF. Also different commercial rationales and concerns had been acknowledged while constructing these concepts, and therefore, it was argued that 'specifically the case of online provision periods was a rather German problem'⁴² (D27). It was held that this would result in a situation when the very same broadcast content was being provided on-demand for several years on one broadcasters' online service,

but only for a few days on another. A respondent commented: ‘But maybe those [constraints] some time will fall. One does not give up the fight for it, to say, these time limits are shenanigans from the perspective of the viewers’⁴³ (D26).

This challenge was most significant for KiKA’s move towards a multi-platform provision, amplified by the specific circumstance characterising KiKA, ‘when one is a child with so many parents, with the ZDF and with many ARD broadcasters’⁴⁴ (D36). Some respondents complained that a programme exclusively screened on the KiKA channel would have a very time-restricted online availability period on KiKA’s online services itself, while the same programme was approved on the parent broadcaster’s Internet services (where the programme was commissioned or produced) for an online provision of several years. These different periods, for example, led respondents to refer to an ‘unbelievable richness’ of on-demand content at one parent broadcaster (D30) compared with the ‘struggle for every 24 hours’ of online on-demand provision at another (D04). The development of a contemporary on-demand provision at KiKA was thus slowed down, and a senior online producer at KiKA pointed to the challenges that this caused over KiKA’s relationship with the audience:

‘[W]e’ve had to bear a lot in regard to the Mediathek, because requests are always coming in, “Why don’t you show the programmes, the others [do]?” The requests came in; therefore the KiKA had to endure a lot from the target audience’⁴⁵ (D26).

The above reasons added an element to those challenges that hampered KiKA’s progression into the online era – Chapter 11 has pointed to the PSB’s internal challenges – for why it was argued that, despite launching on-demand application KiKaplus, KiKA had ‘no Mediathek at all’ (D09).

Probably due to the different interpretation of the legal framework by the broadcasting councils – and the fact that some were more and some less appreciative of the audience, or specifically the child audience – others saw less challenges presented by online availability periods: ‘[C]hildren’s programming we would categorically subsume under education, with a few exceptions; that means that there applies an online provision period of 5 years’⁴⁶ (D21). Here, the only exceptions were for news content for children, but also there were exceptions to whether or not the exception was applied:

‘[News] have this normal 7-days-catch-up. Again with the exception for background pieces [...] for example, something like “How does a nuclear power plant work?”, “What is radioactivity?”, this can certainly

stay [online] longer than seven days, because this is rather to be classed as “education”⁴⁷ (D21).

Corresponding to the simpler concept for online availability periods (educational/non-educational) when compared at other broadcasters, the senior online producer at one ARD broadcaster was not critical towards the 7-days-catch up (here for current affairs content), for example. Only in this respect did a respondent once relate regulation to editorial considerations – and expressed it similarly to the BBC respondent quoted above (11.1.1): ‘[A]lso, apart from the three-step-test, you would not let a current report stay for weeks.’ This rule was actually understood as a manifestation of the very role of the public service broadcaster for children, namely that of fulfilling a filtering, curating, editorial function to ‘evaluate the relevance’ of news and information difficult for children to distinguish on their own, because, as it was argued, ‘otherwise some day no-one will see through the plethora of information’⁴⁸ (D21).

12.2.3 A list of restrictions

The ‘negative list’ and ‘depublicising’

Several respondents pointed to the challenges caused by ‘the negative list’³⁶ (D23, 27), part of the 2009 broadcasting state agreement that carried additional rules on what PSBs were not permitted to offer on their telemedia. Together with the concept of limited windows of online availability for certain genres, this set of ‘don’ts’ resulted in what was later called the phenomenon of ‘depublicising’. A senior policy executive found the negative list had ‘probably the worst impact [...] because they had something static/inflexible’⁴⁹ (D27). Many respondents pointed to the so-called ‘depublicising’ (D22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 31). One referred to the taking down of online content as ‘voluntary actions of deletion’⁵⁰ (D24). A senior online producer explained the impact of the negative list:

‘[F]or the editorial departments [...] “depublicising”, as it is now called so nicely, had certainly changed here in that we are not allowed to provide many things longer than a year, except when they have a contemporary historical relevance. That means things such as recipes, but unfortunately also such things such as advisory subjects have to be taken offline after a year’⁵¹ (D23).

Noticeably, the new regulation affected the different broadcasters to very

different extents, which meant that the ‘depublicising’ was for some not as relevant as to others, because of the very different scale and scope of the various propositions. Some held: ‘[T]hat was not a huge story. You don’t have to shed a tear there [...] they [other public service children’s propositions] have certainly suffered more. Naturally’⁵² (D22).

Programme marketing, online-only, third platforms, acquired content

Apart from the online availability periods and the programme-relatedness, respondents pointed to several other restrictions that affected the children’s provision. First, audience relations and the ‘programme marketing’,⁵³ and the provision across platforms both on their own and third platforms: ‘We are only allowed to present, for example, in the Mediathek, what was actually broadcast on television, [...] in relation to additional material, there are specific guidelines’⁵⁴ (D23). Another area highlighted was the provision on third platforms: ‘[T]he broadcasting state agreement also limits us there or gives us precise guidelines on what we are allowed to do on third platforms’⁵⁵:

‘We are not allowed to have exclusive content on third platforms by the [broadcasting] state agreement. So, in particular, we are not allowed to produce short videos or something like that just, for example, for our Facebook fanpage’⁵⁶ (D23).

At ZDF and KiKA the ‘limitation’ (D26) in regard to acquired programmes was pointed to: ‘Acquired movies or acquired episodes of TV series, which are not commissioned or co-productions, will not be offered’⁵⁷ (ZDF, 2010a: 38). It was explained why this rule proved to be challenging for the children’s provision at KiKA:

‘We certainly have the limitation; we are not allowed to upload licensed programming, which makes up a big proportion. That has really hurt us. So, before the broadcasting state agreement existed. We have agreements with the licensees, they say, you can have that for seven days. But we are not allowed to use it. So that means there we are losing a large amount. For example, we had the *Glücksbärchis* online, [and] they were extremely popular also for seven days. After that we had to take them down. [...] That was before the broadcasting state agreement was implemented, [...] We have rights there, which we simply cannot use’⁵⁸ (D26).

12.2.4 Games are a delicate matter

Another regulatory concept that was specifically challenging was programme-relatedness. Although the 2009 broadcasting state agreement had ended the obligatory limitation to the programme-related content of the online offerings, it retained a limiting impact on the children's provision. In 2010, the concept was still described as one of the 'two factors that strongly put a brake'⁵⁹ on the development (MDR and ZDF, 2010: 24).

Programme-relatedness in regard to games

Many respondents highlighted programme-relatedness in regard to games as being a challenge in the day-to-day work. For example, SWR's Kindernetz, BR-Kinderinsel, kika.de and ZDF's tivi.de had always provided games for children, whether programme-related (or related to a programme broadcast event) or not. However, it was held that with the three-step-test, games that were not immediately related to a programme were forced by the regulation to be taken down, whereas others maintained, games with an explicit educational content were permitted to remain under the PSB online remit. As stated by one producer:

'We had to take off games, because the programmes [...] were no longer broadcast. That was actually the real reason. Apart from that, we have really always built our games that we have taken the characters and themes from the programmes. Now the legislator would prefer the programme relation be exactly tailored to the episode. To a concrete broadcast event'⁶⁰ (D26).

Another senior producer was more critical and argued, '[A]fter the three-step-test, we were not allowed to produce games any more which are only for fun [...] the pure fun we are not allowed any more'⁶¹ (D21). At another federal broadcaster, although they only had to 'delete two tiny games, where no programme relation could be established'⁶² (D22), this rule was not regarded as sensible, because, according to another online executive producer their own games provision had never been extensive and a few of those games were regarded as an important element of their overall Web proposition:

'[E]specially with Bernies Hörreise [*Bernies' Listening Voyage*. [...] learning to listen and differentiate sounds'] we don't have many games anyway. And this happens to be something sensible; and then one has to take it down. So that is really hard to comprehend'⁶³ (D35).

This regulatory approach was specifically challenging for a public service children's provision, where a large share of the audience accessed PSB online proposition through games (and video) (see Chapter 8.2.1). It was argued that after the new broadcasting state agreement, also for 'tiny games' broadcasters 'always have to look carefully: was there a related broadcast? And then we can offer something [on the Web] to go with it [and] now have effectively the right to leave it online for one year'⁶⁴ (D35).

The ZDF's broadcasting council was also reported to be unhappy with the regulation in regard to online games for children, citing the chairman of the council:

'[C]ertainly I would have wished, that in the playful approach which especially children and young people have towards the Web, games would have been possible on a larger scale'⁶⁵ (Ruprecht Polenz, cited in Hessische/Niedersächsische Allgemeine, 2010).

12.2.5 Legal uncertainty

There is evidence to show that the evolution of the concept of programme-relatedness and the fact that it was abandoned for all other content (that had undergone a public value/market impact test), but retained for games, brought about a considerable degree of uncertainty about applying the new regulation to children's content and services, both among broadcasters and among broadcasting councils. More generally, it seemed to prove challenging for broadcasters to arrive at a common, informed and up-to-date understanding of the current state of regulation in regard to online media for children. It was a commonly held view among respondents what a senior online strategist at ZDF had also once formulated, that 'The [broadcasting] state agreement is very complicated, in many cases also very open to interpretation'⁶⁶ (Robert Amlung, cited in Hamm and Reinhard, 2009). Therefore, regulation was expected to cause frustration 'for coming years' (D21).

There were also uncertainties over more specific definitions. First, questions arose what exactly programme-relatedness would entail in regard to games. Respondents differed in how they interpreted the regulation; for example, *in which way* a game had to be related to a programme (e.g., to the programme brand or to a broadcast on a specific date or to the programming overall). Second, respondents disagreed about whether or not a game that could be regarded as an educational game fell under the PSB remit, when there was no immediate broadcast event it related to.

Programme-relatedness, trying to abandon a legal concept

There is evidence to show that the concept occupied the creative and operational thinking considerably, still in phase 4. Although, after the 2009 regulation, the concept that public service online provision had overall to be programme-related was largely given up and kika.de had the remit to distribute both programme-related and not-programme-related products and services, for the children's provision the concept was used in the same manner before and after the 2009 state agreement. In 2009, KiKA's head argued: 'These offerings we still offer mainly on TV. Kikaninchen.de is the related online accompanying service'⁶⁷ (Promedia, 2009: 15).

Similarly, the respondents still used the concept in the same manner when talking about a multi-platform provision *after* the new regulation had been implemented. Although it was no longer obligatory for public service online offerings to be programme-related (with the exception of games), some respondents seemed to have difficulties in keeping up with the changes in regulation or dismissing previous concepts. A senior online executive producer at ZDF maintained: 'It is our task always to create an online offering exactly for a TV offering'⁶⁸ (D28). An online producer at one of the ARD broadcasters explained that the website that the respondent produced was 'the programming accompaniment of the children's programming on the Web'⁶⁹ (D23). Another senior producer held, 'that there is also a certain difficulty in that online offerings in the public service media may only be programme-accompanying'⁷⁰ (D25). While some respondents still regarded programme-relatedness as obligatory, others clearly declared that the opposite was true and also expected to be commonly known. As expressed by a senior online executive at ARD:

'It [programme-relatedness] does absolutely not play a role in regard to the telemedia offerings of ARD (and ZDF), because all have been approved as not programme-related propositions. The programme relation is only relevant in regard to individual rules of the negative list (declaration of games)⁷¹ (D33).

Educational games, public service or not

Because of the new regulation games and online entertainment became even more political than in the past. There seemed to be no agreement about the concept of what an online game was and how games would adhere to public service objectives. Respondents also disagreed about

when a game could be regarded as an educational game and whether it then was covered by the remit. One senior online producer held that an educational game would fall under the remit:

'[M]ost of our games are learning applications in that sense. Children learn something there. [...] Yet, one has to say, where does the game begin and where does the learning application end? That is surely a debate that we will have in the coming years. [...] A quiz anyway, because a quiz is always also a test of knowledge; this is very clear to me. But also other games, [...] also when it has to do with dexterity, the children learn first of all how to handle the mouse through it. Because this is something that we take for granted, but the fact that I move something with the right hand and something then happens there on the screen – this transfer has first to be learned⁷² (D21).

Other respondents came to another conclusion in regard to which games were covered by the remit; here, educational games were *not* automatically covered:

'[W]e are only allowed to offer games, if they have a programme relation. That is the negative list of the telemedia law [...] also if they are pedagogically valuable, so to say. [...] The [broadcaster, referring to the own institution] is maybe stricter there. [...] There is the negative list in the telemedia concept and it explicitly states, games only with programme relation. And we are bound to [do] that⁷³ (D22, 35).

Most notably, at ZDF, some seemed to have arrived at a completely different conclusion, namely that games, when you can learn from them, were not games at all. Unlike the almost inseparable nature of learning, play and fun expressed at the BBC, here it was argued:

'A game is distinguishable by the fact that entertainment and pastime are in the fore. When the emphasis of the game elements [playful elements] is on conveying of information and knowledge, then this may not be regarded as a game⁷⁴ (ZDF, 2010a: 38).

Agreeing about programme-relatedness with the governing bodies

It was not only in regard to what a game was, and explaining how and why it was covered by the remit, that uncertainty prevailed. Respondents explained that uncertainties regularly came up in communications with the broadcasting councils about the legitimacy of certain content in regard to their programme-relatedness. Respondents had differing, but also incorrect understandings of the current or renewed regulation, probably because regulation about certain legal concepts had changed several times throughout the periods (see Chapter 5.2.1). There is reason to argue that

respondents were uncertain over the concept of programme-relatedness and what programme-relatedness actually meant, there seemed to be no agreement about it. Instead, there was a general confusion about the question of whether certain content had to be related to a certain episode and broadcast date, a certain programme brand or a certain programming output from a channel or branded proposition. This resulted in further uncertainty for broadcasters over which games and other content they were allowed to offer, and which not and if yes, for how long. In contrast, only one senior online executive expressed (in regard to website content) that programme-relation was understood as '[l]ess broadcast [date] relation, rather programming-relation'⁷⁵ (D33).

Other respondents did not interpret the rule as programming or brand-related, but more strictly related to a certain episode or broadcast event. In regard to a 'coconut game'⁷⁸ that was offered on the website BR-Kinderinsel (BR-Children's Island), a senior online producer explained the deletion of a game after the new regulation. Although the coconut game related to the BR's established children's online brand *Children's Island*, the respondent came to the conclusion in regard to the coconut game, '[N]either was it specifically pedagogically worthy, nor had it a programme relation, so we have taken it down'⁷⁹ (D22).

At KiKA, it was suggested that 'Now, the legislator would really preferably have it precisely tailored to one episode, the programme-relation, and to a specific broadcast date'⁷⁶ (D26). The senior online producer also described how this question was often addressed by members of the MDR broadcasting council, KiKA's internal governing body in charge of the implementation and execution of the new regulation, and why it formed an issue of debate:

'This is very much a question of interpretation, which is often directed at us. Where we then say, take for example *Roary the Racing Car*. In each episode of *Roary the Racing Car*, he runs a race against the other racing cars, or he experiences some kind of adventure. We have a game on the website, where one can race against Roary. What am I supposed to state as the exact programme relation here? Do I have to state each episode? That is nonsense after all. Is it the last broadcast date of the episode? Because it actually takes place in every episode'⁷⁷ (D26).

Continuing tensions in regard to entertainment

The reasons for the different understandings cannot be pinpointed with any certainty. But there is reason to argue that the differences not only arose from different editorial rationales, but came about by the continually changing legal frameworks and by what was called 'undefined legal terms' that were regularly used, and by the lack of communication about the regulation, as suggested in the previous chapter (Chapter 11.3.2). It is clear that many respondents showed how they tried to adhere to a given rule, but apparently came to very different interpretations. Therefore, one result of the new regulation was that tensions towards entertainment – emerging throughout German children's PSB history (see Chapter 4.4, 7.4) - continued to prevail. The 2009 regulation introduced a concretisation of the PSB remit that made broadcasters understand 'popping balloons' for the sake of the fun of 'popping balloons' was not within the PSB remit - and that games content that had no specific programme relation was prohibited even when educational.

Allegedly non-educational and silly games had attracted major interest during the approval of services and content, probably because media-pedagogical objectives were communicated as the central remit for products and services on new platforms (Kammann, 2009, see Chapter 7.4). The pertaining emphasis (by some) on the rule of programme-relatedness in this period should also be seen in view of the ongoing lobbying and legal complaints against public service online activities from commercial media during that period (e.g., see VPRT's legal complaints in regard to YouTube Channels in 2012, ZDF Fernsehrat, 2012). Commercial competitors had continually built on previous tensions over entertainment. Although the PSBs had declared that 'entertainment as a vehicle' for educational aims was legitimate (see Chapter 7), their competitors showed disagreement. In 2008, it was argued by an industry body that the state agreement would not allow a vehicle function of entertainment, because entertainment had to be of a public service nature. Later, entertainment – not as means to an end, but an end in itself – was only seen as covered by the remit when it displayed a programme-relatedness. There is therefore reason to argue that broadcasters still felt under considerable pressure to justify entertainment content in the multi-platform context, if it fell outside the TV context. On the contrary, in television, public service had been offering numerous formats, where arguably 'entertainment and pastime are in the fore'. BBC respondents held that entertainment content also had a

legitimate secondary purpose for PSB in improving the reach of the public service provision and simply to drive traffic:

'Some smaller brands, [...] that really don't cost us a lot of money, but create an awful lot of traffic for us, because children have just got an appetite to play, which is less multi-platform, but it is really supporting our brands and helping our strategy' (UK53).

While many German PSBs tried to give a precise definition of the differences between educational and non-educational entertainment, programme-related or not, and saw a need to exclude 'pure fun' from PSB vocabulary, in view of the tight scrutiny of online games content, at the BBC, differentiations seemed to be further dissolving: 'CBeebies is a channel that basically is there to entertain children. But we also understand that for young children, that nearly everything they see is something that they will learn from' (UK55).

12.3 New system of governance

There was a third compound of challenges related to the new regulation introduced in 2009: the new system of governance and the new role of broadcasters' internal broadcasting councils in the regulation and scrutiny of online services in regard to market impact and the public service remit.

12.3.1 New role of broadcasting councils - guardian of values or limits

Some respondents similarly expressed the view that the newly established role of internal governing boards presented the children's departments with considerable challenges in regard to the multi-platform provision. A respondent believed that it was a 'question of attitude'⁸⁰ towards the children's multi-platform provision at the different broadcasting councils (D04) that had had a major impact on the development of the multi-platform provision. A senior online executive producer pointed to the attitude of some members of the broadcasting councils who had generally disapproved of online offerings for younger children:

'Especially the preschool subject, indeed, was a big issue of dispute. Because many of them had certainly said, Is there actually a demand in society? Do preschool children need an Internet? Would it not be better for them to have nothing to do with the new media? And this meant we had always had to keep up our persuasive efforts'⁸¹ (D26).

Some research interviews suggest that some broadcasters had to deal with greater challenges deriving from the scrutiny by some members (D04, 10):

'We have all the same [broadcasting] state agreement, why do we have to allow to be gagged like that, and the others not? And I think that has a lot to do with how the advisory board undertakes its function. How strict or how loosely this is handled'⁸² (D10).

Online provision periods, determined by the councils, were a matter of constraint for many, and this was often stressed as a reason for councils to intervene (see above). One senior executive argued that the broadcasting councils were legitimately the 'controlling board'⁸³ of public service. Yet, through the new responsibility for setting up and checking up on certain online availability periods, they had begun to focus more on 'precisely' guarding the limits of PSB, rather than 'making sure that it fulfilled its public remit' to offer an online proposition to children (D04).

There is reason to argue that the broadcasting councils (and here they are no different from many broadcaster respondents, see 12.1.3) seem to have understood the three-step-test primarily as a scrutiny of the possible effects on the market with the rationale to avoid further legal claims on the basis of alleged market distortion or alleged breach of fair trading and state aid rules (see Chapter 5.5.2). The element of testing the fulfilment of the public service remit seemed to have been of secondary importance during the approval procedures, despite the argument that 'the main aim of the three step test in Germany is to define the cultural, social and political needs of society and the way they should be served by new media services (see, e.g. Radoslavov and Thomaß, 2010: 7). An ARD policy executive expressed astonishment about the 'compartmentalised approach, yes, obsession with detail'⁸⁴ of the German regulatory debate even before the new rules were implemented:

'How many days is content allowed on the Web? What is programme-related, what is original online proposition? Which programme genres are permitted online how and how long? [...] Yet, only one thing is really important: What about the publishing competition [publizistischer Wettbewerb], which is actually the decisive factor for the contribution of PSB to the German and European media culture?'⁸⁵ (Burggraf, 2008).

12.3.2 Different extent of scrutiny

Another detail of the newly introduced regulation and governance of online services in Germany created challenges for a multi-platform provision. Each

of the individual federal, but also joint services, underwent a very different level of scrutiny through the governing boards and had to go through processes of very different extents – depending on how the children’s service was set up in the overall PSB provision.

The first examples are the online service descriptions that had to be published by the broadcasters. The way that the services were situated within the broadcaster as an organisation, whether or not they were regarded as a separate service, also affected how they were scrutinised and whether external reports were prepared. These differences led to the challenge that some broadcasters had to put considerable effort into describing and characterising the online children’s provision, but others hardly mentioned it. The workload and cost induced must have been quite different for both broadcasters and governing bodies and third parties involved. Some of the services formed a distinct and detailed section of the parent broadcasters’ service description (as in the case of SWR Kindernetz). Others were just represented by one sentence (as in case of ARD’s kinder.ard.de) or a paragraph (BR-Kinderinsel). KiKa’s online services were the only ones that underwent separate processes; consequently far more detailed descriptions had to be prepared and scrutinised for each service. As explained by a senior online producer:

[Accounted for were] ‘only the big [propositions]. For example, *The Programme With The Mouse* has not explicitly been accounted for. And the online offerings of radio – there are actually a lot – those are described within the radio offerings. They have not always undergone a specific test [...]. Also, I think, the Kindernetz of SWR was part of the SWR proposition and was taken along, so to say, while the KiKA channel itself was also explicitly presented. The children’s proposition of ZDF was also included in the ZDF [proposition]’⁸⁶ (D26).

Contrastingly, for KiKA, as a joint ARD/ZDF offering, with closer bonds with MDR (ARD) and the ZDF, but also to other ARD broadcasters, the process required ‘an extreme effort’⁸⁷ with a ‘timeline’ and connected ‘costs’ that were ‘simply not acceptable’⁸⁸ (D26). Here it was concluded that, in order to offer a multi-platform provision to children ‘[o]ne needs a lot of staying power’⁸⁹ to lead a project through the approval process (D26), because as it had been once assumed that we could ‘undertake such a test in half a year, but I do not regard that as realistic in the way it is set up now and from past experience’⁹⁰ (D26):

‘[W]e have had the experience, we needed two years for the three-step-test for Kikaninchen and KIKAplus. The test for kika.de was a little faster, I think; that was one and a half years, but still much too long. So,

we have the peculiarity, as a joint institution, we actually have to ask all the boards, the television council of the ZDF, all broadcasting councils of ARD, plus the Conference of the Board of Chairpersons [ARD wide governing board]. And just to get into this routine, that is for us truly an extreme effort, to do this' (D26).

The different scrutiny resulted in different regulation for the different broadcasters (see above, online availability periods), whereby some felt they were 'gagged',⁹¹ and others felt supported. The greater effort for KiKA probably also led to the by some suggested peculiar side-effect that some approval processes were more expensive than the actual children's service they set out to scrutinise (see Chapter 5.5.1).

The level of detail in the approval process must have affected the different children's departments and broadcasters to a very different degree. This would also explain the different attitudes of broadcasters towards the multi-platform regulation and the different regulatory concepts that were worked out for the children's services on the basis on the broadcasters' service applications. There is reason to argue that as a result of the different scrutiny those children's services that *had* undergone specific scrutiny by the 'institutionalised' public interest in the broadcasting councils in a separate public value/market impact test, ultimately faced stricter conditions (D03, 07, 26) than those services that were reviewed along other services for the general audience and were not separately scrutinised in the public interest.

12.3.3 Different role of legal departments

There is reason to argue that the attitude of the legal departments to reach the best possible solution under the new regulation, but also the collaboration between children's and legal departments, had an impact on how respondents perceived the constraints deriving from regulation and governing process. The view of online availability period concepts as a challenge may have also been a result of how the broadcasters' legal departments had backed the multi-platform strategy for children. One senior producer explained how the broadcaster's legal department had specifically supported the children's department's strategies, also during the preparation of the online service descriptions. This was suggested by the respondent as a critical element in why this very broadcaster had reached one of the more favourable regulatory frameworks for online

availability periods, compared with other public service broadcasters:

'When the negotiations and the three-step-test were introduced, the online availability periods had also been an issue. So how long were online videos allowed to be online? There the house, the legal department, was strongly for us. So, we have – unlike KiKA, who actually have a separate online provision period for each single bit [...] we have a general online availability period of [several] years for all our content. [...] There I have realised that the house has strongly committed itself to their own children's proposition. And not this nightmare – 7 days, 3 months, 6 months, 9 months, 12 months or somehow – but simply to say: This is important, children have a right to that. We want to get the maximum, [several] years!⁹² (D03).

A similar collaborative approach was not described, for example, in regard to KiKA. In contrast, here respondents found themselves and under pressure by 'how the broadcasting councils undertakes its function'⁹³ (D10). One possible reason for a probable lack of collaboration between the parent broadcaster and KiKA may have been its more complex structural set-up. Jointly run by ZDF and MDR and the other federal broadcasters, but organisationally more closely linked to just one broadcaster, MDR, any kind of communication before, during and after the time of the three-step-test must have been more challenging for KiKA. What probably also did not play in favour of the children's channel may have been, what respondents had argued also in another context, that KiKA's parent broadcaster MDR was primarily representing its own interests and not those of KiKA (D04, 10).

12.3.4 Scrutiny and editorial independence

One big difference between the two countries was the capabilities and resources available to the different bodies involved in scrutinising the PSBs' multi-platform provision, the BBC Trust and the internal broadcasting councils of the ARD broadcasters and ZDF. This may also suggest some challenges for councils in actually fulfilling their role. First of all, in Germany, governing boards were described as having only recently undergone a process of professionalisation through the three-step-test (D11). Furthermore, the German boards were not provided with the same infrastructure as the BBC Trust to undertake their new task, despite having to cover all three steps of the approval process (with the help of external consultancy and expert advice). Whereas the BBC Trust in this period could rely on the assistance of the so-called Trust Unit, a body of staff of around 70 staff members (www.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust) with an allocated budget of £11.9 million (2012 figures, BBC, 2013). In Germany, the advisory boards,

although much bigger in the number of members involved in the governing process (around 70 people in the case of ZDF) were described as ‘voluntarily working people’⁹⁴ who ‘put a lot of effort in’ (D36), but had much smaller staff resources of – for example, in the case of the MDR broadcasting council (KiKA’s parent broadcaster) – one to two people (D15; for a comparison between BBC Trust and the German broadcasting councils see Kleinsteuber, 2010).

Editorial independence

Another difference is the varying understanding of the relationship of editorial independence on the one hand, and on the other the need for the boards to develop or draw upon certain criteria in order to scrutinise the fulfilment of the remit of public service offerings on new platforms. Editorial independence is a building stone of PSB in both countries. Yet, unlike the BBC, the German PSB governing boards cannot draw upon a specific set of evaluation criteria, as Radoslavov and Thomaß (2010: 6) have pointed out (see Chapter 5.2.2, 10). Respondents argued that developing any more specific criteria would risk jeopardising editorial independence:

‘[T]he problem with the three-step-test in Germany is that in order to assess whether a certain service fulfils the remit or not, the boards would certainly have to develop certain criteria. And these criteria would ultimately be qualitative criteria. And certainly, by doing this, they will think about, How should the programming be and be created, in order to be compliant to the remit?’⁹⁵ (D29).

In fact, a member of a broadcasting council argued that the council’s scrutiny relied on objective facts and that board members were not to interfere on editorial questions, also because the question of market impact was believed to be more important for the approval than editorial issues (D15). When ‘the governing boards were put in the position of influencing the editorial decision-making process, then,’ it was argued, ‘the whole construct will be questioned’⁹⁶ (D29). These specific German sensitivities and probably a need to safeguard editorial independence from political influence in sometimes politicised governing structures (e.g., see Schulz, 2002; Kleinsteuber, 2010; Federal Constitutional Court, 2014, for work in councils, see, e.g., Giersch and Pfab, 2008) may have been one of the reasons why the three-step-test procedure largely focused on the implementation of the rules and restrictions applied by the legal agreement.

12.3.5 Reconsideration of regulation

The new regulatory framework of the public service online provision was aimed at delivering a common approach to online regulation and greater legal clarity for all stakeholders, also a harmonisation of the regulation of the different federal broadcasters was hoped to be gained (D36). Yet, there is evidence to show that the outcome was a system of differing interpretations and different scrutiny of the diverse online services for children. There is also one other noteworthy result deriving from the broadcasters' experiences of the German version of the market impact and public value test (three-step-test), namely a strategic vision where stakeholders believed television, online and mobile needed to be 'de-linked' again, conceptually. One respondent poignantly summarised one broadcaster's conclusion after the testing procedure:

[W]e have it as a fact now, as it is, and I think one just has to learn that certain things have to be de-linked. Because in television we are bound to other approval processes, that are much shorter than [for] the online proposition⁹⁷ (IV26).

There was general agreement that some new regulation had inflicted challenges on the provision. And respondents agreed upon the fact that some rules and processes needed reconsideration (D26, 29, 33, 35, 36), with views coming from respondents in the production and governance context alike. Shortly after the complex system of online availability periods had been introduced to public service media, also those involved in setting it up recognised its flaws. For example, the MDR broadcasting council came to the conclusion that the online availability periods ultimately did not meet the 'child's needs':

'In the broadcasting council's opinion, an even closer adaptation of the online availability period concepts to the child's needs would have been desirable. This is also expressed in the statements of the Kinderschutzbund [Child Protection Association], whereby children's news should be provided longer than seven days, or [...] the online provision period for magazines, reports, documentaries was too short⁹⁸ (Rundfunkrat des Mitteldeutschen Rundfunks, 2010: 59-60).

Therefore, soon after having agreed upon online provision period rules the broadcasting council explained:

'[A] harmonisation of the online availability period concepts within the KiKA propositions, but also of the public service children's propositions overall, should be aimed at. [...] During the planned [re]evaluation of kikaninchen.de and KIKaplus, the MDR broadcasting council will deal with this issue again⁹⁹ (ibid.).

During the research interviews, this evaluation had not yet taken place, but a council member explained that ‘a revision of the three-step-test process’¹⁰⁰ was already planned and ‘the problem of the online provision periods would be discussed again’,¹⁰¹ including ‘repeats for children’¹⁰² (D36).

12.4 Competition

12.4.1 Too safe for children

Whereas UK respondents did not perceive many challenges during the multi-platform transformation in regard to the regulation, they differed from their German counterparts in the way that they spotted challenges in relation to their competitors.

Similarly, all broadcasters agreed not to interact with children on Facebook. There was, however, a difference in how broadcasters referred to children's interest in Facebook and other social media and online gaming sites and the implications of this for public service broadcasting. Although in both countries broadcasters saw it as ‘a matter of fact’ that 10-12 year-olds used Facebook (UK51, 52, 54, D23, 28), only at the BBC did respondents declare it as a challenge that they were ‘losing’ children to Facebook: ‘[W]e tend to lose them to Facebook and some of the other sites’ (UK51). Another respondent suggested that the BBC would ‘lose sight of the sensibility of children’ (UK52) in regard to the way they used which media, and how.

One aspect which they saw as a public service disadvantage compared with that of the commercial competition in creating a timely multi-platform provision was safety, but also the budgets needed to create safe environment. Here, the challenge was described as remaining popular and relevant to children, despite the strong principle in place at the BBC in regard to children's safety. Respondents expressed a shared belief that public service broadcasting for children has been too protective towards children (UK51, 52, 53) and agreed that a safe, but too controlled an environment for children would make it less popular among children (UK51). As put by a respondent:

‘The BBC have always looked on the safe side, rather than trying to push the barriers too much. And I think as a result we are probably losing some of our audience to Facebook, when they are 10, 11, 12 [...] my personal view is that because we have applied such safe controls to our 6- to 12-year-old audience we tend to lose them’ (UK51).

A senior online producer commented:

'I think the biggest challenge is trying to keep them to be children and try not to wrap them up in too much cotton wool, so that they don't have the right experiences in order to get to be formed human beings when they get older' (UK53).

The idea of introducing 'slightly more edgy concepts to children' or 'more slightly edgy teen type topics' (UK51) was shared by many interviewees leading to what one senior executive called 'a shift away from those rather protected, soft children's sensibility into something that has a little more edge so that children find it appealing' (UK52). This points to parallels to the broadcasting past, where the idea to overcome middle-class attitudes regularly emerged from PSB history in the UK. None of the German interviewees expressed a similar challenge about a too protective public service culture.

12.4.2 BBC content on third platforms

Another challenge was perceived in the children's interaction with BBC content on commercial third platforms and how the BBC could present their content and services on these platforms, and be important to children without compromising core values of the BBC and their public service objectives. A senior respondent argued:

'[W]e know that children are on Facebook, we know they have fan sites for our programmes. We just make sure that when we see a fan site on Facebook that we let people know if it is not an official one. [...] we are very happy for people to put fan sites up about a programme, but if it looks like an official BBC site, we have to make clear it isn't' (UK52).

Another senior online producer explained the consideration in regard to YouTube and the specific challenge the BBC had in deciding the best way forward to present the BBC brands on social media and content sharing sites regarded as popular among children:

'I think that is important [...] getting content out there that enables kids to find us in places like YouTube. So we have this philosophy that the BBC doesn't want to be a can in the store of YouTube; we want to be a stall in the mall of YouTube. So we want to have a branded experience [...] that is ring-fenced and protected' (UK51).

In comparison, a German senior producer perceived less challenges in regard to third-party platforms and explained that they 'opened a YouTube channel' and 'wouldn't regard it as very problematic to use it as a teaser channel'¹⁰³ (D03).

Chapter 13 - Challenges - Products/services and Audience

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Chapter 13 - Challenges - Products/services and Audience

Introduction

While German respondents clearly saw the most pressing challenges as deriving from two categories – 'Broadcaster' and 'Regulation', the UK respondents pointed to those related to the categories of 'Products/services' and 'Audience'. Challenges related to products and services in the UK context were often interrelated with the audience category, and are best described as challenges related to the production of content and services appropriate to the demands or needs of the audience. In Germany, challenges related to these categories were mentioned to a much lesser extent.

13.1 Producing products and services for an audience demand

13.1.1 Audience demands content on multiple platforms

The one challenge that respondents repeatedly pointed to, was the challenge to create the multitude of services that their audiences were demanding. Overall, the BBC interviews reflected what research in the UK had shown, that children are 'at the forefront of changes in technology, and the increase in their use of the Internet and other media is having an impact on the way that television is used and viewed by children today' (Ofcom, 2007a: 72). A senior producer described their work as being characterised by 'an overriding duty to serve the audience in the country' (UK55) and most respondents sensed a strong audience demand for a multi-platform provision, arguing that 'if we are to keep up with our audience, we have to [do so] across different platforms, because that is what they do' (UK52): '[Children] are driving a particular use of technology. So if we just provide one platform or another, then we are not meeting all the needs of children' (ibid.). As put by another senior television and online producer:

'Gone are the days where you just talk about developing a television series. It doesn't work, because children now – and very young children – they love their television programmes, but then they want to know more, they want to explore a programme or a brand more. And they'll go and look on another platform' (UK55).

A policy executive in the regulatory context shared this view: '[N]ew audiences are going to expect content on new platforms and particularly children are open to consuming stuff on new platforms' (UK56). Both the older and the youngest children in the BBC audience were described as having the same demanding attitude, yet some reflected that possibly both were at play, demand and push: '[W]hat we have done is work where the audiences are demanding we work and also push audiences to a more multi-platform environment' (UK53).

While the older children were seen to 'have discovered instant messaging and they are sharing things [...] on-the-go is what has definitely changed things' (UK51), the younger, it was argued, 'just want to go on and play and watch and do things and cut out and print off and colour in' (UK53). According to the respondent:

'[CBeebies audiences] are a lot more simple in their requirements and they follow a lot more. They are a lot easier to feed, but they are very demanding, if we don't feed them with, not only small games [...] like Everything's Rosie, Mike the Knight, very simple things, along with big experiences with a lot of marketing to remind them to keep them coming back, then they don't' (ibid.).

13.1.2 Audience demands mobile content

Among respondents in the producer context, on-the-go content was repeatedly mentioned as an important demand by the child audience. Yet also a senior policy executive shared this overall view:

'We have got a huge amount of research in this area. What it shows is that 93% of children have Internet access versus about 75% of the population as a whole. [...] And we asked them which media they would miss the most. And although television is still the medium most missed by younger age groups, for the 12 to 15 year olds it is mobile phones, followed by the Internet, followed by television' (UK56).

Mobile distribution had become a key area to improve for children's provision during the time of the research. A senior research executive pointed out: 'We know children are using it that young. And at the moment we are not in that space' (UK59). With the observation at the BBC that 'the growth rate in mobiles, tablets and TVs outstripping that of PCs' (Rivera, 2011), a senior online producer asserted that 'something like 40% of sport and news is now starting to be consumed on mobile devices' (UK51). Therefore, implementing a mobile stream was one of the objectives.

The senior producer pointed to the latest data that showed children's demand here: '[W]e have only just started optimising the desktop sites that we have for mobile, and already even before the optimisation has finished, we are seeing a 10% take-up across the board on mobile and tablets' (UK51). The BBC had also been observing a growing demand by parents to access BBC content on mobile devices, as explained by the respondent: '[P]arents are starting to use smartphones almost like dummies [...] to pacify their kids, so there is more and more requirement for content on the move and on the go' (UK51).

13.2 Multitude of platforms, devices, screens and software

There were several issues related to the overall challenge to serve the demands of the audience with products and services.

13.2.1 Multiplicity of hardware and software

First of all, the multiplicity of platforms and screens, but also of different hardware devices and software was presenting broadcasters with considerable technical challenges (UK51, 54, 55), but also with challenges in regard to a further fragmentation of audiences in the online and mobile context. Many pointed to the 'multiplicity of channels' and 'fragmentation of audience' (UK54), and the challenge for the content producers was to avoid 'scattering their audience to the winds to do all these things' on the diverse platforms (UK55). In regard to the technical challenges, a respondent maintained: '[G]etting the product aired across four screens is the biggest challenge. And I would say right now we are probably doing still 90% desktop and then 10% between the other three screens' (UK51).

The challenge of multiplicity was clearly linked to the challenge of scarcity, mentioned in the previous chapter. According to a BBC executive and senior producer the scarcity of funding vis-à-vis demand for a multiplicity of hardware (platforms, screens, devices) and software presented a challenge to the BBC, and so 'we will follow what happens; we are not driving the agenda in the same way, because it costs a lot of money to do that' (UK52).

According to the respondents, it was even more challenging in the child context to build safe products and services (vis-à-vis the multitude of

devices to produce for and resources to produce these) and producing similar multi-platform experiences for children as for adults, because additional work had to be done to make an application accessible and safe to use for children. For example, more safety features had to be built into software devices such as iPlayer:

'[A]t the moment on the desktop we have a very old version of iPlayer [...] And the reason historically that we have stayed on an old version was that when we first launched desktop iPlayer, there were so many security features on it, that we didn't keep in step with the framework that iPlayer had. So they would have had to develop a different product for us, every time they incremented a version' (UK51).

In view of the increased fragmentation of offerings and audience attention in the online space, it was seen as a challenge to translate the public service remit into a multi-platform provision and to reach majorities of children to remain relevant and fulfil the BBC's purposes in regard to the child audience. A respondent explained, 'Almost like the toy box analogy, if you put something to the bottom of the toy box, they won't play with it, they just play with what's on top. And that is exactly the same with our multi-platform offerings' (UK53). Focusing on fewer brands was one strategy to answer this challenge, as put by a producer:

'[Children be]come to love a brand, when they can get it wherever they want it. They can read about it, they can play with the brand, they can study it further, they can watch it on the television. That is when something really gets into the mind there' (UK55).

The challenge was described in such terms as 'to work really hard to keep their attention' (UK53), and there was agreement that this was best achieved by offering coherent brands and ideas across platforms, but also 'multiplayer, lots of user-generated content, [...] big narrative and rewards. All those things you can really use to keep people coming back' (ibid.).

13.2.2 Rapid evolution of technologies

Another issue in regard to technical challenges was the rapid evolution of technologies, including online and mobile technologies and the unpredictable take-up by audiences and industries. Respondents similarly highlighted this as a big challenge for the multi-platform provision for children. As put by one respondent:

'Even five years ago, we never would have expected so many children

to have mobile phones. So this technology could creep up on us very quickly. So it is how you read the market and be flexible enough so you can respond to it without investing in something that doesn't work' (UK52).

Another example is HTML5, which at the time of the research was as a Web technology not yet widely adopted, but was indicated to be the future mark up language that allowed content to be presented coherently across different Web browsers and platforms. A senior online producer explained:

'[W]e had to branch out into HTML5, which is a new technology for us. We are launching this week [...] about 4, 5 new games in HTML5. But it's something we have never done before with our brands' (UK53).

Another interviewee explained the challenges of running several parallel technologies in order to create a sustainable and coherent multi-platform provision for children on TV, radio, online and mobile. It was held that '[t]o get something on in the TV space we have to develop it in the UK on three or four different platforms' (UK51): So we are not putting too much effort into the Flash side in the TV business. Because we are pretty confident that it will all eventually end up on HTML' (ibid.).

Contrastingly, in Germany, no such challenges were mentioned and here in 2010 documents, for example, Flash was still regarded as a 'present programming standard'¹ or 'modern programming method'² (MDR and ZDF 2010: 41). German respondents seemed to speak more often of the challenge of relaunching or refreshing the interface design in order to get a more contemporary look than specific new functionalities for the audience: 'It was just necessary, urgently. Our previous site is not appropriate any more and the relaunch and the refresh, a new design, was simply necessary'³ (D23). Relaunches in the UK context were mentioned in regard to the provision of new or changed features for audiences: 'So we completely rebuilt the whole CBeebies website [...] new mobile website. We are thinking about personalisation for young children and rewards' (UK53).

13.2.3 Changes to the creative process

Respondents similarly pointed to the challenges deriving from different creative processes for a multi-platform provision than for a scheduled broadcast. These differences were visible from the conceptualisation of an online product and service as content that needed to be maintained within a

life-cycle, as well as its creation in iterative production, but also in the changes to the concept of public service content itself, from *programme*, to *project* and ultimately to *idea* and *experience* (see Chapters 6.8, 9.2.3). One interviewee explained the challenge for the creative production process 'to develop ideas and content that work across all of our screens, which includes television, mobile, online and tablets, and any of the emerging screens and Smart TVs, we are branching into'; the challenge was to find 'what is the best idea, iteration of an idea, on all of these different platforms' (UK53). Also others emphasised the difference in the writing and storytelling process:

'[S]torytelling doesn't have to be a linear process and a journey can be a never-ending journey, or around, or anything like that. It is a different experience, but you have to understand the process of producing material as well and the timelines involved' (UK55).

Some saw 'the relationship of play, storytelling and character and plot [...], they are shifting and moving' (UK54). It was held that the online production process was more challenging than TV production, because the creative editorial, the operational and the creative technology processes had to be addressed at the same time. As put by a senior online producer: 'I do envy TV people; they can focus on creative ideas, whereas we have to think about ideas, how it all works, what platform it will be on, what technology we will use' (UK53). This points to the challenge for a public service multi-platform provision for children that creative online production to some extent resembled more the processes in cinematic or high on-screen value TV production rather than less expensive lower-end-technology TV productions with quicker production/broadcast turnaround. Also the separation of commissioning, production, distribution was not always as clear cut as in the TV sphere, a continuous online content 'payout' was a very different operational undertaking than a scheduled linear TV payout. These changes pointed to budget levels for which the children's provision was throughout its PSB history never specifically known for (on history of scarcity of funding, see Chapter 3.3.1).

13.2.4 TV is the driver

There was one issue where UK and German respondents agreed. It was the awareness that TV was still important for children, and 'children watch a lot more television' (UK52). There was widespread agreement in the UK that

'television remains the key driver' (ibid.) and that the 'biggest successes' were around the 'big brands that appear on television, appear online and appear on all screens' (UK53). The challenge was to find the right balance for content on the different platforms. However, the UK respondents put forward this challenge more strongly. As put by a senior producer:

'There is a lot of hype about what technologies can do. And still we know that mainstream broadcast is our driver. It drives traffic to the website. [...] And [it] is not to say that we are traditional in that sense. We are very aware of where the power comes, and there is a lot of hype around what technology can do. So, we are very pragmatic' (UK52).

Another senior online producer explained:

'Our audience comes in predominantly through TV and then we convert probably 50% of that audience to online. What we see is, they come online looking for a brand that they are familiar with. And what we are also seeing is, when they find their brand they then play the game, as well as looking at the video' (UK51).

A former BBC senior online producer maintained:

'[For] the clever broadcaster, [it] is to simultaneously understand that your most powerful medium is still television. And your most powerful brands will all certainly sit on television. And feed through the other media. Interestingly, the brands don't have to necessarily begin there any more. You can create brands and you can test and you can develop, and you can again allow the audience to change the nature of brands prior to the point where they go on to the relatively linear medium, but a very powerful one' (UK54).

The challenge may also explain the strategy at the time at the BBC which was clearly a further move towards more programme-related content on the new platforms. According to a senior producer, products and services were produced 'around the things' that were 'going to be big brands on television': 'I have a pretty set strategy for the year and it is made up by big brands moments that appear on television and online. And we market them and we put a lot of effort into them' (UK53).

Online products and services therefore also seemed to rely much more on cross-platform marketing to reach their audiences than content on other platforms, which led to the challenge that without offering children those 'big experiences with a lot of marketing to remind them to keep them coming back, then they don't' (UK53). That the BBC, therefore, tried to transfer some of television's driving power on to their Web offerings, for example, shows the BBC's application to their governing board to premiere short

content online. For example, TV channel BBC Three was permitted to premiere content on the website 'on the basis that it gives this channel the flexibility to respond to the target audience (16-34) who, like children, are at the forefront of the take-up of new technology' (BBC Trust, 2009a: 63-4). Also for children it was aimed 'to premiere short-form content online to improve reach to the CBBC website and better meet the needs of children who are high users of on-demand and online services' (ibid.)

In Germany the challenge appeared as well and respondents expressed a similar perception, citing the strap-line, 'TV is the trigger, don't forget to pull it' (D05). Trials with a 'production blog' that was created 'online first' for one brand proved unpopular and showed the unlevelled impact of online and TV in the public service context. Television was regarded as 'still the most image-strong and emotional medium for children,'⁴ observing that 'you do notice, if online is being constantly announced on TV' (D28). Also here the specific challenges for a multi-platform provision were acknowledged, that children's online consumption was 'strongly directed along the broadcast times. So [...] on the weekends very high numbers of clicks through the [TV] programmes in the mornings' (D34). In regard to a dominant role of TV, an online producer argued:

'This is still the case and I don't know how fast this is going to change. We realise that TV, for example, for online is still the driving channel. When we experiment, [...] there was a programme in autumn and already in January, February we have started with an online offering. We also have created a [...] production blog, how the programme is being made. This was no success, so nobody has looked for the programme. Nobody had a relation to the brand. So, it was difficult'⁵ (D28).

In Germany, because of the particularities of the PSB online provision (see Chapter 11), the challenge seemed to be rather that 'there are programmes that use [announcements for online content] on a regular basis [...] [but] there are still programmes that don't' (D05). It was held that those programmes 'where the presenter mentions it, Go to [a broadcaster's children's website]! Those are the most effective leads'⁶ (ibid).

One specific challenge for the German multi-platform provision that was related to the fact that TV was the more dominant medium was that some programmes that were screened on KiKA had leads incorporated into the closing credits that led to the parent broadcaster's website and not to KiKA's online propositions. Although TV announcements and leads were regarded as important and successful also in Germany, they must have

been arguably less successful for producing a KiKA provision across platforms.

However, for most respondents TV was more implicitly the strong brand, because online and mobile were still clearly of secondary importance (see Chapter 9.3.2). That this challenge for the PSB provision was not necessarily common industry knowledge in Germany, shows another source, where a former children's producer argued: 'If it goes on like that I would fear that television will lose the children completely to the Internet. This trend is there already and television has not much to rebut this just yet' (Armin Maiwald, cited in Helbig, 2009).

More access during term-time

In Germany, respondents pointed to the challenge that was created by the varying use of public service online media linked to less TV watching during good weather, holiday and school times. In regard to a certain news website, a senior online executive producer in the ARD-network explained that 'one could clearly see that during holidays it was accessed less often than during term-time. Therefore, it is very clear that this is information which children simply need for the school'⁷ (D21). A research executive at ZDF explained that 'when it is lovely weather outside and school holidays, then you also have a problem, because there the children are outside': 'Either the people watch television and then go on to [a broadcaster's children's website], or they are not watching television and go outside'⁸ (D34).

13.3 Creating a safe social media environment

All respondents agreed that public service media for children was unthinkable without social media functionalities. The challenges for a public service broadcaster to create what was thought of as 'safe social' (see Chapter 9.2.5) was echoed in many UK interviews. The dilemma was that together with the strategy to use the opportunities offered by the new technologies for improving the relationship with the audience, and answer the demands of the audience, the costs were also rising. Therefore, one of the biggest new challenges was clearly how to create a 'safe experience in a fun environment' (UK51):

'[W]e all know that children love social media, but the challenge that presents us is safety issues and we are very concerned about that. And on the one hand we would like to create a perfectly safe environment for children, but we can't afford to do that' (UK52).

Since phase 1, PSBs had offered and had found ways to create a safe social moderated chat environment in ways they believed children would demand it. Now, with the evolution of social media this commitment had become more challenging. The challenge was to create a 'platform for social and personalisation' (UK51) that allowed the BBC to offer social media for children, that were contemporary, innovative, popular and safe, but within a PSB children's budget. A senior executive explained:

'[T]he public service components are certainly in the children's space [...] both education at the 0 to 6 age group, and safety is the prime consideration on the 6 to 12 age group. And to some extent that holds you back from doing things that are really pioneering. Certainly in the 6 to 12 space. So I'd say public service are probably a little more cautious, but in that way it is probably a safer place for kids to be' (UK51)

13.3.1 Old and new ways of participation

The demand for participation was described as a challenge, but not one that was completely new. A senior executive argued:

'They demand it. They enjoy it. I don't think that has changed. I think that children [...] have got lots to say and they have always wanted to participate, now there are just more opportunities, more mechanisms that [...] help them do it. And with that comes an expectation, that they will participate. But in BBC Children's participation has always been a defining character of our life programmes' (UK52).

Yet many respondents explained that the way children expected to participate indeed presented several challenges for the public service broadcaster. Changes to the expectation of audiences through the multi-platform provision were observed, because 'the extent in which audiences engage and involve themselves [was] shifting' (UK54). The BBC executive continued to explain:

'[C]hildren can engage, they can interact much more with the programme while it is on [...] children can participate in the programme in ways they couldn't before [...]

20, 30 years ago, the children would just pick up a phone and they could have live phone-ins, whereas now, they can be online, they can send in content, they can send in videos, they can do all sorts of things' (UK52).

Audience feedback

There was one challenge presented by the two-way stream of online media, where arguably it was not the challenge that was new, but the scale of it:

‘Our parents are very vocal. In fact, social media has made it much easier for anybody to give any feedback on any programme and to communicate with us. And I think that BBC [...] we get an audience input and if they request a reply we have to reply’ (UK52).

The problem was simple: ‘You have more complaints than ever. Not because our programmes are worse, but because it is easier for people to complain’ (UK52). German PSBs had also struggled with the rise in audience communication through emails (see Chapter 5).

13.3.2 From moderated chat to social play

This thesis has already pointed to evidence that suggested that the BBC had begun to turn away from the more challenging and resourceful versions of audience interaction in phase 3, avoiding open moderated chat, although commercial social media that offered just that had proved popular with children. This trend had continued in phase 4. Although the challenges to create a safe environment for children had not decreased with the evolution of the technology, the BBC seemed to have come to better terms with the challenge:

‘It is just that broadcasters, we all have less money. And kids are on Facebook, even if they are not supposed to be on Facebook. And we can’t afford to create a big infrastructure to provide that. And the technology is still not sophisticated enough that it can block bullying, that it can block inappropriate language, that it can block cyber-predators, for example. So, just for us to get into that space we would have to put a lot of money into creating a very, very safe moderated environment. That is just too expensive. And also, I am not convinced that older children would want to be in a children’s space, they like being in an adult space. So, we don’t think our mission is to replicate what is already being provided elsewhere’ (UK52).

As a response to the challenge, instead of developing a moderated chat environment or social media network, the BBC, in order to continue offering contemporary forms of social media to children, were ‘trying to find safe ways in which [...] children can share content’ (UK52). The result was a very distinct form of social media for children ‘closely linked to BBC brands’ and with most interaction among ‘known friends’ (UK51). A senior online

producer described the concept: '[T]he first steps to social media, but it is not Facebook and it is not open chat. And it is not all the things that kind of traditionally we would think about as social media' (UK51).

There is reason to argue that, in order to minimise open interaction and chat among children, brought about by safety challenges and budgetary restrictions, the gaming element of social media got promoted. Gaming allowed more 'controlled' and 'prescribed', but fun interaction between children on PSB platforms (UK51). Another example of more uncritical features of social media that were promoted during this phase were likes and share functionalities, in order 'to allow groups of children to be able to share things amongst known friends' and to play against each other (UK51). The evolving iPlayer functionalities seemed central to this safe approach to social media and sharing for children:

'The older children know that they go on to our website and that we have the iPlayer. So, for example they can tag something they have seen and share it with their friends. We would like to provide that kind of functionality, but we don't want to go so far to say here is a completely safe moderated social network for you' (UK52).

The idea of sharing content and earning rewards, and only allowing known friends to play together online after exchanging safety keys to verify the identity of their co-player, was understood as the right way for social media in the public service context, because it was seen 'as safe as credit card security, because in many ways that is the way credit cards security works' (UK51).

13.3.3 Moderated social media

German PSBs also faced the challenge of offering communication tools for children on budgets that were limited, compared with the big social network sites. But here most broadcasters within this research project still held on to the concept of moderated chat. At ZDF the process was described in detail:

'The proposition of chats and forums in the ZDF teledemia are programme-accompanying and is closely editorially curated. [...] The editorial checks all posts in the fores for insults, defamation and basic rules of Netiquette. Chats are editorially moderated. At the moment, a team of free employees works on it in shifts under the supervision of two editors and not only looks after the online propositions of ZDF, but also after the specifically for children and young people designed tivi-Treff [tivi-meetup]⁹ (ZDF, 2010a: 15).

Instead, German respondents pointed to a very different challenge in regard to social media, namely, that some offerings, such as the 'community', were 'not yet very successful, measured from the user numbers and views' (D07, 10). In phase 4, however, the challenge in regard to audience relations management was seen by some more in the limited funding for the social communities, explaining that, when they actually became more widely used than they were at the time (D07, 10), the funding was not there to deliver the service on a larger scale (D07). Yet, it was held that 'it was 'a very important contribution to also offer this and to show in the portfolio we offer something for the different age groups and different demands'¹⁰ (D10).

This view reflected what the head of KiKA in 2007 had described as the challenge to reach 'a critical mass' with online media, a challenge that he then saw KiKA would not to be able to solve solitarily:

'We also couldn't provide this on our own, because you need many partners for this, for example in the industry, in order to reach a critical mass, so that such an offerings is going to be recognised'¹¹ (Frank Beckmann, cited in promedia, 2007: 18).

13.3.4 Parental approval and age verification

One challenge that was highlighted in both countries was that of parental approval. The different broadcasters answered this challenge differently, but most related parental approval to the case when children talked to each other, the uploading and publishing of artefacts of the child's life, such as images, videos, texts, but also when they wanted to participate as 'child reporter' and publish news stories online (www.kindernetz.de/minitz, 2011). Parental approval caused a great 'amount of work'¹² and also impacted on what broadcasters were able to offer and what was 'hardly possible':¹³

'It is a challenge definitely. We have to get parental approval for everything. That means for every photo competition, for every video competition [...], then we have to really ask permission of everybody, before we publish the picture and if it shows 20 children, then we have to really get approval of 20 parents. That is why actually we don't do any of these activities any more, or very sporadically. The same applies to the community. We have an anonymised community, no real names, the children can't upload photos of them, the parents always have to confirm [...] before the child enters the community'¹⁴ (D28).

At ZDF, approval processes were used, introduced in 2004, where child and parent had to print out a form, both sign it and send it back to the

broadcaster, where signatures were then checked (D28). The hands-on method was appreciated for its level of security:

'[O]ne can astonishingly well gather from these signatures if a child has put down two signatures, or if it is really a parent's signature. We also have the phone number; in critical cases we call and ask, Did you really sign that? That has functioned really well since 2004. [...] The hurdles are relatively high, therefore [the community] is one of the most secure in Germany'¹⁵ (D28). '[N]ew technical solutions', it was argued, were 'still to come one day'¹⁶ (ibid).

Also at the BBC, safety challenges were of main concern and it was argued that 'obviously we need parental approval once children start to interact with other real people on the site,' but here another current challenge of children's PSBs was presented, the data and privacy challenge in regard to the registration and the storing of personal details of children:

'[W]e have a philosophy that we don't push you for all your information until it is absolutely necessary. So as you login, we'll introduce you to things that you can have a fun experience with. But it is only when you come into contact with other people that we start to look for parental approval and parental choice' (UK51).

The BBC went down the route of online 'age verification' (UK51), instead of the hands-on method that was successfully applied in Germany, because the same approach probably needed more 'manpower to validate' due to the different scale of the services (UK12). Therefore, here respondents pointed to the lack of an established system of 'age verification' (UK51) that could be used in a non-commercial space. As one solution the so-called 'family pass' was being considered in phase 4, where children logged on through a parent's account:

'Because you start off with children at a very young age, their parents introduce them to the Internet. They have an account, the child has a subsidiary account under the parents' account. And as the child becomes aware and wants to move up the age-group, the parent can then let them off on their own' (UK51).

In the UK context, age verification and privacy was a challenge that was understood to have wider implications and needed more long-term consideration. It was held that the principle of universal and free accessibility made it more difficult for a public service broadcaster to find safe online solutions for applications for children. A disadvantage to commercial operators was seen in so far as the BBC had to come up with new solutions when it came to online safety issues, whereas secure commercial solutions had already evolved. One commercial approach of

online propositions such as Club Penguin and Moshi Monsters was simply to check credit card details to verify age or the consent of the parents (apart from using the credit card as a payment method on commercial sites). A respondent explained, that because the BBC as a licence-fee funded broadcaster did not have a commercial relationship with audiences, it was not able to engage in some established secure methods of validation as they had specifically been developed for commercial transactions, but had to come up with other – yet as secure - ways of age verification (UK12).

It was held by several respondents that age verification was an important issue of child protection not only for PSBs, but also for governments and other bodies to be solved. It was assumed that this challenge occurred across Europe, but Germany was understood to be advantaged as well as advanced here, because of the existence of ID cards and established alternative forms of identification (UK51).

13.3.5 The German Walled Gardens

The research showed that the two PSB systems not only differed in the way they saw the most current issues to be solved, but also in some understandings and rationales about a safe environment. In Germany the concept of the ‘Walled Garden’ still seemed to be more important than at the BBC. Only German respondents pointed to *Walled Gardens*, when discussing safety challenges in regard to video content that children could access, and also often used the English term for it (D21, 23, 28).

It is noteworthy that several German respondents envisaged such a public service space, where a ‘Walled Garden,’ actually meant a branded on-demand proposition for young children. Some respondents understood the challenge for PSBs to ‘create a secure space for children and parents’¹⁷ (D30) as a space that – not unlike a trusted TV channel – allowed parents and children to consume media, separated from everything harmful and unwanted, and at times convenient to them:

‘I think that will be the future [...]. Specifically preschool [...] because it is usually screened in the mornings or at such times, when children usually are not able to watch. And there I find such a secure space on the Web, that would be extremely important. And I truly hope, that the public service broadcasters embark [on] this and create such channels’¹⁸ (D30).

Here the walled garden was not understood as something, ‘in the sense of children are in there and are not able to get out and go somewhere else’,¹⁹ but rather as a concept of a public service space that offered ‘good programming [...] not having to fear too much advertising or all such things, in regard to the content’²⁰ (D30).

Notably, in Germany, the concept was simultaneously used to distinguish one broadcaster’s ‘Garden’ from another:

‘[W]e say, OK, actually we have built there our nice, our own walled garden [...] that means we can offer everything from the online offering, to the chat, the forum, to video-on-demand, actually everything that we think is important to offer to children. And want to prevent doubles. Therefore that means we actually do want a clear, strict separation, so that we do not build double structures. That means [another broadcaster] does not also create a community, not also a forum for [a children’s series], when we have one. Or [another broadcaster] does not also stream [a children’s series], when we do that already. Or does not also create an online offering, when we have one. That mutually disburdens us, saves double work’²¹ (D03).

On the one hand, this points to the respondents’ understanding of a need for such clearly distinguished platforms for children at the time. On the other hand, it points to the specific challenge of German broadcasters, that when they conceptualised into the future, how to distinguish their own proposition from their PSB neighbour, in order for the services to be operated efficiently and effectively meeting PSB goals, yet, for services not to cannibalise each other.

In Germany, the demarcation between public service on-demand content for children and for the general audience appeared to be more relevant than it had ever been on television since the ‘toddlers’ truce’ (Chapter 4). For some, the concept formed a space that safeguarded the child from content on the broadcaster’s main on-demand player:

‘[T]here is always the danger that [children] from the Tigerenten Bande video [children’s animation] then watch the Tagesschau [the main ARD news programme] and this is no environment safe for children. Therefore, we have CheckEins dislinked, so to say. You can get to CheckEins through the navigation of [Erste Mediathek]. But from CheckEins you cannot get back so easily as a child’²² (D23).

The concept was also given as a reason for creating separate on-demand repositories (Mediathek) for children and adults: ‘[I]t was a very clear prerequisite that children’s content must not appear in the ZDF-Mediathek, due to reasons of Child and Youth Protection’²³ around 2008/09 (D28). The respondents overall were sympathetic to this approach and found it the

most appropriate approach to a children's on-demand provision (D23, 28). Yet, also the advantages for the adult provision were highlighted in this context:

'Therefore the decision was made for that reason to create two separate Mediatheks. And so the problematic, for children problematic content, can always remain in the ZDF-Mediathek. And the children's content is separated from it'²⁴ (D28).

At the BBC, the concept of 'walled garden' for the on-demand provision seemed to have been almost dismissed in this period, because, according to a respondent, 'Now that iPlayer has parental controls built into the iPlayer itself, it means that we don't have the need for this walled garden to the same extent that we used to', because, it was argued, by using iPlayer 'parents can basically protect their children' (UK51). Overall, the idea of a walled garden was viewed more critically than in Germany:

'You could say that putting a child in front of laptop even if it is in a walled garden, if that child of 7, 8 or 9 can get to the Google search bar, they can pretty much find whatever they want. So, I think the whole concept of walled garden is more about trying to release kids into a world where they can have a better experience, but it's still safe. I think the problem of walled gardens is they tend to separate children from children as well as children from the rest of the world. So the experience is kind of very confined' (UK51).

13.4 Creating distinctive and popular public service content

13.4.1 Make the excellent popular and the popular excellent

The concept of delivering public service multi-platform media at the BBC was clearly understood by what D'Arma and Steemers (2010a: 124) described as the two main conditions for 'a real public service contribution', to be 'distinctive and popular'. There is reason to argue that in regard to the above mentioned challenges this long-term challenge has become greater in the even more fragmented multi-platform era. In regard to the first condition, a respondent maintained, 'I am deeply concerned about the popularity of our content. Because there is no point in doing it, if kids don't want it and if they are not consuming it' (UK08). The respondent saw it as a special challenge for the multi-platform provision to be both good and popular, using a concept from the BBC's broadcasting history understood as one of 'the founding principles of the BBC' (see Chapter 4.3.1). It was argued:

'[I]t is our job to make the great good and the good great. To make things that are popular, excellent and to make things that are excellent, popular. [...] I take it very to heart. I think that is exactly what we are supposed to do. And the fact is if I create something that is an incredibly clever and valuable idea that nobody uses, then I failed. Likewise, if I created [something] that is incredibly popular but you can get that at any commercial channel, then I have also failed' (UK08).

13.4.2 Children's capabilities and stages of development

In the UK context, children and their specific capabilities were also pointed to more frequently as a source of challenge for creating specific services. Respondents pointed to the issue of children's access to certain hardware technologies, but also to the latest software, such as latest browsers (UK51, 52), which points to the aforementioned challenge of producing for a greater range of capabilities, needs and technologies:

'[A] lot of children have mobile phones, but there are issues around that. So there are issues of access and affordability. So you can't assume that just because a few privileged children have high-end toys, that all children have them. [...] The number of children who have iPads is minimal. Very, very small' (UK52).

Respondents often expressed challenges for creating a provision in regard to the 'different stages of child development, in the psychology chart' (see Chapter 8.6.1). Respondents regarded it as more difficult to create products and services for children, because 'children mature at different ages, so an 8-year-old in one area could be equivalent in maturity to a 10- or 12-year-old in another area, and vice versa' (UK51). The respondent argued the 'crossover areas and the difference every two years the children encounter' brought challenges for the content provision and was 'difficult to cope with' (ibid.).

This led to an even greater range of variation. Each stage appeared to present broadcasters with different challenges. Older children were regarded as very demanding and skilled users: '[H]aving grown up with websites, they have a much better understanding about or an expectation of how they should work. [...] And you can't bluff them. They know when something is bad' (UK59). For younger children the challenge was to adapt different user interfaces of services and applications to enable children to use them, 'so that children who are of the age of 6, 7 and 8 can login without getting lost' (UK51). Also in regard to the CBeebies audience, a senior

online producer described ongoing challenges in how to best serve the youngest audience:

'They are a lot simpler in their needs, but in that comes a lot of challenges to make something that is really simple, that is really challenging [...] because in it there is this beauty and simplicity, but it takes an awful lot of work to make sure it is the right thing for them' (UK53).

Older children were seen to demand more edgy and challenging content that pushed barriers, ever evolving designs, features and content, and not the old 'stuff' (UK59). Because of the simplicity of the preschool provision, it was also seen as more challenging to create innovative content and services for CBeebies than for the older age group:

'[W]ith CBBC, that *Tracy Beaker* launch that created such a massive buzz with what they offered. It was multiplayer, lots of user-generated content, it could be quite complex with what they did, big narrative and rewards. All those things you can really use to keep people coming back and I think [CBBC] found that a lot easier. So they have grown and they keep growing, whereas [CBeebies] just keep going up and down' (UK53).

In the German interviews, respondents pointed to both, very skilled and demanding social media users (D28, 30), but also more generally to a lack of knowledge and expertise among both children and their parents and a need for PSBs to offer them orientation and guidance, which was also seen as a reason why public service online services were important in children's media consumption. A senior online producer argued that more and more parents were overwhelmed by online offerings when trying to find the right content for their children and public service broadcasters were seen to offer suitable online content for children in a vast online media landscape (D21, 30):

'It is not just the children themselves, but also the parents, where we notice that they are increasingly puzzled, and that again and again when they find the Kindernetz say, "That is great that something like this exists!"'²⁵ (D21).

13.5 On-demand and distribution rights

One of the most obvious challenges in this phase for German PSBs was to provide a multi-platform provision in collaboration and communication with different stakeholders. As this research has shown, the challenge was to balance out the different interests and needs of the different parties, but

also to come to terms with the concept of a multi-platform PSB children's provision during the move (by some) to more individualistic strategies for the child provision in the multi-platform context than previously exercised in the TV context.

For example, the lack of broadcast content for KiKA's on-demand player *KiKAplus* in phase 4 occurred as one of the symptoms of the greater challenges in the multi-platform era at the time. However, there was a significant mismatch between those challenges and the challenges other individual respondents perceived in regard to KiKA's on-demand player for providing comprehensive programming content. Some respondents in the producer and governance context explained that a reason for KiKA's scarcity in on-demand programming content was the lack of available distribution rights (D23, 24, 30, 36) or the restrictions on acquired content. An online producer held:

'Probably the rights are not cleared there. Because, for example, we have this case again. The series [a children's series] runs next week again. And the second series runs there, we have the whole series on the Mediathek. But the first series, which is a bit older, we don't have. So, this is really also a rights issue'²⁶.

'At KiKA I can only explain it to myself, that this is also the question of rights again. That they again also cannot present everything, because they also have very many acquired small children's programmes'²⁷ (D23).

Also a broadcasting council member explained KiKA's lack of on-demand content had from the perspective of the broadcasting councils 'to do with rights'²⁸ (D36). Another producer assumed that some broadcasters 'can act more offensively here, because the rights were contracted differently in addition to the linear'³⁰ (D24). An ARD senior online executive argued: 'Not for all programmes, which are available on linear, VOD-rights are available, therefore content is missing. But those who offer the Mediathek, can't be blamed for that'²⁹ (D33). In view of the restrictions, German PSBs faced for the online provision (see Chapter 12.2) that did not allow certain broadcast content to be made available online (e.g. acquired programmes) and the uncertainties that affected the broadcasting industry, both in Germany and the UK, in regard to 'rights issues and revenue shares [...] because processes and procedures are not yet settled in a fast-evolving market' (Steemers, 2010c: 172), on-demand and distribution rights were clearly one challenge in this period.

However, in regard to the children's provision overall, there are no

indications that rights management, revenue shares or royalty payment issues were the main constraint for the public service children's on-demand provision, but it was also to be found in other internal and regulatory challenges, as addressed in Chapters 11 and 12. For example, in contrast to the explanation of rights issues, most respondents seemed to agree with the view at KiKA: 'We have rights there, which we simply cannot use' (D26). Also elsewhere it was argued:

[The children's department staff] 'have many rights cleared [...], but [the children's department staff] do not have the capacities to upload them. And this is really such an idiot job, so to say, to take the data and throw it into the CMS. There is no time left then for editorial work. If all editors just put data into systems, then they don't do anything nice, and no projects any more, and no editorial work'³² (D05).

13.6 No common framework for research data

In regard to the availability of research data and the ability to compare propositions with other public service or commercial broadcasters, there was a difference between the two countries. Unlike the UK interviewees, German respondents argued that a lack of research data presented a challenge, and here the specific 'challenge, the measuring of online views'³³ (UK28), or what was described as the 'different quantitative "currencies" for media usage in Germany'³⁴ (MDR and ZDF, 2010: 12-13). Specifically, for the children's provision those research insights were regarded to be beneficial, because some figures were believed to be partly better than for some online products and services for the general audience. It was argued: '[F]or such a small specialist programming, for such a small scheduling slot like [the branded children's slot] it would indeed be very interesting if those [figures] would be added'³⁵ (D03). Some broadcasters also undertook their own research into the children's use of their online propositions to get a better understanding of their audience (D21).

In the UK, research insight did not emerge as a current challenge and respondents seemed to agree that they had both good access and good knowledge about their child audience in regard to new platforms: '[T]here's probably 10 million kids in the UK under the age of 12; as a broadcaster we probably see two-thirds of them. And as an interactive service we probably see half of them' (UK51).

Respondents had access to 'information [...] as to what is happening, not only on the BBC services, but also trend information across the whole of the UK and sometimes beyond' (UK51). Some respondents spoke of an abundance of research available and the external and the BBC's own research both seemed important to the production process:

'We have our own people who go out and do research. We have research coming in, and obviously we have the statistics coming in from BARB or the national ratings organisations. [...] We hire in outside research companies to do bespoke sets of research. [...] we have our own audience teams and they do an awful lot of work from within the BBC' (UK55).

There was, however, also an awareness of additional difficulties in regard to online/mobile audience measurements and it was held 'that television is much easier to measure in terms of investment, in terms of hours of programming' (UK56).

There is evidence to argue that for the BBC a lack of available research on the child audience of new platforms has been a greater challenge in the past. According to respondents the children's departments had begun 'doing [their] own' (UK53, 55), when in the past available research had been focused more on the adult audiences. During the time of this project, several pieces of research were undertaken about child audiences to understand 'the changing digital landscape and where our audiences are and what they demand' (UK53).

Specifically pointed to was the 'Stepping Out' teams doing research with children from local schools and nurseries, 'on a very regular basis a couple of times a month', also others pointed to 'a lot of localised research within the department' to clarify specific research questions in regard to children, but also parents and carers: 'We talk a lot to our adult audiences' (UK51, 53, 55).

According to respondents, online producers had access to weekly and 'daily reports on how we are doing' (UK51), which respondents used as indication for how well they fulfilled their objectives:

'We get stats that give you how many unique users you have got to a website. You have got stats that tell you how many minutes children are spending on the website and how many pages they have used. [...] there is such a wealth of content there. It is no good just saying we know there's so many million children who have looked at [a] website. You need to know what they are using, how they are using it. How long are they spending on it and all of that. Just to get a picture of whether it is succeeding or not' (UK55).

Summary – Chapters 8-13

Chapters 8-13 have examined the strategies, challenges and some contributory factors that public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany have faced in regard to the multi-platform provision in phase 4, between 2010 and 2012. They have also shown how broadcasters saw the opportunities and the purpose of the multi-platform provision. The chapters have delivered the last pieces of the puzzle to satisfy the central research aim of this project:

To establish the differences and similarities in the challenges and opportunities the broadcasters perceive and the strategies they apply during the implementation of a multi-platform provision for children.

The next chapter will provide the summary and synthesis of the findings and conclusion to the thesis.

Chapter 14 - Summary and Conclusion

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Chapter 14 - Summary and Conclusion

Introduction

Chapter 14 will provide the conclusion to this thesis and summarise how publicly-funded public service broadcasters in the UK and Germany perceived and negotiated challenges and opportunities related to the transition from broadcasting to multi-platform media for children. It will synthesise the findings of Part 3 and also link them to some review findings of part 1 and research findings of part 2. First, this chapter will summarise the different strategies broadcasters applied during the implementation of multi-platform media services for children. Second, it will summarise the differences and similarities in the challenges and, third, the opportunities the broadcasters perceived in this transformative phase of public service broadcasting.

14.1 Main Finding 1 – ‘We are not a public service multi-platform provider’

14.1.1 Different self-conceptions

There is no doubt that a development towards a public service provision on multiple platforms took place in both countries; both PSB systems offered similar content and similar services on similar platforms and similar systems. Both were affected by similar technological and financial developments in the media and public institutions, both by a mix of political and legal pressures and leeways in the European and national regulatory context. And, PSBs in both countries became stakeholders in a largely commercial globalised multi-platform media market, observing around them the expansion of multi-channel television, the launch of communication tools and participatory playing worlds for children on the Web, and the rise of Web-based companies constructing business models on exploitation and distribution of user-generated and third-party-generated content. They both watched their child audiences consuming information, education and entertainment content in new ways and joining in social media conversations about it; watched new screens being introduced to the daily screen diet of children; and saw the convergence of telecommunications, computing, press, entertainment and broadcasting. The outcome for public

service broadcasting was largely the same. BBC, ZDF and the ARD broadcasters were multi-platform children's providers by the time of this research, offering children content and services across multiple platforms - vis-à-vis a multiplicity of national and global media offerings for children.

By the time of the research, PSB had been offering content and services on the Internet for about fifteen years and during the research period, for example, a move towards offering children more on-demand content could be observed in both countries. The BBC aimed at responding to children on-the-move and improved how children's content could be accessed on smartphones and tablets on-the-go. ARD and ZDF aimed at improving catch-up functionalities, enabling audiences to access, catch up and replay content on their computers at home.

In view of these developments, the most staggering finding of this research is the difference in how broadcasters referred to themselves as multi-platform broadcasters. German PSBs displayed a more cautious approach to the multi-platform transformation and did not concede to the idea that they had transformed into multi-platform providers for children. Their self-concept still relied upon the long-established model of the public service *broadcaster*, and their strategy broadly continued to be offering broadcasting programmes to children with additional Internet services. For example, despite the children's channel KiKA's website proving successful among children as the 'best-known and popular Internet site of children in Germany', the broadcaster was not described as a multi-platform provider, argued not to be a 'bimedia' house, but a television channel which also offered additional multimedia services (Chapter 9.3.2).

The BBC, on the other hand, had clearly transformed into a multi-platform provider for children. Broadcasters also referred to the BBC's children's services as 'fully multi-platform' brands. It has been shown that here already by 2001, online had gone beyond the stage of an 'appendage' (Steemers, 2001b). By 2006/7, the BBC's overall strategy for the child audience had turned into a strategy with a 'truly multi-platform approach', when consequently the BBC was described as a multi-platform provider for children (Chapter 6.6). The consolidation and reorganisation towards a coherent provision across multiple platforms which had taken place at the BBC over several stages was not a primary characteristic in Germany, where change was described by some as an 'autochthonous' process. Thus, although in both countries broadcasters offered similar content and

services to children on similar platforms, in Germany, a public service multi-platform strategy for children was at the time of the research 'still in its infant shoes' (Chapter 9).

The reasons for this difference in self-conceptualisation suggested in this research are diverse, some explanations can be found in the different challenges they faced, some in the different environment of broadcasters and some in the different strategies they chose during the transformation towards a multi-platform provision, part of which were rooted in the different history of children's broadcasting in the two countries.

14.1.2 Similarities and differences in broadcasters' strategies

At the BBC, the children's multi-platform provision developed along two children's brands for preschool-aged children and young school-aged children, represented by two distinct TV channels, two distinct websites and video-on-demand and catch-up players. Thus the BBC new platform offerings have been developed according to similar strategies applied to the children's television provision. They also developed similar to strategies for the adult provision. For example, children's content was also provided to the public via the iPlayer application directed at the general audience; the BBC Newsround provision was described as 'junior BBC News' (Chapter 8). As this research has shown, also in the BBC's early days the concept of the child provision as a 'miniature BBC' was part of the founding ethos of the BBC children's service, a concept often re-instated in later periods and taken over into the multi-platform era (Chapter 3).

In Germany, the children's multi-platform public service provision was produced and distributed by several broadcasters and comprised a multiplicity of approaches to content experiences, technologies and terminologies. The provision had developed as a system of parallel, sometimes combined, sometimes very distinctive, sometimes overlapping streams of services for children in broadly three areas: on several streams within the ARD-system; on one stream at ZDF; and several at KiKA. Overall, services had been developed across multiple platforms as at the BBC. The difference here was that multi-platform approaches to the children's provision appeared (a) largely separate from approaches to the adult provision; (b) children's online strategies differed from strategies in

children's television (see 11.4.4), and (c) were characterised by individual institutional interests (see 9.3.4).

The multi-platform PSB children's provision did not develop along the general provision, for example, during the time of the research, only limited children's content was provided to the public via the on-demand propositions directed at the general nation-wide audience (e.g., ZDF's mediathek provided at the time of the research analysis only children's news programme *logo*, ARD and Das Erste on-demand services provided selected children's content). In Chapter 3 this thesis has shown that, probably impacted by the founding years of the children's PSB, in Germany, no concept of the children's service as a miniature of the general service had formed and it developed as more detached than at the BBC.

Furthermore, the online propositions have not always been developed according to strategies applied to the relevant children's *television* provision. Sometimes online services seemed to find their justification in the TV structure of the provision (e.g., see children's online propositions of Das Erste), and sometimes they developed very differently from the TV structure (e.g., see children's online propositions of KiKA, SWR, BR and ZDF), which then reflected in the operational processes underpinning these services.

The scope and functionality of the services varied considerably from PSB to PSB and their content was differently sourced (from the broadcasters' radio or television, online or marketing departments), processed and provided to children (for example, different ways in which on-demand, streaming and catch-up content was made available to children through the different outlets).

14.2 Main Finding 2 - Multi-platform transformation was understood as two very different phenomena

This research revealed how significantly different the perspectives on the transformation and its main challenges were overall. Broadcasters in Germany and the UK drew on different concepts to describe the transformation and this research has produced some possible explanations. UK respondents spoke of a transformation from '*Broadcasting*' to '*4 screens*' or from '*linear broadcasting*' to '*multi-platform*' (Chapter 11). The

understanding of the present output as a provision on '4 screens', and as 'interactive' and 'multi-platform', as opposed to 'linear television' in the past, whereby picturing the child, parent or other user interacting with the BBC through certain products, services or devices, led respondents more often to speak about the transformation from an audience perspective.

At the same time, the idea of what broadcasting and the core children's PSB content actually was, and how children interacted with PSB content, had evolved considerably - from the concept of the TV programme, to the 'project' (Strange, 2011; Chapter 6), to the 'idea', 'brand' and 'experience' delivered to the audience in multiple ways and on multiple platforms (Chapter 9).

Although children's PSBs had always 'interacted' with TV and radio audiences in not one but multiple ways of audience participation (Buckingham et al., 1999; Oswell, 2002), these different ways of interaction with the audience now appeared to have evolved into a more integrated construct of participation and an almost continuous relationship between audience and broadcaster.

The process was accompanied here in the history of PSB online by a PSB regulation at the time that understood PSB as a 'service, whether broadcasting or not', and therefore understood broadcasting itself as a more fluid term from early on (Humphreys 2010; Steemers, 2001b; Smith and Steemers, 2007). Also in the founding years of children's public service television, as this research has shown, at the BBC experimentation with new TV specific formats and the opportunities of the audiovisual medium led to the development of a more diverse spectrum of programmes from early on. The early BBC's children's provision was soon described as a 'microcosm' of television formats, while in the founding years in Germany the adaptation process to the new medium TV appeared to have taken considerably longer through the initial approach to hang on to formats that had been developed in previous radio periods (Chapter 3).

At German PSBs, the overall transformation in the multi-platform era was understood very differently as a transformation from 'linearity to non-linearity' or from 'broadcasting' to 'trimedia'. This suggests that the transformation was thought of more from the institution's than from the audience's perspective. In comparison to the more tangible concept of '4 screens' (TV, desktop PC, tablet PC, smartphone), non-linearity and trimedia (TV, radio,

internet) as concepts represented (a) more undefined and intangible concepts; (b) a more theoretical perspective on to the transformation; and (c) a perspective that focused on the broadcasting institution producing a service to audiences rather than on audiences interacting with PSB.

The research has also shown that in Germany the concept of public service children's broadcasting did not change significantly, although content and content experiences inevitably did. There is reason to argue that, while the BBC had moved away from the central idea of the children's 'TV programme', for German broadcasters it became much more relevant *to* and *through* the multi-platform provision. Arguably, the idea of the 'TV programme' was strengthened by a regulatory framework that had conceptualised the early developing PSB online provision along the concept of 'programme-relatedness' and 'programme-accompaniment' (see 5.2), establishing this construct over several reviews of regulatory frameworks. Stakeholders in the German PSB context had therefore come to define online content *through* programme content. At the BBC programme-relatedness as a concept emerged in later periods as part of cross-platform consolidation. More importantly, in Germany, this concept functioned as a measure to steer and restrict PSB content despite the different requirements and characteristics of the online provision. The process was underlined by the fact that regulation had installed a regulatory distinction between PS 'Broadcasting' and PS 'Telemedia', building the idea and remit of PSB online on top of those of previous ancillary services such as teletext (see Chapter 5.2.1). Later, when 'programme-relatedness' was largely dismissed (and non-programme-related offerings were permitted provided they underwent a public value/market impact test), this concept remained in force in regard to online games and therefore continued to impact the daily activities of children's broadcasters (see Chapter 12.2.3). Consequently, the 'programme' concept also pertained, because broadcasters were used to defining online products and services as accompaniment and addition to programmes and continued to do so (see 6.6.2 and 9.3.2). Therefore, there is reason to argue in the German PSB context that the concept of 'programme' and that of 'broadcasting' had been cultivated over time as a more rigid PSB concept, and arguably changed 'programme' into a more conscientious concept than it may have ever been in the public service broadcasting era.

The understanding of the overall challenge was different

The research has delivered evidence that German and UK respondents also differed in the way they described the overall challenge for public service broadcasters during that period and it produced indications as to why. At the BBC, the transformation was described more as an *outward-facing* quantitative change, with the overall challenge of distributing products and services on *more* platforms, despite tighter budgets. In Germany, the transformation was described more as an *inward-facing* qualitative change, with the great challenges institutionally resulting from a greater 'complexity' that was 'much harder to organise' (Chapter 11.1.1). Also changes were perceived differently, namely as *fast* here and *slow* there - with people described to 'struggle with how much change' there was and 'how things evolve quickly' and, on the contrary, the perception of change that would 'naturally be a long and complicated process' (Chapter 11.1.2).

Some reasons for these two different understandings of the transformation have been indicated by this research. UK respondents saw the transformation more as an external and German respondents more as an internal transformation, probably because of the differences in how the broadcasters perceived main challenges, strategies and the purpose of a multi-platform provision. Partly these differences were rooted in the history of the respective children's PSB provision.

14.3 Main finding 3 - 'BBC perceived challenges mainly in categories Products/services and Audience. German PSBs perceived challenges mainly in categories Broadcaster and Regulation'

14.3.1 Challenges in the UK

Overall, challenges in the UK and Germany were perceived in different categories (introduced in Chapter 3). In the UK, challenges were mainly perceived in the categories Products/services and Audience (Chapter 13). The overall challenge of the transformation towards a multi-platform provision here can be described as the practical implementation of the public service remit as products and services demanded by and suitable for children and the people they live with. Challenges were therefore related to the particularities of online media technologies and the production

processes across multiple platforms, such as the variety of devices and software on which to provide content; the rapid evolution of hard- and software technology; the broadcaster's reach and media environment on different platforms; and the safety and data privacy concerns with certain technologies. Broadcasters always appeared to perceive challenges in regard to their audiences' demands and their capabilities to gain value from services on new platforms, and for the BBC to create new forms of learning and entertainment. Challenges were linked to a concept of the development of children's capabilities at certain developmental stages envisaging children both as skilful and demanding online and mobile users, as well as vulnerable people, and to a concept of public service as a provider of 'Learning through Play' and/or 'Learning through Fun'.

To a lesser extent, some referred to Competition as an area from which challenges arose. For example, the approach to content on third-party platforms and the high standards placed on safety and the safety and privacy challenges in regard to the special audience it had to solve as a public service broadcaster were perceived as a challenge. The few institutional challenges (category *Broadcaster*) that respondents pointed to were scarcity of funding and changed hierarchies and processes involving technology and editorial decisions. Scarcity of funding was regarded as a major challenge that put the brakes on solving some of the other main challenges perceived above (Products/services and Audience). These challenges were shared and emphasised by all respondents, pointing to the budget cuts that the broadcaster had had to face after the licence fee settlement during a time of a much broader provision for children on several platforms, leading to 'greater selectivity' (Chapter 13). Although children's budgets had been protected from larger cuts and the overall children's budgets grew considerably during the time of the research, still a sense of scarcity was commonly felt within the context of provision on Internet-based media, both for established and emerging media.

14.3.2 Challenges in Germany

Challenges in Germany were mainly perceived as related to categories Regulation and Broadcaster (Chapter 11/12). German broadcasters seemed to be more strongly concerned with constraints deriving from the regulatory framework, and the way that regulation was negotiated around

them and imposed on them; with constraints deriving from the incoherence and uncertainty of regulatory concepts, as well as from the actual rules for online provision and new role of governance.

The main challenges perceived in the category Broadcaster derived from the organisational, operational and technological transformation and from the coordination and communication between institutions and departments within the PSB compound, where different broadcasters had chosen different approaches and systems to organise the online provision for children. The challenges were also related to coming to terms with defining and coordinating PSB children's channel KiKA's role in the multi-platform era, but also with balancing out broadcasters' individual strategic interests with the vision in regard to PSB as a whole. Broadcasters here, compared to their UK counterparts, appeared less concerned with the audience perspective and the way that audiences interacted with PSB (although that was certainly also important part of their considerations), probably because the concern, constraints, challenges and unresolved issues related to regulation and institutional challenges appeared to override those other considerations.

To a lesser extent, some referred to Products/services and Audience as an area from which challenges derived, and where German PSBs agreed with their BBC counterparts that TV was still the driver in the children's provision on multiple platforms, which sometimes formed a challenge for innovating in the online context. The evolution and uptake of participatory media and the audiences expectations towards social functionalities with its deriving safety demands proved challenging in regard to budgets and resources in both contexts.

14.4 Main finding 4 - 'The BBC has overcome past challenges'

14.4.1 Overcoming past challenges

In view of the children's broadcasting and multi-platform past (Parts 1 and 2), there is reason to suggest that the BBC had to a greater extent overcome continuing challenges that characterised the public service children's provision throughout broadcasting and multi-platform history.

Example 1 – Tensions towards entertainment

Many ideas that have been part of the conceptual fabric or 'founding principles' of BBC Children's for several decades, have regularly emerged from interviews in different contexts. For example, the 'philosophy' of *learn-through-play* (CBeebies) or *learn-through-fun* (CBBC), formulated in the early days of the BBC and established as part of the BBC fabric in the 1970s (Chapter 4.2.2), emerged as the grounding rationale for the online provision for children in several interviews and also as a rationale for creating a provision across multiple platforms. Entertainment was a more accepted part of PSB in the UK and formed part of the BBC's provision from early on. In view of the early commercial competition in the 1950s, broadcaster and critics accepted that public service provision needed to broadcast entertainment programming in order to remain relevant to children. Later in the late 1960s, with the so-called 'pre-school boom', broadcasters found television to be a medium that could convey knowledge particularly well to young children. In this period the idea that children 'learn through play' emerged and later became a firm element of the ethos of the BBC's children's provision. In the 1990s, the idea of quality TV entertainment was emphasised under the Creative Industry paradigm and the BBC again emphasised the purpose of educating the youngest children in entertaining ways, which led to a second TV pre-school boom with programmes like *Teletubbies* gaining international popularity. Within the tradition of this long-established PSB concept of entertainment and education, entertainment became not only tolerated part of PSB online, but an integral part of it (Chapters 8.6.1, 9.2.5).

Another concept that was revisited by respondents as the 'founding principles of the BBC' (Chapter 13.4.1) was that a BBC children's provision had to be popular or it would not survive the competition and reach enough children. Therefore, competing for children's attention has been part of public service since the 1950s, became part of 'collective memory' in the 1960s (Chapter 3.3.1), and has arguably intensified through the fragmentation of the outlets and audiences from the 1980/90s onwards. In competing with commercial media, over several time periods, PSBs in both countries have adopted some commercial strategies, in other periods they have emphasised the purpose of providing children with an alternative non-commercial offering, yet, at the BBC a very specific understanding of a successful popular but distinctive PSB provision based on core public

service values has developed over time. The phrase coined back in the 1960s 'to make the good thing popular and the popular thing good' (Buckingham et al., 1999) was pointed to as a phrase that also guided the creation of the children's provision specifically on the Internet. Parallel to the move towards a multi-platform provision, popularity and audience reach was also established as one of the 'drivers' of 'public value' and became one of the public value criteria in the new performance scrutiny framework of the BBC in phase 2 (Steemers, 2004; Collins, 2007; see Chapter 5.2.2).

Example 2 – Clarification of the role and remit of the children's provision in regulation, strategy and governance

The research showed evidence for a relationship between corporate strategies published in regular strategy reviews and interviewees' understanding of the broadcaster's strategies. BBC respondents did not present uncertainties towards corporate or regulatory concepts and clearly echoed the terms and basic concepts that largely reflected terms, ideas and concepts used in the BBC's *Connected Strategy* at the time, but also of concepts of earlier strategy reviews during phases 3 and 4, such as *Putting Quality First*, *Delivering Quality First* and *Creative Future*, when they spoke about the transformation. It can be argued that they shared a common view or, as a respondent pointed out, a common 'language' on how the BBC's children's provision was changing and what the BBC was trying to achieve across the different platforms – both editorially and technologically. Respondents accessed a pool of common language, in addition to the traditional PSB principles (Chapters 5.1.1, 9, 13).

Most importantly, the 'language', concepts and terms used to make sense of challenges, opportunities and strategies did not differ from those for the BBC as a whole, concepts were easily accessible and could be pinpointed via actual strategy or service description documents. 'Language' was probably also important to the multi-platform strategy on the project and operational level (Chapter 9). On product and project level respondents seemed to be able to relate their own very specific editorial or operational short-term goals and long-term objectives to the overall institutional strategy and to build them out from there.

Example 3 – Low priority of children’s provision in the overall service

In the UK, the children’s provision had arguably overcome the lowly status of earlier periods. Within the BBC’s overall output, the children’s provision gained an increasing editorial importance during the period under review. A prioritisation process took place that started in phase 3 with the acknowledgement of the BBC’s historically special responsibility towards the children’s provision, in view of changes to the commercial children’s content production in the UK.

The UK literature points to internal deliberation already in the early years of broadcasting about the fact that children’s provision was regarded more or less as an adjunct to the main BBC. By contrast, in Germany, sources suggest that broadcasters did not regularly consider and criticise the minor role until much later, in the early 1970s. Some argue that this internal deliberation over the reputational and financial shortcomings, together with commercial competition in the early days of the BBC, helped form the strong ethos and notion of a 'noble occupation' and children’s as the 'miniature BBC' (Chapter 3.1.3).

During the time of restructuring and consolidation in phase 4 to meet a 'licence fee freeze', the children’s provision was promoted to one of the BBC’s five editorial priorities. The so-called *Connected Strategy* brought a further reorganisation of the BBC output towards a provision across multiple platforms, a strategy that impacted both the general and the child provision. Rethinking the BBC as a multi-platform provider, accompanied by a 25% budget reduction of BBC Online, this strategy led to a consolidation of the services that the BBC offered on the various platforms to a selected number of core services (two of which were CBBC/CBeebies). This research suggests that this cross-platform strategy assisted a further prioritisation of the children’s multi-platform provision within the BBC. It also remained largely safeguarded from the funding cuts dominating the BBC as a whole.

14.4.2 Contributory Factors

There is reason to argue that the BBC children’s provision in phases 3 and 4 had overcome the lower status it had had in the history of children’s PSB, but overall remained of lower status among German broadcasters (see Chapters 3.3, 6.3, 6.5, 9.1.1, 9.2.1, 10.2, 10.3). This research has shown

evidence to suggest that several contributory factors in the environment of public service broadcasting may have contributed to the fact that at the BBC the children's provision was able to overcome this challenge, and other factors in Germany that have probably worked towards a further marginalisation (see Chapters 6.5, 9.2.1, 10.2).

Birthrate and status

One contributory factor were birth rates. Although about as many children lived in Germany and the UK by phase 4 and the population in both countries was ageing, in the UK, children made up almost 15% of the population, in Germany only 11.5% (see Chapter 10.1). The biggest difference between the two countries, however, was that in the period of the multi-platform era (late 1990s onwards) the UK witnessed a strong upturn in the birth-rates, while in Germany the number of births was continually falling. It can be argued that these different demographics may have had a different impact on the course of the development of the children's public service multi-platform provision in the two countries and the way in which it was valued internally, within governing bodies, and the wider public. There is evidence to show that the concept of a *shrinking* child population had impacted some broadcasters' rationales in Germany before, and despite children's considerable share of the population they were regarded as a minority audience. Demographic developments of fewer and fewer children in the overall population had in Germany, as some argued, added to a further marginalisation on the executive and regulatory level (Chapter 3 and 10). Therefore, it is probable that the growing child population in the UK at the same time may have had the opposite effect and helped the child audience to gain in importance within the BBC and within its governing body and in the wider regulatory community.

Public debate about children's media – the stakeholders

Another contributory factor this research has pointed out is how the UK and Germany considerably differed in regard to the public debate that existed around children's media, including the PSB multi-platform provision, a factor that seems to have advantaged the BBC compared to the German PSBs. Possibly one reason why respondents did not similarly report harsh lobbying conditions as did their German counterparts, was not so much a lack of commercial lobbying in the UK (which also existed here, see Chapter 3.6,

5.4), but rather a vivid public debate around children's media and a lobbying culture *for* children's media. This culture was not greatly characterised by the representation of commercial arguments and competitive strategies based on concepts of industry rivalry, threats of substitutes and new entrants, and market distortion, but by different areas of expertise and interests in media industry and academia with several involved stakeholders that brought diverse rationales to be interwoven in a rich children's media debate – from political, democratic, academic to commercial interest (Chapter 10.2.2). Some respondents suggested that the perspective of the producers and the more commercial rationales behind their concerns represented the central pole of the UK debate – but at the same time was accompanied by the views of other organisations that aimed at the welfare of children by safeguarding children and their appropriate media consumption, as well as the interests of audiences more generally (see Chapter 10.2).

Not only did this lobbying culture create a greater *public* awareness of the issues of children's media and of the industrial and cultural arguments surrounding it, but from 2012 also became regular part of parliamentary debates with the founding of an All Party Parliamentary Group dedicated to issues regarding media and arts for children, initiated by lobbyists active within the former *Save Kids' TV* campaign. The research has shown evidence that this wider public debate did not happen overnight. Interest groups around children's media had contributed to the BBC debate over several decades. The roots of some lobby groups present at the time of the implementation of multi-platform media for children can be traced back to the early concerns about television and the 'emerging configuration of interests and concerns' in the 1950/60s (Chapter 3.6) – but also, to the last review of the BBC's Royal Charter 2003-06, a process, which the then government declared as 'the biggest ever public debate on the future of the BBC' (Chapter 5.3). Consequently, this debate and many others brought together voices from different areas of the media landscape, different academic disciplines and different strands of society, including children, which added to the development of a debate arguably more rooted in the public than in Germany (Chapter 5). Therefore, also in the process of policy negotiations people from many different disciplines were involved.

It was shown that, while there was a public debate and a dedicated lobbying culture around children's media in the UK that functioned as a contributory factor during the prioritisation of child provision, in Germany

there was probably no debate at all, or at least it had not come to the attention of those involved in this research (Chapter 10.3). Groups involved in specifically lobbying for children's multi-platform media were unknown to German respondents. Suggested reasons for this lack were that children's broadcasting had not been controversial for some time and had therefore not sparked off any wider interest. Some pointed to the concept of children's services being 'ur-public service', and therefore believed them to be unconsciously safeguarded by the present status quo, without a debate taking place (Chapter 10.3.2). Here a tendency may have played out that in Germany historically a regulatory interest in children and media manifested itself largely as youth protection, as negative regulation with primarily protectionist aims, as opposed to positive regulation aiming at providing content and services for children that were believed to be beneficial for them. Also the wider public or academic interest towards children's PSB was described as evolving around media pedagogy and youth protection, the debate about PSB around legal concepts, while commercial arguments based on Creative Industry rationales were sparse.

The research showed that in Germany some held that children's provision could never 'grow up' to become politically relevant and part of German media policy. Some, therefore, held it was only the subject of 'Sunday speeches', others observed that nobody spoke against, nobody for it (Chapter 10.3). Some respondents declared a need for positive lobbying when new services were being introduced, because of a perceived imbalance in the public realm of published views about PSB innovation. Yet, only in the German context did respondents also point to the disadvantages of a public involvement. There is probably no significant representation of a public interest in a comprehensive children's multi-platform media provision outside the youth protection paradigm in governing bodies in Germany. However, there is some indication that a public deliberation by representation of relevant social groups in broadcasting councils does take place, but not disclosed to the wider public, a topic that presents itself as a topic for further research in the field.

Whereas in the UK children's media were definitely part of a wider public debate more generally and media policy and politics more specifically, the German debate around children's broadcasting had been described as enclosed within small circles. Children's broadcasters had become aware of a lack of positive lobbying and wider public interest during the first online approval tests in 2008/09 (Chapter 10.3). Some sources also pointed to the

concept of a small circle of stakeholders and interests having taken part in some of the negotiations about PSB's online services (Chapter 5.3). Public debate and concern around children's television was similarly characteristic of the 1950/60s, and broadcasters in both countries adapted their strategies according to prevalent concerns. Notably in Germany, also the historic debate about children's broadcasting had remained confined to separate circles of churches, academics, politicians and according to some commentators did not involve the wider public or led to the formation of special media interest groups (Chapter 3.6). While early concerns were television's alleged effects on children and families, later commercial concerns about 'unfair competition', sometimes building on previous concepts of concern, did not face many alternative rationales.

Probably as a result of the smaller degree of variation of voices, the German debate was also described as 'highly legalistic', in regard to both those that criticised PSB as well as PSB proponents. As the debate was understood to be mostly led by and responded to interests of certain commercial media stakeholders, in large parts it was characterised as legal argument between industry competitors (Chapters 5.5, 10.3.5, 12.1.2). Although legal arguments have an important role to play in policy negotiations, the legalistic competitive character may also itself have had a diminishing effect on the development of a broader lobby for children's media, as the foremost legal contributions to the debate may have acted as gatekeeper against a broader debate which would also have included other civic groups or, in the context of this research, the voices of children and of the people they live with. Voices from academia other than public and competition law experts were expressed only sporadically in the public, but as in the case of the *ex-ante* tests they mostly remained silent contributions.

Public debate about children's media – the argument

Not only the wider range of stakeholders in the public debate may have been a contributory factor in the prioritisation of the children's provision, the two countries also differed in how broadcasters described the availability of research data about the contemporary children's media provision, which was probably linked to the fact that a wider variety of groups were involved with the issue of children's media. The BBC also undertook research and incorporated insights when they published service descriptions or strategy

papers, therefore based much of their reasoning on research. Notably, also in Germany, some respondents held that a greater availability of research would probably show how relevant the public service online provision was for children, which then may have beneficial impact on the status of the service institutionally.

There is reason to argue that the regulator Ofcom's further investigation into the matter of the children's provision also played a central role in channelling the different interests and concerns voiced in phases 3 and 4 by providing research data that proved relevant for many players in the debate - in regard to an industrial but also a cultural argument for children's media. One respondent argued that research data changed the debate from being 'noise' to an evidence-based argument (Chapter 10). The existence of regulatory bodies that published extensive amounts of research data about children and public service media and the media industry as a whole, together with international comparisons, as well as more detailed reporting and research by the BBC about their services, added up to a much larger supply of data for all those parties that sought to involve themselves in the public and academic debate.

Also the insight from market research played an important role in the argument for the importance of the BBC's provision in catering for contemporary audiences. This points to the observation that commercial, economic and public service rationales have always been benefitting and constraining children's public service media at the same time. Here, arguably industry rationales or the greater emphasis on the PSB scrutiny in market terms also led to a greater debate on welfare concerns in regard to the child provision, because relevant research about the provision was available. Although also in Germany research was produced by broadcasters or institutions close to broadcasting, industry-wide knowledge about the children's provision is sparse (Castendyk and Müller, 2011). The lack of industry research in media policy processes in Germany is a factor recent research programmes about PSB such as *Grundversorgung 2.0* at the Leuphana Universität Lüneburg point to. Therefore, there is reason to believe that probably an academic research interest in conjunction with a move towards more accountability of the broadcasters and PSB broadcasting councils (Chapter 12) will probably have a positive impact on the research landscape in Germany in the near future, and indirectly probably also on the widening of the debate of the role of PSB for children in the multi-platform era.

Only in view of these contributory factors of a diversely-voiced and research-backed public debate in the UK, the changes in the commercial production landscape, and rising birth rates at the time, the circumstance of a single provider and the different role the children's services historically played within the institution, can the prioritisation of the children's provision be understood. And, on the other hand, only in view of the lack of some of these factors in Germany can the suggested relative minor role it played among broadcasting councils, executives, parliaments and governments in Germany be understood.

14.5 Main finding 5 - 'German PSBs have not overcome past challenges and a multi-stakeholder provision presents PSBs with specific challenges in the transformation towards multi-platform providers'

14.5.1 Pertaining challenges

There is reason to suggest that the view of German broadcasters on some more immediate challenges of creating a contemporary multi-platform provision for children was obstructed by continuing challenges that characterised the child provision throughout broadcasting and multi-platform history. There is also evidence that some of these challenges specific to Germany had been amplified by the multi-platform provision and by the phenomenon to sometimes justify the existence and innovation of PSB with the children's provision.

Example 1 – Tensions towards entertainment pertain

In the BBC children's context entertainment was an established part of the PSB remit, in Germany, tensions towards entertainment for children continued. The literature has shown that a very different understanding of the purpose of entertainment has developed over the years in the two countries. In Germany, entertainment and education appeared as an antagonism throughout the history of children's PSB. Tensions against entertainment and, more generally, tensions against television seemed to have never fully disappeared in Germany. Notably, the 1950s founding ethos of public service children's television in Germany, some argue, was a restorative force building on the belief that children's television may not

become 'a means for pastime' (Hickethier, 1991, see Chapter 4.4.1). Also in later periods, when the BBC adopted the concept 'learn through play', German broadcasters were described as having been disillusioned by the actual results of the 1960s pre-school provision for children's learning (Chapter 4.2.2). From the late 1960/70s and 1980s, when children's television experienced an innovation period and new types of entertaining educational programmes were being produced and screened both at ARD and ZDF (as at the BBC), tensions, for example, against ZDF's light-hearted animation genre pertained, leading to the view that there was a good and a bad children's department at ZDF (Chapter 4.4.2). Still, in the 1990s, there was a greater reluctance towards PSB entertainment than in the UK. For example, the newly launched children's channel was still proclaimed by the public service broadcasters to the public as the 'least bad' of the television options for children (Chapter 4.4.4). With the multi-platform provision new tensions emerged, now being addressed at PSBs by commercial competitors, who utilised the established framework around entertainment content to point to an alleged neglect of public service credentials, questioning if entertainment and fun were legitimate elements of public service online media for children when specific offerings displayed no obvious learning objectives (Chapter 7.4). After a sequence of regulatory changes that were aimed at restricting how PSBs could offer entertainment and games on their Web outlets, consequently some respondents concluded that 'pure fun' was not permitted on PSB online services for children any longer.

Example 2 – Coordinating a more complex system of interests, needs and outputs in the multi-stakeholder set-up and opposing interests

Another difference relates to the different structure of the PSB provision for children in the UK and Germany. The federal construction formed one of the greatest assets of the German multi-platform provision, because of the diversity of stakeholders in a federal media system producing content and services, but coordinating the more complex system of multiple stakeholders also formed a continuous challenge for PSBs.

Already, in the 1990s, ARD and ZDF had realised that the network character of the Internet may provide the key for an integration of the richness of the diverse PSB offerings. However, the research has shown evidence that in

regard to the children's provision PSBs had in phase 4 probably moved further away from that networked vision and suggests that this was partly due to the federal system in Germany with naturally differing approaches to the child provision and consequently differing and organically grown structures and transformational processes of different maturity – opposite the operational challenges of a networked online provision.

In regard to content production and distribution there are indications that a central organisation like that of the BBC and ZDF could present a more advantageous framework for adapting the provision of children's media to the multi-platform context. Also in PSB history, the federal set-up of the ARD-network had formed opportunities for collaboration, for example in content production or the launching of a specialist channel, but also had proved to be challenging for some ARD-wide strategies, because, for example, there was no agreement over educational approaches. At the same time, it is important to point out, the ARD compound had brought about two comprehensive children's online propositions (SWR, WDR). The ARD's federal set-up in the past had also formed a disadvantage for the regional children's provision in comparison to the national in-house advertising funded slots and to ZDF, which reached children with scheduling popular and long-running series – soon showing that '[t]he weakness of the ARD is the strength of the ZDF' (see Chapter 3.2). Also in the UK, research demonstrated the BBC's advantages in reaching children than could the ITV network with its structure of regional and central companies. The literature has also pointed to a long tradition of ARD and ZDF being competitors in the children's space before they came together to launch a joint children's channel. Therefore multi-stakeholder agreements about strategy cannot be regarded as the default approach for publicly-funded PSB in Germany.

The plurality of broadcasters and editorial curators presents parties with a more complex development of strategies across multi-platform and across different stakeholders' premises as well as communicating these between different departments of different broadcasters who provide public service media for children. Although the federal construction of the ARD-network had coordinations in place for the children's TV context and the overall multi-platform provision, they seemed to have not been established yet for the multi-platform provision for children at the time of the research.

Disagreement about KiKA's role in the multi-platform era demonstrates that the coordination of the probably often justified individual interests of the different broadcasters and departments seemed to remain one of the major challenges for the transformative processes of the multi-platform provision, and was probably also amplified by the overall goal of PSB to arrive at a networked online provision. For example, the organisational structure of the children's channel KiKA leaves the children's broadcaster in a peculiar position between independence in some areas, closer attachment to one of the ARD-network broadcasters (MDR) and joint editorial decision-making between ARD, KiKA and ZDF. This seems to have led to plural understandings of KiKA's role in the provision for children online and on linear TV, also among KiKA's decision makers, but first and foremost to very different institutional strategies towards how federal ARD-broadcasters and the ZDF handed over their responsibility to KiKA to cater for children's online provision, how they equipped KiKA with content produced by them and how they sent through their web traffic to KiKA.

Probably arising from constraints in communication and coordination of the different strategic considerations and requirements, the research has shown that several obstacles derived from these differences and hindered a timely on-demand provision for children on KiKA's online services during the time of the research. For example, the KiKA on-demand player (a service similar to the BBC iPlayer) was not comprehensively equipped content-wise during phase 4, and there is evidence that suggests this was not only a result of copyright and revenue share issues, as some speculated, but may have been an issue of coordination and sometimes of internal competition and differing strategies and interests between the diverse departments and broadcasters. Therefore, one of the remaining challenges for the children's PSB provision appeared to be managing the advantages and disadvantages of the federal setup and balancing individual and community interests.

Example 3 – Paradox of low status and high value

The BBC and the German broadcasters displayed differences in regard to the status of the children's multi-platform provision and in Germany developments towards consolidation and concurrent prioritisation did not emerge. Here, the children's provision on new platforms appeared to have continued as an area of secondary concern for the broadcasters, similar to

the role it appeared to have played in the broadcasting era. The research has shown that German respondents stated that the multi-platform strategy for children, both for individual broadcasters and as an overall PSB strategy (such as within the TV context to create joint TV channel KiKA), was not regarded 'highly' or 'not important enough'. Some respondents pointed out that it had 'no lobby' among broadcasters and broadcasting councils, observers like former PSB executive Gerd K. Müntefering (2007; also, Müntefering, cited in Gangloff, 2007b) had perceived a trend towards a further marginalisation and argued that it had at all but disappeared from executive thinking at PSBs (Chapter 3.3, 9.3.1). As discussed earlier, the falling birthrate seemed to have impacted this development. Yet, some respondents described the executive and legal management as specifically supportive in regard to multi-platform innovation in the children's provision. In view of German PSB history, a lowly status seemed to have been a challenge for children's broadcasters for much longer than at the BBC. It is suggested that broadcasters did not regularly consider and criticise the minor role until much later, in the early 1970s, when similar ideas of a noble occupation emerged from a debate at ZDF, but here the discourse built on a strong antagonism within the broadcaster between a 'good and bad' children's provision, drawing a line between ZDF programmes that were seen to represent the reality to children and those that aimed at *only* entertaining children (Chapter 3.3.2).

On the other hand, and somewhat contradictory, the children's provision regularly in the history of PSB played an important role in the introduction of new services or in justifying the existence of the licence fee, because a provision for children is seen as a key element of public service (Chapters 3.3, 5.5, 6.6.3). Notably, the conceptualisation of children as the 'future viewers' of PSB had only sprung up in the German context. Such an understanding could help to promote a contemporary provision, but it could also take the focus away from children in today's provision. This research has found an awareness among respondents of the strategic value of the children's provision for public service media, likely reasons why broadcasters held on to specific online broadcast content at the time.

This can be explained by the phenomenon that twice in the period under review, children's services were proposed and put forward with what some broadcasters described as an 'ulterior motive', namely to be able to better argue for other new services for the general audience and further develop the scope of PSB services in a digital media environment (Chapter 3.3.3).

One example in this research was the exposed role of children's channel KiKA during the move of PSB towards specialist channels at the end of the 1990s (see Chapter 5). While the launch of a specialist children's channel may be understood as a sign of a rising status, there are indications that it was launched with an ulterior agenda, namely to pave the way for the introduction of public service specialist channels in Germany to be able to respond to the realities of a multi-channel landscape. Therefore, the role that the children's provision played in the overall strategies of PSB, together with the contrasting observation that children's broadcasting was disappearing from executive thinking, suggests that, despite being a clearly valued asset in the core construct of PSB, it still lacked in status compared to other genres and audiences towards the end of the 'broadcasting era' (the era covered in Part 1).

Another example several respondents pointed out was the decision to run the children's services as a 'pilot' case through the newly introduced approval test for PSB's online services. That the suggested approach automatically meant disadvantages for the child provision cannot simply be assumed. In both cases new services were offered to the child audiences, responding to changes in the children's television economy and children's consumption of content. Yet, at least in case of KiKA's online services, it can be argued, that the decision to run the children's online services as 'pilot projects' for the new approval system had brought considerable disadvantages for the children's multi-platform provision, despite the new services having gained approval.

Some respondents argued that the result of KiKA's more exposed role during the introduction of the new regulatory tool, the three-step-test, in phase 3 had brought considerable challenges for the multi-platform provision during phase 4. It led to an unexpected outcome, because it resulted in stricter conditions for KiKA's online provision than for other PSB children's services, children's services consequently described by some as the 'collateral damage' of the new approval process (Chapter 12.1, 12.3). From the perspective of some respondents, its exposed role had left KiKA in the position of being subjected to its competitors' activities, as some argued, in pushing forward a blueprint of PSB online regulation that the previous law-making process had not brought about; and it therefore received much stronger critical reviewing by commercial media lobbying parties, vis-a-vis historically less political encouragement towards the PSB new media innovation project as a whole and more complex management

structures comprising stakeholders with differing long-term objectives (see, e.g. Humphreys 2010, Steemers 2001a). Some respondents argued that some broadcasting councils saw it as their primary role to put online rules in place that avoided further ongoing legal conflicts to bring about legal stability. For example, stronger limitations for online games were put in reference to competitors' rationales, of which some had argued that 'silly' or 'fun' games would not fall under the PSB remit for children (Chapter 7.4).

As a result of the specific multi-stakeholder setting in which KiKA innovation projects are developed and governed, the three-step-test led to stricter online regulations and a more complex system of online availability periods in those cases where the 'public interest' (represented by the broadcasting councils) played a greater role in the scrutiny of the children's services compared to those where the broadcasting councils had to be less involved due to the different nature of the service approval. This result was brought about by the fact that some of KiKA's online propositions for children were separated out in the approval process, because of Kika being a separate channel and subjected to separate public value/market impact tests by the broadcasting councils (Chapter 5.5.1). This contrasted with those cases where the children's services were not subject to separate scrutiny, were carried along in the approval of the general services, and were subject to less detailed scrutiny by the institutionalised 'public interest' in the councils and by third-parties. The research has provided evidence that this has been the case, despite the necessity for assuming that many civic stakeholders were in favour of a comprehensive public service online provision for children (indicated by those voices that had been raised during the third round of separate approval tests, which evaluated the website of the Children's Channel, kika.de).

Furthermore, external observers came to the conclusion that the scrutiny of the new multi-platform children's services (here Kikaninchen) was undertaken as 'media regulation on a micro level', analysing the public service characteristics and most appropriate legal category on the level of individual multi-platform content, for example, legal categories for children's colour-in printout templates (Chapter 5.5.2). It was therefore held that the governance debate about children's provision here had not enriched public discourse about PSB's role in the multi-platform era, but had even diluted it.

Children's services were both genuinely valued at broadcasters and means for other strategic aims at the same time, and it was not always easy to distinguish between the two. This thesis does not argue that this is specific to the German context, but the German case studies in this research have clearly pointed to this paradox. A discrepancy between status and value of the children's provision has characterised the public service regulatory context throughout its history both in Germany and the UK. This research points to a specific disadvantage for the German children's provision insofar that broadcasters displayed an awareness that it was sometimes means to another end.

What this research has shown, however, is that there was a different understanding of the child audience, its composition, needs and relationship to PSB, and the importance of the audience-perspective in strategic considerations, as well as a different way how broadcasters and academic research had responded to the lowly status and the funding of PSB innovation for children in PSB history (see prioritisation, Chapter 14.4, 8.1). At the BBC, serving the audience was clearly a primary rationale at the time of the research, in Germany, some held, the target audience still remained a secondary rationale.

Example 4 – Clarification of the role and remit of the children's provision in regulation, strategy and governance

The research showed the different extent to which respondents related to a common understanding of strategic concepts, the role and remit of the provision for children and adult audiences. German respondents could not draw on common language to the extent displayed by BBC respondents when they conceptualised the provision, strategies and aims, neither for the PSB-compound as a whole, nor for the ARD-compound, individual broadcasters (where strategies for adults and children differed), or for joint ventures, such as children's channel KiKA.

When German respondents used common terms and concepts while describing the multi-platform provision for children, these appeared not to be terms introduced by objectives developed as part of content, audience or technology strategy, but those 'undefined legal concepts' that had largely been designed to limit the scope of activities of PSB in view of the considerable challenges some commercial media companies faced in the

multi-platform era (Chapter 12.1). Only in phases 3/4 with the new multi-platform activities of the broadcasters and the regulatory changes the idea of publishing service descriptions giving details on broadcasters' rationales and objectives was introduced. Before, for example, it is argued, there was 'no specification, what can be meant by public value' (Radoslavov and Thomaß, 2010; Chapter 10.3.4). This research has suggested some possible reasons for this imbalance of common concepts towards dwarfing those constructed on PSB-specific terms (Chapter 10.3, 7.3.2).

There seemed to be an awareness in the UK of the fact that internally there was a common agreement about strategies and it appeared as an advantage for the UK respondents being able to connect through this common language. There is reason to argue that those common concepts that formed some kind of common editorial and technology thought-system led respondents not only to share similar long-term visions, but overall made talking about strategies less sensitive, because much of it was common and accessible knowledge in the public domain and the respondents were probably aware of that. Thus, there is reason to suggest that some common concepts and widely communicated strategies might have a similar impact on German PSB and opening the debate about PSB in the multi-platform era up to a wider range of stakeholders, by freeing up the debate of some sensitivities and legalistic terminologies, supporting collaboration across separate entities, while ensuring editorial independence and creative autonomy.

An imbalance of concepts was also reflected in the governance process, where respondents explained that they distanced themselves from any editorial arguments and focussed on the legal and fair trading dimension. The new role of governing bodies and the suggested interpretation by some of their role largely as keepers of PSBs' boundaries in contrast to a role as guardians of PSBs' values, was mentioned by several respondents as a challenge for innovation in children's multi-platform provision, but also for the general daily running of services. However, not all respondents pointed to this challenge and it seemed particularly problematic only for some departments/broadcasters.

Although it had been widely held by broadcasters and observers alike that one opportunity of the new regulation for PSB was to tackle corporate strategy and public accountability and re-connecting PSB to the public at the same time by publishing rationales and short- and long-term objectives

for public deliberation (Meyer-Lucht, 2008; MDR and ZDF 2010; Schulz, 2008a/b), in the children's context this opportunity seemed to have been missed here and the imbalance of concepts leaning towards those of legalistic and quasi-judicial nature pertained. There is reason to argue that the main objective of the approval process was largely understood as to produce legal stability and give no quarter to possible future legal complaints in regard to the PSB provision, consequently social, cultural and editorial arguments were pushed to the back.

Also the UK context knows the challenge of internal governance and political disputes about it, as the BBC Trust needs to be guardian of PSB values and limits at the same time. Yet, here developments in regard to changes in internal governance, such as establishing the BBC Trust and Ofcom, in phase 3 and 4 appear to have been beneficial for the children's multi-platform provision (see prioritisation).

14.5.2 The specific challenges of the German multi-platform provision

This research can clearly show that a truly multi-platform thinking in terms of a provision of content and services *across* several platforms, although considered, was considerably hampered by challenges related to institutional issues and regulation, internal governance and the ways in which regulation was implemented, and regulatory concepts overlaid debates and institutional thinking. The level of regulatory constraints seemed to be specific to the German context.

Overall PSB online regulation has been regarded as complex and more limiting than inspiring in its aim that among children's broadcasters there existed a variety of understandings of the present regulation, and even some misunderstandings. All of the respondents shared the view that the present regulation was primarily designed as a form of restriction and constraint. Much in contrast to the BBC respondents, (who did not refer to regulation other than considering new ways to solve child safety and privacy challenges), there was a level of uncertainty about the present regulation of online media among German broadcasters that appeared to be a constant element of some children's broadcasters' daily creative work at the time of the research.

Most respondents shared the view that commercial complaints and

competitors' rationales, were reflected in the regulation and governance of PSB online, and they therefore experienced regulation and governance as something naturally unfavourable for a contemporary multi-platform public service provision. This great awareness of regulatory, political or competitive powers waking over a creative children's online production, in the TV context commonly regarded as a key PSB remit, may prove hampering for a climate of innovation and transparent and collaborative development and may reinforce more individualistic strategies.

Children's departments were specifically constrained by the evolving regulatory term of *programme-relatedness*, which had evolved throughout the history of online regulation and was widely dismissed with the last overhaul of regulations in 2009. However, programme-relatedness as a regulatory concept remained in place for the regulation of games, and therefore continued to be a constraining factor in the children's provision which utilises games for new platform services more widely than many other genres and departments within public service. The concept created insecurities which reached into the creative production process. There is a lack of legal certainty over what programme-relatedness actually meant, what it prohibited and when it had relevance for application in the daily undertakings of children's departments, such as if it related to a single broadcast on a certain date, if it related to a programme brand more generally etc. This constraint on creative and innovative processes at PSBs may be seen as reason for concern in view of both the opportunities of games content perceived at the BBC in phase 4 for offering safe social interaction between children, a function that was seen as crucial to a contemporary public service provision for children in both countries, but also in regard to the need for longer term planning and deployment of such investment.

Another constraint on innovation in the German multi-platform context is that although broadcasters aimed to offer some kind of integrated overall provision for children (and had done that since the late 1990s in the area of children's provision), the broadcasters were regulated differently for the online provision, for example, in regard to online availability periods. Different rules for the online provision for different broadcasters, but also different interpretations of the same rules, led to the fact that there were several different understandings of the present regulation. This may have formed a reason for the difference in the challenges experienced in this area, but may also hinder solutions in regard to a more integrated multi-

platform PSB strategy for children by hampering (a) innovating across platforms, (b) integrating across stakeholders, and (c) integrating across the child and adult provision.

14.6 Opportunities of the children's multi-platform provision

The multi-platform era in both countries was understood to bring 'huge opportunities' for PSB. In the history of German PSB, online seemed to broadcasters as the key to integrate the richness of their diverse outlets and assets and to offer orientation in an increasingly fragmented media landscape. However, German PSBs displayed a more cautious attitude towards a multi-platform provision for children. Controversial undefined legal concepts not only impacted how broadcasters perceived and negotiated the main challenges of the multi-platform transformation, as this thesis has shown, they also seemed to overlay the PSBs' strategic thinking about the long-term purposes and opportunities of a children's provision across platforms.

For example, broadcasters' experiences of the market impact and public value testing of online services led to a strategic vision where some stakeholders believed television, online and mobile services for children – instead of being increasingly thought of as one provision *across* several platforms - needed to be 'de-linked' again in planning and innovation (chapter 12.3.5).

The research also showed that in earlier proposals broadcasters had expressed more ambitious plans for KiKA as a 'unique' integrative children's online service (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2008b, see Chapter 6.4.2). Although, in the past, having bundled most of their TV broadcasting efforts for children under one children's channel, KiKA, on the distributional level (production was split by around one-third among KiKA, ARD, ZDF), at the time of the research there was nothing such as a distributional bundling of public service online and mobile activities under the KiKA brand comparable to KiKA's role on television. On the broadcasting side, over time, children's programmes had moved from the general interest channels (largely with the exception of the weekend early mornings) to the specific interest channel KiKA, and thus KiKA had evolved into the ARD and ZDF children's 'umbrella brand' with the remit, among others, to be the PSB 'go-

to-partner' for children (Chapter 6.4).

However, at the time of the research, a central online bundling service for children, a concept that had been conceptualised several times throughout the multi-platform history of German PSB, had not evolved and most respondents agreed that this strategy was disputed by some parties and starkly rejected by others. The research also showed that different views existed on whether or not – across PSB as a whole – a more coherent approach to the child provision should or would be implemented. Some clearly pleaded for a 'common homeland' of PSB's children's multi-platform provision, some declared the success of the federal approach, some assumed an integrated provision online was a long-term goal, yet, pointed to legacy processes and the circumstance that overall in PSB 'mills [...] grind slowly' (see 11.3.1, 11.1.2).

Although the common PSB children's services may well have been a disputed issue among individual broadcasters throughout and had not manifested in any particular plan for implementation, the different responses of interviewees in regard to KiKA and the comment that KiKA was described as having 'no Mediathek [on-demand platform] at all', shows, during the time of the research, how far away the actual service must have been from the vision once put forward by some in the German PSB arena.

This research has shown that a more cautious attitude towards innovation was a characteristic differentiator of PSB in Germany. Throughout the historic periods under review here, the approaches of German PSBs towards a provision on several platforms appeared more cautious than displayed at the BBC. Soon after the PSBs had begun to experiment with digital and online technologies, concepts such as the *Annexe* and *Helping Hand* were used, and the online content consequently supported, accompanied, contextualised and offered orientation. In the early days, some put the cautious approach down to 'cultural' differences, claiming, for example, that a German society would not favour change as the British. Others explained German PSBs taking more time to embark the online sphere with thorough, structured and time-consuming analysis (e.g. Horsley, 2000; Chapter 6). In the children's space, others believed that the children's provision was just not important enough to trigger ambitious innovative processes or more boldly-communicated strategies on the executive level so that one could speak explicitly of a public service multi-platform strategy for children.

There are some indications that cautiousness may be part of PSB culture in Germany, for example, in children's PSB's early days, as the literature suggests, the BBC displayed a much stronger belief in their own capabilities to create popular, educational, home-grown content for children, vis-à-vis popular US content. Researchers in Germany point to broadcasters' initial lack of confidence in their own creative competencies and a greater trust in imported programmes to deliver public service educational content at the time (Chapter 4.2.3). However, history has shown German PSBs created a wide range of innovative and popular educational programmes for children not only during this historic period but throughout.

In the multi-platform era, PSB again competed with content produced and distributed largely by media with ownership outside the UK or Germany, however, similar to their BBC counterparts, German children's departments initially understood themselves as editorial innovators and forerunners in the online sphere and were the first to produce certain online services, such as the children's community at SWR or later KiKA streaming the channel broadcast over the Internet (Chapter 6.3). This research has shown that the children's services always represented more innovative elements of public service culture – also in Germany – also in phase 4, offering content to children in a variety of ways for some of which the general audience had to wait for many more years, often despite budgets that, arguably, limited them more than other genres. Therefore, although the language used continued to be more cautious, in regard to the actual output children's propositions never fully displayed the concept of a 'helping hand'. Already when for others the Web 'still was in its infancy', children's broadcasters offered to their audiences innovative ways to engage with PSB content and services.

Pointing to the continuous innovation displayed by the children's departments and also to times when broadcasters referred to a multi-platform provision generally more ambitiously, this research therefore suggests that lack of creative confidence or a general cautiousness in working culture or otherwise may not have been main reasons for the more cautious approach of German PSB in children's media.

However, this research has shown two considerable differences between Germany and the UK. The different regulatory contexts for children's PSB brought about several challenges during the multi-platform transformation and probably had a great impact on the manifestation of broadcasters' cautious approaches. With several implementations of new regulations

aimed at drawing the limits of PSB in the online space as well as improving legal stability and a lack of political encouragement to innovate as experienced by the BBC at crucial times of their multi-platform transformation, German PSBs perceived regulation generally as constraint.

Unlike the more flexible broadcasting concept that evolved over time in the UK, in Germany the legal dimension, vocabulary and way of argument that has characterised the general debate about public service broadcasting, including children's, the classification of online media as so-called *Telemedia*, the regulatory terms implemented and the greater imbalance between concepts that limit and those that envisage PSB online activities led to the situation that PSBs in Germany had a strong awareness of 'sceptical observation' of their multi-platform activities.

This research gives reason to argue that these factors, plus the approval process and debate around it (Chapter 5.5.1), may have resulted in stakeholders continuing to understand their regulatory environment as considerable constraint on multi-platform innovation and compromised the vision of a PSB children's provision *across* platforms - including the initial ambition of some PSB voices at the time to evolve KiKA into a 'unique' multi-platform public service outlet for children.

Two thought systems

Another distinctive difference in regard to the opportunities and purpose of the multi-platform provision this research has revealed, is that German public service broadcasters due to the specific challenges they faced, had at the time of the research developed two different thought systems to define the purpose of the PSB provision for children - one for the TV provision and one for the online provision.

There is evidence to show that in the multi-platform environment, at least during the time of this research, broadcasters had partly reversed the previously applied separation of production and distribution and had re-attached children's brands to the parent broadcasters. Apparently, online services for children did not always mirror those on television.

Some reasons can be found in the regulatory environment. But that there was less of a one-destination strategy in the multi-platform era than in the television era, also appeared to be caused by the multiplicity of different visions for a (more or less multi-platform) provision for children, lower levels

of communication and strategic direction in some areas, brought about by the federal structure, but also the parties' very different capabilities to regularly innovate and invest in content and services for children, which let some parties develop more mature services more quickly. It was probably also impacted by a more general development that the children's provision strategically was regarded as too much of a value proposition in the long-term within the more pressurised PSB environment and the uncertain survival of public service in an increasingly fragmented media landscape to not to hold on to it. Probably several factors and parallel developments came together here.

Therefore, in the multi-platform era, apparently other rationales were at play than in the past, resulting in the situation of German PSB creating two different children's ecosystems and strategies, one for television, one for the online provision. Was TV channel KiKA in the past, as the central PSB children's provider, understood to provide more 'orientation' to audiences, one could argue that this strategy now was willing to sacrifice audience orientation to gain something else.

This research suggests that the fact that KiKA did not refer to itself as a multi-platform provider may have been one outcome of this trajectory. As has been shown, KiKA was often presented with specific challenges due to its organisational structure and its relationship to the ARD broadcasters, MDR, where KiKA is based, and to ZDF. KiKA was described as a child with many rivalling parents (Chapter 11.4.2). Assuming broadcasters' different rationales and challenges as mentioned above, the fact that a 'rivalling family' was tasked with drawing out KiKA's multi-platform strategy may have formed one reason why it was still in the early stages.

Therefore, there is reason to argue that for German PSBs the transformation to a multi-platform provision to continue the role and remit they set out to have as federal and national broadcasters proved much more challenging. In a period where PSB as a concept is being redefined, German broadcasters appeared to have been presented with the biggest challenge to balance out the different, probably often justified individual interests and also different needs at stake - vis-à-vis a regulatory environment that offered fewer windows of support.

If in the multi-platform era 'thinking from the audience' was still the exception and 'autochthonously' grown structures the more common characteristic of

German PSB, as has been argued earlier (Chapter 9.1.1) and this has led – together with the move towards more individualised approaches to the children’s provision – to the development of two separate thought systems for children’s television and online provision in the presentation to the audience, this can form a considerable risk for the future development and relevance of PSB and compromise the vision for the networked PSB provision of distinctive autonomous, but collaborating partners, building on structural and operational unity but editorial plurality as one of the great assets of the German PSB system.

Different trajectories

How broadcasters described the opportunities and purpose and the long-term development of the children’s multi-platform provision points to a possible impact of the specific challenges German PSB faced. There is reason to argue that the BBC’s main purpose of a multi-platform provision in this phase was seen as participation and learning in an entertaining environment, whereas for German broadcasters it was information and communication in a media-educational environment. Fun and entertainment seemed to be regarded by the BBC as a prerequisite for a children’s public service multi-platform provision, while in Germany it was the not disputed media education that formed a prerequisite for a children’s multi-platform provision.

In contrast to the BBC’s broader understanding of education and online learning, there is reason to suggest that with the challenges German PSBs faced they have developed a narrower concept of the PSB overall remit (also of the education remit) for a multi-platform provision. There are indications that in the German children’s PSB context specifically media education gained editorial importance over other areas of education, probably because of its undisputed nature and its prevalence and robustness in regulatory processes (also some PSB critics understood PSB’s role online largely as building children’s media competencies, Chapter 7.4).

Therefore, there is reason to suggest that the regulatory environment, prevailing legitimacy uncertainties and pertaining historic challenges of public service broadcasting for children (such as the tensions towards entertainment, the multi-stakeholder structures, or the criticism of competitors and other commercial media) not only had an impact on the

understanding of current challenges, but also on how PSBs envisaged future opportunities of the multi-platform provision for children, reducing the concept of the PSB remit in the multi-platform era to a much narrower construct despite a historically successful children's provision with a wider remit of information, education, entertainment and advice.

The biggest opportunity that occurred in the UK context pointed to another possible trajectory for envisaging a multi-platform provision for children - probably also in its essence impacted by greater pressures on PSB to justify their existence and the definition of public service remit through the concept of public value - namely that a multi-platform provision allowed public service broadcasters to *better* fulfil their remit, understanding PSB in the multi-platform era as a media policy tool with a wide remit of specific purposes in democratic societies.

This trajectory seems equally useful for a PSB system with a federal character that generally supports the idea of a collaborated provision for children. Appointing the former ZDF Head of the Children's Online Department as the new Managing Director of KiKA in 2013, and an apparently greater availability of broadcast content on the KiKA on-demand player since late 2012 may be seen as indications that broadcasters were aiming towards changing the way the individual broadcasters organised the collaboration in the multi-platform context and were considering a similar approach to the PSB provision for children, as once was done in the children's multi-channel TV context in the late 1990s.

The multi-platform era is inevitably also a multi-stakeholder era that makes collaboration more important than less. PSBs as content and service providers owned by the public will need to continue what they have done throughout their history, not just with the arrival of the Internet, innovating in a changing environment driven by a set of core public service values. Addressing public remit and corporate strategy in a collaborative and transparent way, vis-à-vis regulation that strikes a balance between democracy, market, and welfare rationales, with a focus – by both broadcasters and regulators - on serving the child audience as the public owner, seems key to this trajectory towards a universal, innovative and sustainable public service provision for children, which fulfils remit and public purposes *better* at each stage of PSB's historic development.

Appendix I - Original Quotes

Original Quotes - Chapter 3

¹ ('Die große Chance ist, daß wir Kinder [...] auch zu Zeiten erreichen können, wo wir derzeit im Rahmen des Vollprogramms überhaupt keine Möglichkeit haben, nämlich in der Zeit zwischen 17.00 Uhr und 20.00 Uhr')

² ('fortführt, wie sie schon im nationalsozialistischen Radio und Fernsehen ausgestrahlt wurden')

³ ('schwächste Stelle unseres Kinderprogramms')

⁴ ('Was die Schwäche der ARD ist, macht die Stärke des ZDF aus')

⁵ ('liegt die Programmplanung ein einer Hand, man kann konsequenter planen, Schwerpunkte setzen, vierteilige Serien zeigen. Nicht zuletzt deshalb sind die ZDF-Sendungen im allgemeinen bei den Kindern bekannter')

⁶ ('gehört zum Fernsehen für Kinder wie der Stiel zum Lutscher')

⁷ ('chronisch unterfinanziertes')

⁸ ('Ein großer Teil des Kinderfernsehens ist insofern nicht vom Verschwinden bedroht, er ist schon verschwunden, gedanklich, planerisch und in öffentlicher Nachfrage')

⁹ ('Leider ist es ja in Deutschland so, und das ist, meine ich, eines der grundlegenden Probleme, daß genausowenig wie Kinder in der Gesellschaft richtig akzeptiert sind, auch Kinderprogrammhersteller oder Kinderfilmproduzenten nicht richtig ernst genommen werden. Das ist in anderen Ländern völlig anders')

¹⁰ ('das Alibi goldener Ghettos aus purer Kinderfreundlichkeit')

¹¹ ('knappe finanzielle Ausstattung')

¹² ('Mit dem Kinderkanal konnten und wollten ARD und ZDF den Anspruch auf das Recht zur Realisierung von Spartenkanälen geltend machen. So wurdest du zum Wunschkind - allerdings mit Hintergedanken')

¹³ ('Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF. Damit wurde aber nicht nur den Bedürfnissen von Kindern und Eltern entsprochen, medienpolitisch wurde der Anspruch der öffentlich-rechtlichen Sender auf eigene Spartenkanäle mit einem gesellschaftlich besonders relevanten Beispiel aufs Beste manifestiert. Ein Qualitätsprogramm, das anregt und Spaß macht und seine Zuschauer nicht auf ihre Rolle als Konsumenten reduziert')

¹⁴ ('Familienfernsehzeit')

¹⁵ ('heimliche Kinderprogramm')

¹⁶ ('Das private Strukturmodell - aber mit öffentlich-rechtlichen Inhalten.')

¹⁷ ('so alt wie der Rundfunk selbst')

¹⁸ ('Unbekümmertheit und Fröhlichkeit')

¹⁹ ('Das duale Fernsehsystem hatte zu einer Erosion des öffentlich-rechtlichen Kinderfernsehens geführt')

²⁰ ('Die Kinder seien vor einer Überflutung mit Kaufanreizen durch Werbung und vor zuviel Gewalt im Fernsehen zu schützen. In diesem Diskussionsklima konnte die Überlegung eines öffentlich-rechtlichen Kinderkanals heranreifen')

²¹ ('durchgesetzt werden konnte, hatte wahrscheinlich mehr mit diesen inzwischen auch von den Befürwortern des dualen Systems erkannten Schwächen kommerzieller Anbieter im Programmfeld Kinder zu tun als mit reiner Wertschätzung der Programmarbeit in den Landesrundfunkanstalten und im ZDF')

²² ('trotz erheblichen Widerstandes')

²³ ('faktisch nie wirksamen Ausschluss der kleineren Kinder')

²⁴ ('das einzige Nonprint-Medium, das ihnen kontinuierlich Programme bot')

²⁵ ('zentrales Kindheitsmedium')

²⁶ ('Eine klare Kampfansage an die Konkurrenz')

²⁷ ('Seit Fernsehen ausgestrahlt wird, sahen und sehen Kinder nicht nur Sendungen, die für sie gemacht und gedacht sind: Kinderfernsehen als Rezeptionstätigkeit und Kinderfernsehen als Programm stimmen mithin nur partiell überein')

²⁸ ('für Kinder wohl hochattraktiven, multimedialen Kaleidoskop, das letztlich nur noch dem Markt und der Werbung gehorcht')

²⁹ ('Die demographischen und demoskopischen Daten sind nachteilig für Kinderprogramme')

in der Bundesrepublik, mehr noch für das private als für das öffentlich-rechtliche Angebot. Es gibt einfach zu wenige Kinder, so daß sich mit dem "reinen" Kind kaum nennenswerte Einschaltquoten erreichen lassen')

Original Quotes - Chapter 4

¹ ("exterritorialen Gebiet" eines Kinderfernsehghettos')

² ('Muische Erziehung')

³ ('Bewahrpädagogik')

⁴ ('Konzepte des Lenkens und Führens, ihr strukturell eingeschriebenes Prinzip ist das Gehorchen')

⁵ ('nur aus der damaligen politischen Diskussion heraus zu verstehen') ⁶ ('hausbacken-biedere Moral- und Erziehungsvorstellungen')

⁷ ('Spätnachmittagslücke')

⁸ ('bildungspolitischen Kompensation mittels Fernsehen')

⁹ ('zaghafte Ansätze')

¹⁰ ('daß wir früher als in drei bis vier Jahren eine "Sesame Street" vergleichbare Reihe entwickeln könnten, ist entweder ein Ignorant, oder er lügt')

¹¹ ('Entschulung der Fernseherschule')

¹² ('um sozialkulturelle Defizite zu kompensieren')

¹³ ('kritische Distanz zum technischen Instrument Fernsehen')

¹⁴ ('eng begrenztes Budget')

¹⁵ ('Wir wollten die Gruppe der älteren Kinder, die für das öffentlich-rechtliche Kinderprogramm verlorengegangen schien, durch die Entwicklung dieser neuen Sendeform zurückholen, sie wieder an die ARD und letztlich an das öffentlich-rechtliche Fernsehsystem binden')

¹⁶ ('Entscheidend ist nicht, welche Programme Kinder "brauchen", entscheidend für Bestand und Entwicklung des Kinderprogramms sind die [...] ermittelten Zuschauerzahlen')

¹⁷ 'annähernd nach Pädagogik, nach ethischer Orientierung oder Anwaltschaft für Kinder klingt, ist verpönt; entscheidend sind allein Quoten, Kosten und - möglichst internationale - Vermarktung. Insofern ist die Produktion des Kinderfernsehens "erwachsen" geworden'.

¹⁸ ('Gewaltfrei')

¹⁹ ('Werbefrei')

²⁰ ('War ein konstitutives Merkmal öffentlich-rechtlichen Kinderfernsehens seine Auflage der absoluten Werbeabstinenz gewesen, so wurde das kommerzielle Kinderfernsehen ausschließlich durch Werbung finanziert.')

²¹ ('eine bedeutendere Rolle im internationalen Markt zu erlangen')

²² ('gesellschaftliche Bruch des Kriegesendes und die technologische Aufbruchstimmung') ²³ ('tradierte Vorstellungen, Bedenken und den stark gegen das Fernsehen schlechthin gerichteten gesellschaftlichen Trend umzukehren')

²⁴ ('Mittel der Zerstreuung für die Kinder')

²⁵ ('kein Mittel mehr neben vielen anderen unserer Zeit (sein), die Reize bieten, die von den Kindern nicht oder nur ungenügend verarbeitet werden können')

²⁶ ('Ilse Obrig mit ihren Fernsehprogrammen möchte, ist: die Kinder lehren, mit der Zeit etwas anfangen zu können. Ihrer Ansicht nach könnte das Fernsehen nichts Gefährlicheres tun, als den Kindern dabei behilflich zu sein, die Zeit 'totzuschlagen', die Zeit zu 'vertreiben')

²⁷ ('immer sind sie sofort bekannt und vertraut. Uns fehlt noch die Mickey-Mouse des Kinderfernsehfunks')

²⁸ ('Gewiß, es gibt Kasperle, und tatsächlich war noch immer der größte Jubel, wenn er auftauchte. Aber Kasperle ist noch nicht die Fernseh-Figur, ihn gibt es überall. Wenn in England ein Kind an das Fernsehen denkt, dann denkt es an "Muffin, der Esel", und es erinnert sich an alle Abenteuer, die er schon zu bestehen hatte')

²⁹ ('eine gute und eine schlechte Kinderprogrammredaktion')

³⁰ ('aggressive Auseinandersetzungen')

³¹ ('strukturell kinderfeindliche Gesellschaft')

³² ('ständig wachsenden Einschränkung ihrer Erfahrungsräume [...] „Familienprovinzialismus“, von Überbehütung und Leistungsdruck')

³³ ('das Alibi goldener Ghettos aus purer Kinderfreundlichkeit')

³⁴ ('Die ZDF-Medienforschung stellt [...] neueste Untersuchungsergebnisse vor. "Einfach nur Spaß haben" ist das Motto, von dem sich Kinder und Jugendliche bei der Auswahl ihrer bevorzugten Programme leiten lassen. Die Funktion des Fernsehens hat sich nach der Bewertung der Medienforschung grundlegend gewandelt, seit die kommerziellen Veranstalter hinzugekommen sind: Während bei älteren Fernsehzuschauern Information, Orientierung und Ratgebersendungen im Vordergrund stehen, wollen Kinder und Jugendliche beim Fernsehen vor allem Spaß')

³⁵ ('Unsere Botschaft lautet: Kinderfernsehen muß nicht sein, Kinderkanal darf sein. [paragraph break] Oder, in aller Kürze: "Wenn. Dann. Den."')

Original Quotes - Chapter 5

¹ ('wandelt sich das Internet [...] vom ausschließlich interaktiven zum immer rundfunkähnlicheren Netzwerk mit Point-to-multi-point-Ausstrahlungen')

² ('Scheitern der großen medienpolitischen Linie')

³ ('kleinteiligen Regelungen')

⁴ ('"vorwiegend programmbegleitend und -ergänzend" [...] Je nach Blickwinkel lassen diese Begriffe entweder alles oder fast gar nichts zu.')

⁵ ('Der durch öffentlich-rechtliche Online-Aktivitäten zusätzlich zu den klassischen TV-Angeboten mögliche gesellschaftliche Ertrag wird an dieser Stelle durch die Forderung nach Programmbezug erheblich eingeschränkt.')

⁶ ('dass die Erfüllung des Grundversorgungsauftrags nicht immer auch Programmbezug bedeutet. Zu nennen sind in diesem Zusammenhang die verschiedenen Online-Angebote für Kinder, wie das "SWR-Kindernetz" (www.kinderernetz.de) oder "ZDF-TiVi" (www.tivi.zdf.de). Hier lässt sich der Programmbezug in Frage stellen, auch wenn die Webseiten den Funktionsauftrag erfüllen und unbestreitbar einen gesellschaftlichen Nutzen bieten. So ist es das erklärte Ziel des SWR-Kindernetzes, Kinder in die Lage zu versetzen, mit der neuen Medienwelt umzugehen' (Internetkompetenz)

⁷ ('Neben den sendungsbezogenen und -begleitenden Inhalten hat tivi.de ein übergeordnetes Angebot mit der Galerie, der Bibliothek, dem Studio, dem Postservice, den Spielen und dem Newsletter.')

⁸ ('Spieleangebote ohne Sendungsbezug')

⁹ ('den Aufsichtsgremien der Rundfunkanstalten [...] mit den Ländern, den Zeitungsverlegern sowie den Vertretern der Europäischen Kommission')

¹⁰ ('Anfang Juni legte der für ARD-Online federführende SWR den Entwurf eines Papiers vor, das Art und Umfang der Online-Angebote von ARD.de sowie der Landesrundfunkanstalten beschrieb. [-] Das Papier sollte möglichst kurzfristig in Gespräche mit den Zeitungsverlegern eingebracht werden, aus deren Kreise Bedenken gegen das Online-Angebot der Rundfunkanstalten geäußert worden waren. Deshalb betonte es, dass das öffentlich-rechtliche Online-Angebot bereits bestimmte Aktivitäten [...] ausschließt')

¹¹ ('Expansionsfirewall zu aktivieren, um dem öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunk den Weg ins Netz zu verbauen')

¹² It was set out to provide 'a safe space for children to create and share content with friends. It is a pre-cursor to social networking sites such as Bebo and Facebook, appealing to a younger audience than these other sites, and so is often a child's first experience in the online interactive forum space'

¹³ ('Scheindebatte, die von Konkurrenz und Profitdenken geleitet ist')

¹⁴ ('„publizistische Vielfalt“')

¹⁵ ('„die Konsumentenwohlfahrt zum Wohle der Vorschulkinder und der Gesellschaft erhöhen“')

¹⁶ ('auf freiwilliger Basis')

¹⁷ ('Noch vor Inkrafttreten des 12. RAStV')

¹⁸ ('Dreistufiger Unsinn')

¹⁹ ('Monstergutachten')

²⁰ ('Plagiat' [...] 'grotesk anmutende Kopie')

²¹ ('Wir haben also eigentlich nur [...] negative Stellungnahmen bekommen von unserem

Mitkonkurrenten, was natürlich zu erwarten war. Und gerade bei Kikaninchen schwebte sehr lange der Plagiatsvorwurf im Raum, das Plagiat von Toggolino. Wo ich dann ein bißchen erschrocken war. Und sagte, das sieht anders aus, es heißt anders, hat andere Inhalte. [...] Und dieser Vorwurf, der klebte wirklich ganz lange an uns. Und den wegzudiskutieren, auch bei den Gremien, war extrem schwer')

²² ('Es war Zufall, weil es gerade sozusagen aktuell anstand. Es hätte auch ein anderer Sender mit einem anderen Angebot sein können, das hat nichts mit einer Bedeutung für Kinder oder so zu tun')

²³ ('absurder Verwaltungsaufwand') ('pseudo-wissenschaftlichen Mitteln') ('sendet einen so unüberhörbaren Unterton von „Das-habt-ihr-nun-davon“').

²⁴ ('Diese vorauseilende Pflichterfüllung kann nur den taktischen Grund haben, den 12. Rundfunkstaatsvertrag noch zu kippen')

²⁵ ('die Entscheidung von unserem damaligen Programmgeschäftsführer gefällt worden ist, wir gehen damit als Pilotprojekt in den Dreistufentest')

²⁶ ('Hintergedanken')

²⁷ ('als Pilotprojekt vorgeschickt')

²⁸ During the approval the cost had been adapted by 10% to 220.000/352.000 Euros (Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF, 2009a, b). Final approval for the new KiKa services came in February 2010 (MDR & ZDF, 2010).

²⁹ ('positive Lobbyarbeit') ('noch quasi [...] auch ein bißchen naiv')

³⁰ ('Bastel- oder Malvorlagen sind keine eigene Software oder ein Fotodownload ohne Sendungsbezug. Bastel- oder Malvorlagen sind entweder Telemedien "sui generis" oder dem Bereich Spiele zuzuordnen. Versteht man Bastel- oder Malvorlagen als Telemedien eigener Art, sind diese jedenfalls nicht von der Negativliste zu § 11d Abs. 5 S. 4 umfasst. Besteht ein Sendungsbezug im Sinne des § 2 Abs. 2 Ziff. 18, sind Mal- und Bastelvorlagen bei einer Verweildauer von bis zu sieben Tagen vom Auftrag des § 11d Abs. 2 Ziff. 2 umfasst. Im Rahmen des Drei-Stufen-Tests ist insoweit nur noch eine längere Verweildauer zu prüfen. Handelt es sich um nicht sendungsbezogene Telemedien, ist das Angebot von Mal- und Bastelvorlagen insgesamt im Rahmen eines nach § 11f durchzuführenden Verfahrens zu überprüfen. Wertet man Mal- und Bastelvorlagen als Spiele, kann auf die Ausführungen zu dieser Fragestellung verwiesen werden')

³¹ ('Micro-Medienpolitik')

³² ('Betrachtet man die Umgangsweisen und die Bewertungen, die Heranwachsende in Bezug auf fernsehkonvergente Internetangebote zeigen bzw. äußern, so erfüllen sie sicher die Erwartungen der Sender noch nicht. Denn sobald das Internet und seine Möglichkeiten entdeckt sind, treten fernsehkonvergente Angebote in den Hintergrund und favorisiert werden eher andere Netzangebote')

³³ ('viel zu teuer war')

³⁴ ('weil Kinder natürlich unglaublich langsam schreiben. Und die Eltern damals gesagt haben: Ja, wir werden ja verrückt, das kostet ja wahnsinnig viel Geld, wenn die in diese Community gehen')

³⁵ ('Die Schwierigkeiten bei der Realisierung von des Mehrwerts durch fernsehkonvergente Internetauftritte liegen auf mehreren Ebenen. Es sind erstens technische Anforderungen, die insbesondere jüngere Kinder überfordern, die offerierten Möglichkeiten selbständig zu nutzen. Zweitens erfordern fernsehkonvergente Internetauftritte bestimmte kognitive Voraussetzungen, allen voran Lesefähigkeit. Vor allem Online-Angebote öffentlich-rechtlicher Sender, die sich explizit an Kinder richten, sind eher textlastig orientiert, was ein Hürde für die Zielgruppe darstellen kann. Diese mangelnde Verständlichkeit begrenzt die Realisierungschancen des Mehrwerts durch die Heranwachsenden')

Original Quotes - Chapter 6

¹ ('Engagement oder der besonderen Kompetenz')

² ('haben wir einfach Spaß daran gefunden ein Netz für Kinder zu machen')

³ ('qualitativ ansprechende und für Kinder geeignete Onlineangebote')

⁴ ('ausführliche Seiten')

⁵ ('BBC mit neuen Projekten, ARD eher vorsichtig')

- ⁶ ('Die BBC hat sich also intensiv auf das neue Rundfunk-Zeitalter eingestellt. [...] Die ARD war auf diesem Feld vorsichtiger, was auch mit der Grundeinstellung der deutschen Gesellschaft zu tun hat, die Veränderungen deutlich weniger aufgeschlossen gegenüber steht als die britische')
- ⁷ ('Während des großen Internetbooms [...] hat die ARD die Situation gründlich analysiert und in Ruhe geplant')
- ⁸ ('Ein kleines Team aus Redakteuren, Webtechnikern und Grafikern hat seither eine Angebotsstruktur entwickelt, die es möglich macht, mit geringem Aufwand die bereits in der ARD vorliegenden Inhalte aus Hörfunk, Fernsehen und Online thematisch zu erschließen.')
- ⁹ ('der begrenzten Mittel für die ARD Onlineangebote')
- ⁹ ('die Online-Angebote des ZDF den Rahmen der Hilfstätigkeit nicht überschreiten')
- ¹⁰ ('dritte Programmsäule')
- ¹¹ ('Dynamisch wie das Internet selbst hat auch das ZDF seine Web-Präsenz permanent den Bedürfnissen der User und den neuen technologischen Möglichkeiten angepasst.')
- ¹² ('Sie muss Plattform, das heißt Medium für Interaktion werden. Sie braucht insgesamt ein neues Modell für die Kommunikation mit dem interaktiven Rundfunkteilnehmer.')
- ¹³ ('plattformübergreifender Markenpräsenz')
- ¹⁴ ('in die multimediale Zukunft führen')
- ¹⁵ ('Produkte und Inhalte der ZDF-Welt synergetisch und effektiv auf allen derzeitigen und zukünftigen Plattformen betreiben zu können')
- ¹⁶ ('Noch vor einigen Jahren galt das Internet als zukünftige dritte Programmsäule der öffentlich-rechtlichen Anstalten [...] Nicht erst seit dem 7. Rundfunkänderungsstaatsvertrag, wonach im Wesentlichen nur noch programmbezogene Inhalte im Internet angeboten werden dürfen, wird von dieser Strategie abgewichen. Heute steht der gesetzlich geforderte Programmbezug im Vordergrund.')
- ¹⁷ ('So gut wie keine Verbreitung hat das Fernsehen oder das Radiohören via Internet.')
- ¹⁸ ('langfristigem Verbleib der Onlineinhalte')
- ¹⁹ ('Online-Community für Kinder')
- ²⁰ ('das World Wide Web noch in den Kinderschuhen steckte')
- ²¹ ('als das Web 2.0 aufkam, da haben uns auch viele gefragt, Mensch Kindercommunity und so und was wir davon halten. Wo wir uns dann einfach mal gesagt haben, also wir machen eine Kindercommunity seit 1997! Lange vor Web 2.0!')
- ²² ('zu den besten und medienpädagogisch wertvollsten Onlineangeboten für Kinder')
- ²³ ('auf intelligente Weise die Neugierde der Kinder bedient, durch kindgemäße Gestaltung auffällt, zur Kommunikation untereinander beiträgt und programmbegleitende Informationen zu den Kindersendungen des Ersten, des Ki.Ka wie auch von ARD-Landesrundfunkanstalten liefert')
- ²⁴ ('seit dem Jahr 2000 stellt der KI.KA im Internet über www.kika.de regelmäßig sendungsbezogen bewegte Bilder (vollständige Sendungen und Ausschnitte) zum Abruf zur Verfügung')
- ²⁵ ('Check Eins ist das Äquivalent zu Tivi')
- ²⁶ ('Der Kommission ist zwar bewusst, dass sich die Leistungsmengenerfassung im Online-Bereich schwieriger gestaltet als in den klassischen linearen Rundfunkmedien. Sie sieht es aber als problematisch an, dass in den Rundfunkanstalten zwar Klarheit über die Notwendigkeit von Angebotserweiterungen im Online-Bereich, nicht aber über den realen Leistungsumfang herrscht')
- ²⁷ ('Gesamtangebotes, das nachhaltig ist und zeitsouverän genutzt werden kann')
- ²⁸ ('Die Verzahnung mit den Mediatheken von ARD und ZDF ist fester Bestandteil des Konzepts. Dadurch bietet KI.KAplus die einmalige Bündelung von kindgerechten audiovisuellen Inhalten aller öffentlich-rechtlichen Sender.')
- ²⁹ ('dass "kikaninchen.de" als "Online-Dachmarke" für öffentlich-rechtliche Vorschulangebote fungieren solle, indem es auf die Vorschulangebote aller Rundfunkanstalten (ARD und ZDF) verlinke. [...] Durch die Bündelung der Angebote an zentraler Stelle biete "kikaninchen.de" Orientierung für Eltern und Kinder')
- ³⁰ ('Vorhandene Internetangebote für Kinder von ARD- und ZDF-Programmen [...] werden auf kika.de verlinkt, um für die Kinder schnell auffindbar zu sein. Damit schafft der KI.KA gebündelt einen direkten Zugang zu allen öffentlich-rechtlichen Kinderangeboten und bietet

somit Orientierung.')

³¹ ('das einzige Angebot, das alle öffentlich-rechtlichen Kinderfernsehsendungen in einem übersichtlichen, nach Wochentagen sortierten Programmführer zusammenstellt')

³² ('Wir wollen diese Zielgruppenansprache auch weiterführen und spezifizieren, weil es sich mit unseren Erfahrungen deckt, dass die verschiedenen Zielgruppen ihre eigenständiges Programm haben wollen')

³³ ('Wir [...] wollen es nun für Eltern und Kinder eindeutiger als Programm für die Vorschüler ausweisen')

³⁴ ('Damit ist die Onlineproduktion nicht mehr nur bloßes Anhängsel der Rundfunkproduktion, sondern integraler Bestandteil von Beginn des Produktionsprozesses an.')

³⁵ ('35 Mio. Klicks im Monat')

³⁶ ('die dazugehörige Onlinebegleitung')

³⁷ ('Da müssen wir nichts Neues erfinden, sondern können für das Internet auf das zurückgreifen, was wir seit langem machen')

³⁸ ('in der Sendezeitausweitung sehen of doppelt so viele Kinder den KI.KA wie tagsüber')

³⁹ ('bekannteste und beliebteste Internetseite bei Kindern in Deutschland')

⁴⁰ ('mit dem Begriff "Mehrwert" zusammenfassen')

⁴¹ ('Tivi ist einfach jetzt schon viel, also war damals schon viele Schritte weiter - eigenes Portal tivi.de, die meisten Sendungsredaktionen haben kein eigenes Portal, eigene Zielgruppe und sehr definierte Zielgruppe - und eben auch deshalb speziell')

⁴² ('unser Überleben im Internet')

⁴³ ('Marginalisierung')

⁴⁴ ('wenig sensibel geführten medialen Verdrängungs-, ja Vernichtungswettbewerb')

⁴⁵ ('Verjüngungsstrategie')

⁴⁶ ('eine Programmstrategie, die nicht nur Zuschauer bindet, sondern zugleich neue, gerade auch junge, gewinnt. Der Kinderkanal von ARD und ZDF war auf diesem Feld ein erster Schritt')

⁴⁷ ('Ganz selbstverständlich erwarten die Nutzer, dass die klassischen Medienanbieter Hörfunk, Fernsehen und Presse im Internet präsent sind. Da dies insbesondere für die jungen Nutzer gilt, ist die Präsenz im Netz essentiell für die Zukunftsfähigkeit der Medienanbieter')

⁴⁸ ('programmbegleitend zu sein und den regionalen Programmauftrag im Internet fortzuführen')

⁴⁹ ('Alle Online-Angebote der Landesrundfunkanstalten nehmen für sich in Anspruch, ausschließlich programmbegleitend zu sein und den regionalen Programmauftrag im Internet fortzuführen. Andererseits bemühen sie sich darum, mit innovativen Angeboten auch jüngere Zielgruppen anzusprechen')

⁵⁰ ('Neuen Nutzergruppen des öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunks und hier insbesondere Jugendlichen und jungen Erwachsenen werden über Themenrubriken neue Zugänge zu Information, Beratung, Bildung und Unterhaltung eröffnet. Für eine Erhöhung der Gebührenakzeptanz in der kommenden Generation ist eine Präsenz im Internet notwendig und selbstverständlich zugleich')

⁵¹ ('Mediathek des öffentlich-rechtlichen Kinderkanals')

⁵² ('technisch und navigatorisch erweitert für den Einsatz als zentrale Stelle für On-Demand-Videos, Livestreams, Bilderserien und Multimedia-Anwendungen')

⁵³ ('Die digitale Zukunft des ZDF-Abruffernsehen')

⁵⁴ ('Videos & Bilder')

⁵⁵ ('Videorubrik')

⁵⁶ ('Mediathek für Kinder')

⁵⁷ ('Tivi Mediathek [...] eine getrennte Mediathek nur für das Kinderprogramm')

Original Quotes - Chapter 7

¹ ('ich bin das erste Mal mit meiner Mama im Internet und würde mich gerne unterhalten, kannst du mir sagen wie das geht?')

² ('Rolle als Zusatzdienste und Marketinginstrumente')

³ ('PR-Aktionen, die Kinder an den Sender binden sollen')

- ⁴ ('soll die Rezipientenbindung über die Einrichtung einer Kindernetz-Community verstärkt werden')
- ⁵ ('ein öffentliches Forum, in dem Kinder sich über alle sie interessierenden und für sie relevanten Themen austauschen können')
- ⁶ ('Spielen, Entdecken und Mitmachen')
- ⁷ ('Ansprechpartner')
- ⁸ ('virtuelle Ansprechpartner für die Sorgen der Kinder')
- ⁹ ('Bislang beschränkt sich die Mitwirkung der Kinder auf die klassischen Interaktionsmöglichkeiten - per Mail, Brief und Telefon -, aber auch in der neuen digitalen Zukunft wollen Kinder mitmachen, sie wollen sich austauschen und spielerisch mit Inhalten umgehen')
- ¹⁰ ('Programmverbindungen, [...] zwischen den einzelnen Sendungen')
- ¹¹ ('Diese sollen die Möglichkeit zur unmittelbaren Kommunikation zwischen den Kindern und dem ARD/ZDF-Kinderkanal bieten und so zur Zuschauerbindung beitragen.')
- ¹² ('Eine Adresse für Kinder!')
- ¹³ ('Ein solches Programm muß auch Verbindungen zum Zuschauer schaffen. Man muß die Möglichkeit haben, anzurufen und Partner zu haben, mit denen man auch reden kann. Sonst würde sich das ja nicht von dem üblichen Programm unterscheiden. Es muß also irgendwie eine Form von, ich sage bewußt nicht Interaktivität, aber von Aktivität zwischen dem Sender und den Zuschauern geben, die sich auch im Programm ausdrückt.')
- ¹⁴ ('KI.KA ist ohnehin ein sehr interaktiv genutzter Sender, denn wir bekommen jeden Monat rund 40.000 Faxe, Briefe und Emails. Mit dem Internet wird nur ein neuer moderner Kanal genutzt, der es auch für die Kinder leichter macht, uns eigene Inhalte zur Verfügung zu stellen. Denn es ist umständlicher ein Päckchen mit Videokassetten oder CDs zu verschicken als Inhalte über das Internet hochzuladen')
- ¹⁵ ('Als so genannten "User generated Content" bieten wir unter Anderem an, dass Kinder Bilder malen und hochladen. Für Kinder stellt es eine tiefe Befriedigung dar und es macht sie stolz, wenn sie ihre eigenen Inhalte im Netz wiederfinden')
- ¹⁶ ('Online-Nachrichtendienst')
- ¹⁷ ('Die Nachfrage nach Unterhaltungsangeboten [...] nachrangig') ('Hauptbedürfnis der Onlinenutzer [...] Informationssuche')
- ¹⁸ ('die Online-Angebote der ARD in erster Linie informationsorientiert sind und die regionale Kompetenz der Landesrundfunkanstalten widerspiegeln')
- ¹⁹ ('Informationskompetenz')
- ²⁰ ('Das »logo!«-Online-Angebot ist damit eines der wenigen tagesaktuellen Nachrichtensendungen für Kinder im Internet')
- ²¹ ('die Online-Angebote der ARD in erster Linie informationsorientiert sind und die regionale Kompetenz der Landesrundfunkanstalten widerspiegeln')
- ²² ('dass die Erfüllung des Grundversorgungsauftrags nicht immer auch Programmbezug bedeutet. Zu nennen sind in diesem Zusammenhang die verschiedenen Online-Angebote für Kinder, wie das "SWR-Kindernetz" (www.kinderernetz.de) oder "ZDF-TiVi" (www.tivi.zdf.de). Hier lässt sich der Programmbezug in Frage stellen, auch wenn die Webseiten den Funktionsauftrag erfüllen und unbestreitbar einen gesellschaftlichen Nutzen bieten. So ist es das erklärte Ziel des SWR-Kindernetzes, Kinder in die Lage zu versetzen, mit der neuen Medienwelt umzugehen (Internetkompetenz)')
- ²³ ('Arbeitswelt im Fernsehen')
- ²⁴ ('Informationselite')
- ²⁵ ('In Anbetracht dieser Einschränkungen kommt den öffentlich-rechtlichen Onlineangeboten eine nicht zu unterschätzende Bedeutung zu.')
- ²⁶ ('Eine Besonderheit der öffentlich-rechtlichen Angebote besteht darin, da sich ihre Nutzer über alle Altersgruppen verteilen.')
- ²⁷ 12. RAStV Par. 11d Absatz 3 ('Durch die Telemedienangebote soll allen Bevölkerungsgruppen die Teilhabe an der Informationsgesellschaft ermöglicht, Orientierungshilfe geboten sowie die technische und inhaltliche Medienkompetenz aller Generationen und von Minderheiten gefördert werden.')
- ²⁸ ('Nachrichten/Information, Bildung/Wissensvermittlung, Impulse zur Interaktion, Animation/Real, Medienkompetenzvermittlung, Unterhaltung')

- ²⁹ ('das im TV Erlernte auf der Webseite spielerisch zu vertiefen sowie unter diesem Markennamen die verschiedenen Vorschulprogramme von ARD, ZDF und von uns selbst präsentieren - auch online. Das ist der Hintergrund von KIKAninchen.de.')
- ³⁰ ('Der SWR bereitet zusätzlich auf der Seite kindernetz.de Informationen und Unterhaltungsinhalte aus Hörfunk und Fernsehen für die kindliche Zielgruppe auf.')
- ³¹ ('Insgesamt ist bei der Site mehr Gewicht auf Spiele zu legen und sie soll mehr Action, mehr visuellen Humor und mehr Dynamik bieten. Die interaktiven Inhalte, die wenig Aufwand für die Kinder bedeuten, sind zu verstärken. Es empfiehlt sich der Aufbau einer Community. Die Informationsinhalte können in optimierter Form weitgehend beibehalten werden, sollten aber etwas mehr in den Hintergrund treten.')
- ³² ('Online-Angebote der ARD in erster Linie informationsorientiert sind')
- ³³ ('Interaktive Games zum Mitmachen')
- ³⁴ ('Spiel und Spaß bei ARD')
- ³⁵ ('Spiel- und Lernwelt, die Wissen vermittelt und (trotzdem) Spaß macht')
- ³⁶ ('Aufgrund der Solidarfinanzierung auf der Grundlage von Gebühren ist der Kinderkanal gehalten (und in der Lage), sein Angebot vor allem an (medien)pädagogischen Maßstäben zu orientieren')
- ³⁷ („Feuer furzen mit Gumpers“)
- ³⁸ ('Ich will keine öffentlich-rechtlich Multimedia Anstalt')
- ³⁹ ('Wie weit sollen sich also öffentlich-rechtliche Sender im Internet ausbreiten? Sie bieten dort viel mehr als ihre Sendungen an oder was an Begleitmaterial erforderlich sein könnte: Chats, Foren und eben Spiele gibt es in Hülle und Fülle. Beim Kika heißen solche Spiele nicht nur "Feuer furzen mit Gumpers", sondern auch "Die Missionen von Raumfahrer Jim", "Eier sammeln" oder "Emilys Beerenernte". An was sollen Kinder damit herangeführt werden? Gibt es so etwas wie ein pädagogisches Konzept? [...] Der Kika macht Kinder kompetent', schreiben die Macher auf der Internetseite: "Ob Fernsehen oder Internet, bei uns lernen Kinder, wie Medien funktionieren." Die Öffentlich-Rechtlichen scheinen zu glauben, dass dazu auch Spiele gehören – und zwar Spiele wie "Feuerfurzen mit Gumpers"')
- ⁴⁰ ('auf Sicherheit großen Wert gelegt')
- ⁴¹ ('einen geschützten Raum für den Austausch mit dem Sender und untereinander')
- ⁴² ('sicheren Umgebung')
- ⁴³ ('sicheren Einstieg ins Netz')
- ⁴⁴ ('Vernetzen statt versparten')
- ⁴⁵ ('Unter dem Motto "Vernetzen statt versparten" soll die digitale Technik vor allem für die schnelle Verknüpfung der verschiedenen Programmangebote der ARD-Anstalten genutzt werden. Geplant ist, das Erste und die Dritten Programme, den Kinderkanal und PHOENIX, Radioprogramme, den Videotext und die Online-Dienste so zu vernetzen, daß sich die Nutzer des digitalen Angebots mit Hilfe eines elektronischen "Lesezeichens" ihr eigenes Wunschprogramm zusammenstellen können')
- ⁴⁶ ('SWR ist da ja schon sozusagen einzigartig in der ARD, weil es gibt zwar auch die BR-Kinderinsel, das ist aber im Verhältnis zu [Kindernetz] eher kleiner. Und , wenn man so will, schon ja auch noch eine Plattform, auf der alle Kindersendungen des SWR bündeln, und natürlich auch Zugang zur ARD haben. Und insofern [Kindernetz ist] da schon bißchen was besonderes')
- ⁴⁷ ('Die Verzahnung mit den Mediatheken von ARD und ZDF ist fester Bestandteil des Konzepts. Dadurch bietet KI.KAplus die einmalige Bündelung von kindgerechten audiovisuellen Inhalten aller öffentlich-rechtlichen Sender')
- ⁴⁸ ('das einzige Angebot der ARD, das alle ARD-Kinderangebote bündelt und unterscheidet sich damit von allen anderen öffentlich-rechtlichen Angeboten für Kinder auch gegenüber kika.de und den geplanten Zusatzangeboten kikaninchen.de und KI.KAplus')

Original Quotes - Chapter 8

- ¹ ('sehr flexibel')
- ² ('verschiedene Kategorien')
- ³ ('15, 16 Jahre mindestens und dann geht es immer fließend in das Erwachsensein')
- ⁴ ('Fernsehkinder')

- ⁵ ('klingt jetzt pathetisch, aber [Kinder] sind immer die Zukunft, ich meine, das ist ein sehr wichtiger Teil')
- ⁶ ('auf politisch-demonstrativen, legitimatorischen Ebene')
- ⁷ ('Die Kinder von heute sind die Zuschauer von morgen. Ihnen ein attraktives Programmangebot zu bieten, ist eine Kernaufgabe öffentlich-rechtlicher Anstalten und Zukunftssicherung für die Öffentlich-rechtlichen zugleich. [...] Viele Untersuchungen deuten darauf hin, daß die Bindung zu einem Sender in der Kindheit aufgebaut wird. Kinder, die heute die Privaten schauen, werden wahrscheinlich auch als Erwachsene diese Kanäle präferieren. Der öffentlich-rechtliche Rundfunk kann diese Zuschauer nicht einfach verloren geben')
- ⁸ ('Public-Value-Aktion')
- ⁹ ('Kinder sind Zukunft')
- ¹⁰ ('Mehrwert eines öffentlich-rechtlichen Programms („Public Value“) intensiver als bisher zu betonen, wobei die Strategien auf dem Potenzial bestehender gesellschaftlicher Akzeptanz in den Sparten Glaubwürdigkeit, Seriosität und Zuverlässigkeit aufbauen sollten')
- ¹¹ ('Public-Value- Aktionen wie die ARD-Themenwoche „Kinder sind Zukunft“ resultierten dabei in steigenden Umfragewerten')
- ¹² ('Aufgrund der mangelnden Lesefähigkeit von Vorschülern zählen auch deren Eltern zur erweiterten Zielgruppe')
- ¹³ ('Das Angebot kika.de wendet sich in erster Linie an Kinder und an zweiter Stelle an deren Eltern. Das Elternangebot ist bewusst in der Fußzeile platziert, damit es interessierte Eltern von jeder Kl.KA-Seite aus erreichen können, es aber die Kinder beim Benutzen des Angebotes nicht stört')
- ¹⁴ ('Je älter die Kinder werden, desto autonomer wollen sie das Internetangebot nutzen und sich von ihren Eltern abgrenzen. Diesem Wunsch kommt kika.de mit der dezenten Platzierung des Elternangebotes entgegen')
- ¹⁵ ('Bedürfnisse')
- ¹⁶ ('Kinder sind eine große und homogene Zielgruppe, die regelmäßig nachwächst')
- ¹⁷ ('3 bis 13 ist alles andere als eine homogene Zielgruppe')
- ¹⁸ ('Die Inhalte auf kika.de richten sich nach den unterschiedlichen Bedürfnissen der drei heterogenen Zielgruppen. Zur Aufbereitung der Inhalte werden die für das Internet gängigen Darstellungsformen verwendet und der Zielgruppe Kinder angepasst')
- ¹⁹ ('Also einen gewissen Vorteil sehe ich z.B. auch hinsichtlich der Programmplanung, dass da eine sehr viel genauere Aufteilung der jeweiligen Zielgruppen vorgenommen wird. CBeebies ist da ein Stichwort, wohingegen wir als Programmangebot für 3-13, das versuchen über einen Tag über Programmflächen dann zu gestalten, unterschiedliche Zielgruppen anzusprechen. 3 bis 13 ist alles andere als eine homogene Zielgruppe. Da sind sehr viele unterschiedliche Ansprachen notwendig. Das lösen die Kollegen dann über eigene Sender. Das haben wir natürlich nicht')
- ²⁰ ('ich glaube, die suchen sehr viel Spiele und Spaß, wobei es sicherlich auch noch mal was anderes ist, was suchen Jungen, was suchen Mädchen')
- ²¹ ('das wissen wir aus Untersuchungen, Spiele und Bewegtbild ist das, was die Kinder hauptsächlich suchen, das sind die beiden treibenden Kräfte. Und über die beiden Inhalte kommen sie dann zu den sonstigen Inhalten, die wir so haben')
- ²² ('Kinder sind an Lieblingssendungen und Protagonisten orientiert')
- ²³ ('ist absolut wichtig für Kinder')
- ²⁴ ('valide Informationen')
- ²⁵ ('Sehr großer Zugriff, gottseidank, auch auf Textinhalte. Also die lesen wirklich auch Artikel. Die gucken nicht nur Videos, auch sehr erfolgreich, aber der Hauptanteil der Klicks wird durch Artikel erzeugt. Also nicht durch die Module oder Spiele oder sonstwas, sondern da lesen sie wirklich')
- ²⁶ ('eines der erfolgreichsten Angebote, definitiv')
- ²⁷ ('thematische Hochs und Tiefs')
- ²⁸ ('solche Themen, Umweltthemen sehr, sehr wichtig sind, für die Kinder')
- ²⁹ ('wo man deutlich sieht in der Schulzeit. Oder auch andere Themendossiers, die wir haben über Weltreligionen, über Europa, wo ganz deutlich wird, das wird einfach in den Ferien wesentlich weniger abgefragt. Wo klar ist, das sind Informationen, da gucken die Kinder

einfach für das Schulreferat oder so, gehen sie ins Netz und dann landen sie auf unseren Seiten')

³⁰ ('alles was 10plus ist, für die sind Chats, Homepages, sich austauschen über, Kontakt mit, extrem wichtig. Für die, die unter 10, 9 sind, glaube ich nicht so sehr')

³¹ ('Da sind wir aber eingekommen, dass wir für Kinder keinen Auftritt auf Drittplattformen sehen. Also, das da auch einfach nicht hinpasst. Die Jugendlichen, was wir so aus eigenen Erfahrungswerten z.B. nehmen können, die auf Facebook z.B. schon unterwegs sind, sie würden dann sich nicht [...] bei CheckEins sagen, sie mögen das oder so. Oder den Like-Button klicken. Und daher sehen wir da auch keine Notwendigkeit, da einen Auftritt zu haben')

³² ('der Auftrag ist ganz klar, zum einen die Zielgruppe nämlich sich an 3 bis 13jährige Kinder zu richten und diese eben zu bilden, zu informieren, aber auch zu unterhalten. Das ist genau der öffentlich-rechtliche Auftrag, den der Kinderkanal bekommen hat [...] Im Bereich von Multiplattform [...] das ändert sich sicherlich nicht')

³³ ('Entsprechend der Auftragsbestimmung in § 11 Rundfunkstaatsvertrag ist tivi.de ein Angebot, das der Information, Bildung, Beratung und Unterhaltung von Kindern dient.')

³⁴ ('Kommunikationsraum')

³⁵ ('moderierten Gemeinschaft können sich die Kinder über Lieblingssendungen und -stars im KI.KA informieren, austauschen und Kontakte zu Gleichaltrigen aufnehmen')

³⁶ ('sich informieren und austauschen')

³⁷ ('um der Fragmentierung der Gesellschaft entgegenzuwirken')

³⁸ ('Ansprechpartner für Kinder vom Vorschulalter bis zum Übergang in die Jugendlichkeit')³⁹ ('Informationssender')

⁴⁰ ('Online-Angebote der ARD in erster Linie informationsorientiert sind')

⁴¹ ('redaktionell-journalistisch')

⁴² ('journalistisch-redaktionell veranlasst und journalistisch-redaktionell gestaltet')

⁴³ ('presseähnliche')

⁴⁴ The full citation is: 'We are an entertainment network, don't get me wrong. But everything we do, we think about the effect on the child. And whether it's through personal development or whether it's actually teaching them something like maths through Numberjacks, we'll do it. We just don't say we're doing it, because [that's] the last thing the audience wants to hear.'

⁴⁵ ('Hintergrundinformationen zu Themen und Sendungen zu bieten')

⁴⁶ ('Zusatzinfos bieten')

⁴⁷ ('Programmbegleitung')

⁴⁸ ('zusätzliche Informationen [...] zu den Darstellern, Making-Ofs, Hintergrundinformationen')

⁴⁹ ('Aus meiner Sicht [...] alles, was über die eigentliche Ausstrahlung hinausbegleitend angeboten werden kann zum Programm, vor allem online, das ist wichtig')

⁵⁰ ('redaktionell-journalistisch')

⁵¹ ('bieten sowohl aktuelle als auch einordnende und vertiefende Informationen')

⁵² ('tivi.de ist ein programmbegleitendes Angebot [...], das Themen und Inhalte in einem neuen Kontext bündeln und aktuelle mit Älteren Inhalten verbinden kann, wenn diese zum Beispiel für das bessere Verständnis eines Inhaltes nützlich sind oder damit der kindlichen Nutzungssituation besser entsprochen werden kann.')

⁵³ ('tivi.de leistet seinen Beitrag zur Auftragserfüllung dadurch, dass es Kindern ermöglicht, sich in der Informationsgesellschaft erforderliche Fähigkeiten anzueignen und an ihr teilzuhaben')

⁵⁴ ('Meinungsbildung')

⁵⁵ ('Unterhaltung [...] als Transportmittel')

⁵⁶ ('Unterhaltung [...] gerade bei Kindern Voraussetzung ist, um überhaupt Aufmerksamkeit für edukative Themen zu erzielen')

⁵⁷ ('Erfüllung des Programmauftrags (Information, Wissen, Beratung, Kultur, Bildung und Unterhaltung)')

⁵⁸ ('Ein Spiel zeichnet sich dadurch aus, dass Unterhaltung und Zeitvertreib im Vordergrund stehen. Liegt bei spielerischen Elementen der Schwerpunkt auf der Informations- und Wissensvermittlung, ist nicht von einem Spiel auszugehen. Spielerische Elemente stellen einen wichtigen Bestandteil von Kinderangeboten dar')

⁵⁹ ('es gibt antürlich auch Spiele, wobei Spiele [...] natürlich auch wieder diese Frage sind, nach dem Drei-StufenTest dürfen wir ja keine Spiele mehr machen, die nur fürs Vergnügen sind. [...] wobei ich auch sehe, dass die meisten Spiele bei uns sind auch in dem Sinne Lernanwendungen. Da lernen die Kinder auch was. Also das reine Vergnügen dürfen wir nicht mehr. [...] Wobei man da immer sagen muss wo fängt das Spiel an wo hört die Lernanwendung auf. Das ist sicherlich noch einen Diskussion, die wir dann in den nächsten Jahren irgendwann führen')

⁶⁰ ('Die Online-Spiele des KiKA richten sich ausschließlich an Kinder und dienen der spielerischen Informations- und Wissensvermittlung, fördern vielfältige Fähigkeiten und tragen zur Bildung von Medienkompetenz bei')

⁶¹ ('unterstützende Kraft in ihrer Entwicklung vom Vorschulalter bis zum Übergang in die Jugendlichkeit')

⁶² ('Aus den Telemedienangeboten von KiKA lernen Kinder den sicheren und richtigen Umgang mit den verschiedenen Angebotsformen im Internet (Chat, Forum, Grußkartensysteme, Votings, Newsletter, Upload-Tools, Social Community, Mediathek etc.) und können zudem mit ihren Meinungen, Bildern, Zeichnungen, Bastelarbeiten und Videos die Angebote mitgestalten. Das KiKA-Programm und die KiKA-Online-Angebote orientieren sich an den klassischen medienpädagogischen Grundpfeilern: Medienkritik, Medienwissen, Mediennutzung, Mediengestaltung.')

⁶³ ('Wichtiges Ziel der Plattform ist, Kindern Medienkompetenz zu vermitteln [...] Unsere Verantwortung als öffentlich-rechtlicher Sender ist es, Kinder mit spielerischen Angeboten im Umgang mit analogen und digitalen Medien zu schulen')

⁶⁴ ('tivi.de fördert die Kompetenz im Umgang mit den Medien, die Meinungsbildung und regt Kinder an, ihre Meinung mit anderen auszutauschen')

⁶⁵ ('immer größere Bedeutung zu')

⁶⁶ ('Für Kinder spielt die Vermittlung von Medienkompetenz aus Sicht der Rundfunkanstalten eine ganz besondere Rolle. Die Förderung von Medienkompetenz steigert nicht nur die Fähigkeit im Umgang mit den verschiedenen Medien, sondern vor allem auch die allgemeine Handlungskompetenz und trägt dazu bei, Kinder und Jugendliche zu gesellschaftlich handlungsfähigen Individuen zu entwickeln.')

⁶⁷ ('bietet den Eltern wichtige Informationen zum kindgerechten Einsatz des Internets in der Familie')

⁶⁸ ('Online meint für KiKA: Zukunft. Die KiKA-Website ist mehr als Programmbegleitung, sie ist Kinderbegleitung, ist Bildungsauftrag. Der Kinderkanal muss Kinder ans Internet heranzuführen.')

⁶⁹ ('sicheren Online- Umfeld')

⁷⁰ ('kindersicheres Umfeld')

⁷¹ ('geschützten Umgebung')

⁷² ('Kinder einen geschützten Raum für ihre Netzaktivitäten benötigen')

⁷³ ('Kinder- und Jugendschutz')

⁷⁴ ('für die Eltern ist das natürlich eine unglaublich große Sicherheit, weil die sagen, Facebook, ja wer weiß, was mein Kind da macht und auf was es trifft. Ja und diese ganzen anderen Communities. Und wenn die aber in die Kindernetz-Community gehen, da haben die Eltern einfach Vertrauen. Und sagen, Naja, das ist ja der SWR, also die werden uns ja da nicht irgendwelche Daten entlocken. Weil die haben ja einen Datenschutzbeauftragten.')

⁷⁵ ('Bündelungs- und Vernetzungsfunktion')

⁷⁶ ('kinder.ARD.de, BR Kinderinsel, ARD Checkeins, SWR Kindernetz.de und ZDF Tivi wie kika.de eine sendungsübergreifende und bündelnde Funktion haben')

⁷⁷ ('führt der Intendant des MDR aus, dass "kikaninchen.de" als "Online-Dachmarke" für öffentlich-rechtliche Vorschulangebote fungieren solle, indem es auf die Vorschulangebote aller Rundfunkanstalten (ARD und ZDF) verlinke.')

⁷⁸ ('Die weitere Verzahnung der Telemedienangebote mit dem linearen Programm als ein wesentlicher Bestandteil der Entwicklungsarbeit von KiKA wurde fortgesetzt und vorangetrieben. Ziel ist es, Kindern den Zugang zu öffentlich-rechtlichen Medienangeboten auf allen für Kinder relevanten Plattformen zu ermöglichen')

Original Quotes - Chapter 9

¹ ('Wir kommen aus der klassischen Medienwelt, die organisiert war und nachwievor maßgeblich organisiert ist in den beiden Kategorien Fernsehen und Radio [...] Und die Entwicklung in das Internet hinein und im Internet ist lange Zeit eine nachgelagerte gewesen, eine die anfänglich [...] so wie ein Annex war. Und natürlich aufgrund der gesamten digitalen Entwicklung und konvergenten Entwicklung mehr und mehr Bedeutung erlangt [...] Aber [...] man darf sich nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, dass die bestehenden Strukturen und die Welt aus der wir kommen, und die Konzepte, die dort galten, im Denken und Entwickeln auch von konkreten Programmen [...], nachwievor eine sehr prägende Rolle spielen. [...] Und das führt dazu, dass genau so etwas, nämlich [...] von der multimedial von der Zielgruppe her gedacht, oder nur noch allein vom Schwerpunkt des Inhalts her gedacht, so ein Ding noch nicht angegangen wird, sondern urwüchsig aus den Teilmedien und dann zunehmend in Form einer Verknüpfung und Vernetzung hin zu einem multimedialen Gesamtangebot')

² ('Vorzeigeformate') ('Vorzeigeprojekte')

³ ('Highlightprojekte') ('Priorisierungsprozesse')

⁴ ('auf politisch-demonstrativen, legitimatorischen Ebene')

⁵ ('Sonntagsreden')

⁶ (jeder sei 'für das Kinderfernsehen', so wie jeder 'für den Frieden' und eine 'saubere Umwelt' sei)

⁷ ('Man fragt sich, ob die Leute, die da an den Stellen sind, ob für die das Priorität hat. Das hat es offensichtlich nicht oder offenbar die Jahre nicht gehabt.')

⁸ ('ist das Thema am Ende wahrscheinlich auf der Intendanten-Ebene erstmal noch nicht so hoch angesiedelt, dass man da sagen würde: OK, das braucht eine Gesamtstrategie für alle Angebote, auch für alle Gemeinschaftsanstalten und explizit dann auch da den Kinderkanal')

⁹ ('lohnt der Aufwand für die kleine, relativ überschaubare Zielgruppe')

¹⁰ ('Es gibt zwar Kinderprogramm, aber das wird immer [...] weniger, ist mein Eindruck. Und deswegen hat auch das Thema Kinder nicht so eine große Lobby, wie man sich die wünschen kann: Dafür gibts ja den KIKA!')

¹¹ ('KI.KA mit multimedialen Zusatzangeboten')

¹² ('wir sind kein bimediales Haus, oder multimediales Haus')

¹³ ('KIKA ist ein Fernsehsender immer noch. Versteht sich so, d.h. Fernsehen ist das Kerngeschäft')

¹⁴ ('Fernsehen ist immer noch Leitmedium bei den Kindern. Und ich glaube, das prägt das auch noch ganz stark. Also man kommt da aus einer anderen Tradition. Online wird wichtig, aber ist nicht das Kerngeschäft')

¹⁵ ('Fragen Sie jetzt die Geschäftsführung, wird der sagen, der KIKA ist ein Fernsehsender und Online ist auch wichtig')

¹⁶ ('Es ist davon auszugehen, dass sich der Medienkonsum der Kinder im Zeitverlauf betrachtet weiter vom Fernsehen weg in Richtung Internet verlagern wird')

¹⁷ ('in den Kinderschuhen')

¹⁸ ('in welche neuen medialen Formen man eindringen will, wie man sich gerieren will als Sender [...] muss ich mich heutzutage weniger als klassischer Fernsehsender verstehen oder als Ausspielweg [...] eines klaren Plattformanbieters')

¹⁹ ('dass Internet zukünftig das Leitmedium sein wird, dass im Prinzip sich in den nächsten 10 bis 15 Jahren tatsächlich [...] die Schwerpunktsetzung verändern muss. Derzeit noch nicht. Derzeit kann man immer noch sagen, man ist ein Broadcaster und macht noch den anderen Teil hinzu. Ich glaube aber aufgrund der nun heranwachsenden Nutzer [...] wird sich das etwas verändern')

²⁰ ('Strategisches Ziel des KI.KA bleibt es, Qualitätsmaßstäbe im Kinderfernsehen zu setzen und nicht bloß Wert auf eine hohe Quote zu legen')

²¹ ('Strategisches Ziel des Kinderkanals bleibt es, Qualitätsmaßstäbe im Kinderfernsehen zu setzen')

²² ('größte Vielfalt an Programmarten, Themen und Sendungsformen bieten')

²³ ('Ich behaupte, dass das lineare Fernsehen immer eine Zukunft haben wird, weil seine Nutzung viel einfacher und bequemer ist, da man sich darauf verlassen kann, das Gerät einzuschalten und dann seine Programme gezeigt zu bekommen.')

- ²⁴ ('Gerade Kinder müssen [...] an die neuen Technologien herangeführt werden.')
- ²⁵ ('An Bewährtem festhalten und dort Neues wagen, wo die Zuschauer Innovatives nachfragen oder Veränderungen wünschen – unter dieser Überschrift steht die Konzeption des Kinder- und Familienprogramms in den kommenden zwei Jahren')
- ²⁶ ('Trends und Entwicklungen im Alltag der jüngsten Zielgruppe müssen erkannt und zielstrebig in Programminnovationen umgesetzt werden, damit sich das Publikum nicht anderen Anbietern zuwendet oder in neue Technologien und Auspielwege ausweicht und sich damit den öffentlich-rechtlichen Programmleistungen dauerhaft entzieht.')
- ²⁷ ('Die älteren Kinder sollen sich so mit dem Programm auseinandersetzen können, wie sie es auch mit Myspace oder Youtube und digitalen Portalen tun')
- ²⁸ ('Das Leitmedium der Kinder ist immer noch das Fernsehen, aber es ist unstrittig, dass das Internet zunehmend an Bedeutung gewinnt. Es geht nicht so sehr um ein Mehr bei den Online-Angeboten, sondern um die Qualität')
- ²⁹ ('es gibt nicht das Kinderangebot der ARD')
- ³⁰ ('schon relativ weit')
- ³¹ ('dass das Kinderprogramm ja relativ ausgelagert ist')
- ³² ('Basis-, Begleit-, erweitertes Angebot, integriertes Angebot')
- ³³ ('Wir werden im nächsten Jahr ein Technikdepartment ausgründen. Es ist sehr ungewöhnlich, dass in einer Redaktion, die sich eigentlich im Inhalte kümmert, auch eine sehr starke technische Kompetenz gibt. Da werden wir einen Extrabereich in der Redaktion ausgründen')
- ³⁴ ('Redakteure, eine Medienpädagogin, eine Grafikerin, da haben wir hier noch einen Techniker, so dass wirklich unterschiedliche Kompetenzen einfach an einem Produkt arbeiten')
- ³⁵ ('Onlineredakteur')
- ³⁶ ('TV-Redakteur')
- ³⁷ ('Techniker')
- ³⁸ ('Grafiker')
- ³⁹ ('Medienpädagogin')
- ⁴⁰ ('Befüllung')
- ⁴¹ ('Projektleiter [...] Online-Redakteur, TV-Redakteur, Grafiker')
- ⁴² ('Menschen in Bewegung')

Original Quotes - Chapter 10

- ¹ ('Altenheim der EU')
- ² 11 Mio. 0-14 year old children (13,4% of the population), 11,96 Mio. children under 16 (14,6% of the population)
- ³ 10.8 Million 0-14 year olds (17,5% of the population), 11,549 Million under-16-year-olds (18,69 % of the population)
- ⁴ ('In den zehn Jahren des Bestehens des Kika ist die Zielgruppe Kinder durch den Geburtenrückgang um mehr als zehn Prozent gesunken')
- ⁵ ('gerade in England ist es, scheint es mir anders zu sein')
- ⁶ ('mein Eindruck ist, der Kinderbereich hat nicht so eine große Lobby wie es andere Themen haben')
- ⁷ ('das Thema Kinderfernsehen als solches, ich glaube, das ist ein relativ gesetztes Thema inzwischen')
- ⁸ ('ist es überall anerkannt, dass es das gibt, wird nicht mehr in Frage gestellt')
- ⁹ 'Riesenthema in der Diskussion'
- ¹⁰ ('ich halte das eher für ein Zeichen der Gleichgültigkeit')
- ¹¹ ('Man ist froh, dass man den Kika hat.[...] Der ist sehr erfolgreich')
- ¹² ('da fehlt uns einfach die Unterstützung, die Lobbyarbeit')
- ¹³ ('war extrem schwer')
- ¹⁴ ('Mit der öffentlichen Debatte, mir fallen die Vorteile ein, mir fallen aber auch gleich die Nachteile ein')
- ¹⁵ ('der primäre Anknüpfungspunkt ist immer das Bundesverfassungsrecht hat gesagt, nachgelagerte Regulierung hat das und das festgelegt und deshalb muss das so sein.

Daraus erwächst aber keine Legitimität, sondern die nachhaltige fortdauernde Legitimität erwächst schlicht und einfach daraus, dass wir unsere Gesellschaft insgesamt und ihren Vertreter [...] vermitteln, wir sind fortdauernd bedeutsam. Gleichzeitig verstehen wir aber, dass sich die Rahmenbedingungen verändern, was bedingen kann, dass auch wir uns auch innerhalb dieser Rahmenbedingungen ein Stück weit verändern müssen und anpassen müssen.)

¹⁶ ('Argumentationshilfen [...] um der Kritik an der ARD- Digitalstrategie entgegenzutreten') ¹⁷ ('Man muss grundsätzlich feststellen, dass Deutschland kein sehr kinderfreundliches Land ist. Die Realität steht in krassem Gegensatz zu den Sonntagsreden, in denen es immer heißt: Die Kinder sind unsere Zukunft. Aber wenn es ans Eingemachte geht, wenn ein Spielplatz in Stand gehalten werden soll, dann ist kein Geld da. [...] Und es lässt sich eins zu eins aufs Fernsehen übertragen.')

¹⁸ ('Phantomkrieg')

¹⁹ ('dass es ein Thema ist und dass es irgendwie eingebracht wird' [...] ohne dass ich jetzt von vorneherein an eine Person denken würde oder an sowas wie einen Verband. So in der Fachliteratur, da ist es schon ein Thema. Und es ist auch bei unseren Medienforschern [...] ein Thema')

²⁰ ('In dem Sinne gibt es schon eine Lobby. Aber [...] ob das dann sich in Geld auszahlt oder in den Möglichkeiten, die du dann hast zu produzieren, das ist noch eine andere Frage. Dass das gesehen wird, ist schon klar. Aber es muss sich ja auch Ausdrücken in Geld')

²¹ ('Man fragt sich, ob die Leute, die da an den Stellen sind, ob für die das Priorität hat. Das hat es offensichtlich nicht oder offenbar die Jahre nicht gehabt. Das ist auch ein Fakt, also Kinder haben in unserer Gesellschaft einfach nicht den Stellenwert, den hatten sie einfach noch nie. Kinder, alte Menschen das ist das selbe [...] Also kleine Kinder, alte Menschen haben keine Lobby')

²² ('Für Kinderangebote nicht. Also man hört nichts [...] Der KIKa ist sehr beliebt, es gibt aber jetzt keine merkliche Lobby, dass ich jetzt sage, ich lese da viel in der Presse für das Kinderprogramm. So ist es nicht. Aber auch gar nichts dagegen. Im Gegenteil. Also der Aufschrei, wenn man da was kürzen würde, der würde dann kommen. Also dann, glaube ich schon, dass da was kommt. [...] Sowas wie die Maus oder Löwenzahn, das sind so Kulturgüter, [...] da würde sich keiner trauen, was zu sagen. Also ich glaube, das ist so ur-öffentlich-rechtlich, das Kinderprogramm, dass man da gar nicht, glaube ich, drüber diskutieren muss offensichtlich. Weil es gibt keine Diskussion darüber')

²³ ('demokratische Prinzip der Repräsentanz bezogen auf den Dialog mit den gesellschaftlich relevanten Gruppen')

²⁴ ('Hat nicht eine große Rolle gespielt. Hat nicht eine große Rolle, man freut sich, dass es [the children's provision] gibt, [...] ist unproblematisch. So wurde das irgendwie gesehen. Aber ich kann mich nicht erinnern, dass [the children's provision] oft auf der Tagesordnung gestanden hätte')

²⁵ ('Also ich weiß nicht, ob das so sinnvoll ist, das quasi so rauszutrennen, denn Kinder betreffen ja ganz viele gesellschaftliche Bereiche. Und nachdem wir etwa 50, ja ich glaube über 50 Rundfunkräte, die die unterschiedlichen Bereiche repräsentieren, ist da immer auch der Aspekt Kinder auch mit dabei. Ein spezielles, einen speziellen Rundfunkrat der jetzt ausdrücklich die Kinder promoten würde, würde mir eigentlich gar nicht einleuchten, weil Sie können das gar nicht sinnvoll rauslösen aus den anderen gesellschaftlichen Gruppierungen')

²⁶ ('eine verbesserte öffentliche Darstellung der Gremienarbeit')

²⁷ ('Internet-Präsenz des Rundfunkrats')

²⁸ ('Unsere Diskussionen laufen maßgeblich in Form rechtlicher Kategorien ab, was ist zulässig, was ist nicht zulässig. Nicht was ist im Sinne der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung notwendig und wünschenswert. Und was gegebenenfalls nicht. Und was ist gesellschaftlich, politisch wünschenswert und auch machbar, angesichts allgemeiner Entwicklungen in den Medien. [...] sie findet in Form von Grabenkämpfen statt. Nicht in Form von Diskussion entlang des ggf als gesellschaftlich notwendig Erachteten unter gegebenen und sich verändernden Rahmenbedingungen, sondern aus bestehenden Schlachtordnungen und Grabensystemen heraus wird aus Besitzstand und Interessenwahrung bei Veränderungen von außen [reagiert]')

²⁹ ('Da läuten natürlich die Alarmglocken und diese Meinungsauseinandersetzung, die

manchmal fast ideologische Auseinandersetzung, wird wieder massiver.')

³⁰ ('nicht die Absicht ist, auf einer redlichen, ich sag mal intellektuellen Ebene oder auch medienpolitischen Ebene einen Sachverhalt an sich zu diskutieren')

³¹ ('nicht denken dürfen')

³² ('ich das Gespräch nicht führen kann, weil ich sofort mich angreifbar mache für die Konkurrenz. Das ist doch das Problem. Und das hat damit zu tun in der Tat, dass das - und ich weiß auch nicht, warum das so ist, aber es ist nun mal so - die Medienpolitik im Sinne von Gestaltung durch Politik vermintes Gelände ist und so verbarriadiert ist, durch die unterschiedlichen Beteiligten, dass wo immer Sie mal eine Tür aufmachen, sofort ganze Kohorten reinkommen und Schreckliches tun.')

³³ ('Das ist doch eher ein Thema was auf den Medienseiten stattfand. Dann eher in so einer geschlossenen Gruppe geblieben ist.')

³⁴ ('dass es sich hier nicht um eine offene gesellschaftliche Debatte handelt, sondern in weiten Teilen um eine eigeninter[e]ssegeleitete „Kampagne“ der deutschen Zeitungsverleger, die dem öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunk in gewissem Umfang das grundgesetzliche Recht zur Weiterentwicklung absprechen möchten, da sie selbst Probleme mit der digitalen Medienrevolution haben')

³⁵ ('Die Diskussion über die Medienentwicklung in Deutschland ist eine zutiefst legalistische. Wird geführt in Form von Paragraphen und Gesetzen und rechtlichen Konzepten und nicht im Sinne von medienspezifischen - im weitesten Sinne - gesellschaftlichen, durch die Entwicklung von Demokratie angeleiteten und und und Konzepten. Ich glaube das ist ein grundsätzliches Problem')

³⁶ ('auch die akademische Diskussion ist weitestgehend juristisch')

³⁷ ('Unsere Diskussionen laufen maßgeblich in Form rechtlicher Kategorien ab, was ist zulässig, was ist nicht zulässig. Nicht was ist im Sinne der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung notwendig und wünschenswert. Und was gegebenenfalls nicht. Und was ist gesellschaftlich, politisch wünschenswert und auch machbar, angesichts allgemeiner Entwicklungen in den Medien. [...] sie findet in Form von Grabenkämpfen statt. Nicht in Form von Diskussion entlang des ggf als gesellschaftlich notwendig Erachteten unter gegebenen und sich verändernden Rahmenbedingungen, sondern aus bestehenden Schlachtordnungen und Grabensystemen heraus wird aus Besitzstand und Interessenwahrung bei Veränderungen von außen [reagiert]')

³⁸ ('Aber Kinderfernsehen kann nicht erwachsen und somit Medienpolitik werden.')

³⁹ ('Die eigentliche Frage nach der publizistischen Substanz von ARD und ZDF in den Hauptprogrammen und in der Fernsehproduktion selbst gerate völlig aus dem Blickfeld, wenn man sich "hingebungsvoll mit der Relevanz irgendwelcher Kikaninchen-Websites" beschäftigt')

Original Quotes - Chapter 11

¹ ('komplexen Verantwortlichkeiten') ('unübersichtlich')

² ('Nicht-Linearität zu organisieren und intuitiv und ergonomisch zugänglich zu machen, ist immer viel schwieriger als ein Programm an einem schlichten Zeitstrahl auszurichten. Bei letzterem ist die Komplexität viel geringer, deshalb aber auch die Funktionalität; was gesendet ist, ist weg, was ich verpasst habe, habe ich für immer verpasst.')

³ ('Um von der Linearität des Programms der Nichtlinearität einer Multiplattform zu kommen, das ist die wesentliche Herausforderung. D.h. das sind inhaltliche Entscheidungen, technische Entscheidungen, strukturelle Entscheidungen [...] die dort zu treffen sind')

⁴ ('nicht der Riesenumbruch, der immer unterstellt wird')

⁵ ('natürlich auch ein langwieriger Prozess [...] beim Fernsehen')

⁶ ('Ich finde es eher fast in Teilen zu langsam, weil auch ganz viele Regelungen im Hintergrund getroffen werden müssen, um überhaupt irgendwelche technischen Lösungen auch bedienen zu können.')

⁷ ('Es setzt schon ein Umdenken ein, nur die Mühlen des Öffentlich-Rechtlichen mahlen sehr langsam. Aber das wäre eigentlich ganz schön, also auch für die Kinder noch viel mehr Zusatzinfos zu bieten, Zusatzmöglichkeiten im Netz')

⁸ ('dass sich die Rahmenbedingungen verändern [...] was bedingen kann, dass auch wir uns

auch innerhalb dieser Rahmenbedingungen ein Stück weit verändern müssen und anpassen müssen. Und diese Schlussfolgerungen werden natürlich intern diskutiert und auch extern diskutiert. Aber der Nachvollzug im Sinne sinnvoller Handlungen und Veränderungen bei gleichzeitigem [...] Fortbestehen dessen was notwendig ist, findet im deutschen Kontext ein Stückchen weit unzureichend, etwas zu langsam statt')

⁹ ('nicht unbedingt immer erst solange warten sollten [...] bis [sie] sozusagen durch neue gesetzliche Vorgaben gezwungen sind, bestimmte Dinge zu tun')

¹⁰ ('Eigeninteresse haben, aber auch ein legitimatorisches, kommunikatorisches Interesse daran hätten, den Nachweis zu erbringen [...] dass wir veränderungsfähig sind. Und in der Veränderungsfähigkeit sozusagen unseren spezifischen Dienst dieser Gesellschaft leisten. [...] Aber wie das so ist, in großen schwerfälligen Strukturen [...] geht so etwas nicht so schnell')

¹¹ ('bei allen Fernsehschaffenden erst einmal einsetzen muss')

¹² ('die Neue Welt mit der Alten Welt jetzt zusammenwächst')

¹³ ('vor allem das redaktionelle Arbeiten ist eine Herausforderung')

¹⁴ ('Also bei uns [...] ist man da ja schon relativ weit, also das hat man ja erkannt, dass man das zusammenführen muss. Aber das liegt so ein bißchen auch an der Natur der Sache. Die Kollegen von TV am Anfang nicht soviel damit anfangen können. Oder die spezifischen Eigenschaften, die man eben in Online immer anderes bedenken muss. Aber das hat sich auch sehr stark geändert. Mittlerweile ist, glaube ich, eher ein Problem, nicht dass nicht die Notwendigkeit gesehen wird, dass man das auch will. Alle wollen das.')

¹⁵ ('In die etablierten Arbeitsabläufe hineinzukriegen, dass [...] Online von Anfang an mit verhandelt und mehr in Richtung Marke gedacht wird, weniger in TV-Format plus Online-Angebot. [...] Das läuft immer besser, und läuft eigentlich in gewissen Teilen schon sehr gut, hängt aber noch sehr an Personen. Also wenn die Personen sehr online-affin sind, dann geht es super. Und wenn sie weniger online-affin sind, dann geht es schwieriger. [...] Insofern sind wir da auf dem Weg, aber der ist noch nicht vollendet.')

¹⁶ ('komplexer Laden')

¹⁷ ('vereinzelt') ('zersplittert') ('zerstückelt')

¹⁸ ('wir sind ganz schön zerstückelt bei der ARD')

¹⁹ ('es gibt viele gute öffentlich-rechtliche Angebote. Was den Angeboten so ein bißchen fehlt, ist so, es ist sehr vereinzelt, sehr zersplittert. Man muss es suchen. Ich glaube den öffentlich-rechtlichen Angebote fehlt so ein bißchen eine gemeinsame Heimat.')

²⁰ ('stärker an Online angedockt')

²¹ ('bei den Fachkollegen zu sitzen')

²² ('weil sie natürlich wissen, das Fernsehen umarmt die Kinder einfach auch ein bißchen stärker als das kleine Radio')

²³ ('Das liegt dann auch an der besonderen Situation des KIKAs, der quasi so eine Art Partnerprogramm ist, in der Verantwortung vom MDR, aber getragen von der ganzen ARD und das ZDF ist auch mit dabei. Das sind halt immer diese deutschen Spezialitäten solcher komplexen Verantwortlichkeiten. Wenn man vom Ausland drauf schauend immer erst mit dem Kopf schüttelt, wo es eine zentralistische BBC natürlich wesentlich einfacher hat. Und wenn dann eben noch Transformationsprozesse hinzukommen, klar, dann wird es unübersichtlich')

²⁴ ('die jetzige Strukturierung sinnvoll ist, da es hier zur Binnenkonkurrenz auf einer mittleren Ebene kommen kann')

²⁵ ('muss ich schon über spezielle interne Kenntnisse der Struktur der ARD verfügen, sonst verstehe ich das nicht, warum es das eine und das andere gibt')

²⁶ ('wahrscheinlich ist es so kompliziert aufgebaut, dass es leider nicht gefunden wird')

²⁷ ('sehr unterschiedlich aufgebaut')

²⁸ ('Diese Mediathek ist ja auch sehr unterschiedlich aufgebaut. Bei manchen sind ganze Sendungen da, [...] bei ganz vielen sind aber immer nur solche Schnipsel da [...]. Was dann ja nicht sehr befriedigend ist, wenn man jetzt als Kind da sitzt')

²⁹ ('wir kommen aus klassischen, jahrzehntelange eingeübten Strukturen, wo hier Fernsehen und da Radio war')

³⁰ ('die bestehenden Strukturen und die Welt aus der wir kommen, und die Konzepte, die dort galten, im Denken und Entwickeln [...], nachwievor eine sehr prägende Rolle spielen')

(‘Teil des Erfolgs’) (‘die stets außergewöhnlich gute und eingespielte Zusammenarbeit der beiden Hauptredaktionen’) (‘direktionsübergreifendes Gemeinschaftsprojekt’)

³¹ (‘koordinieren, was Kindernetz macht und was die BR-Kinderinsel macht’)

³² (‘ARD Kinder- und Familienkoordination, da werden genau solche Fragen besprochen’)

³³ (‘Primär ist es die lineare Befassung, aber [...] mit der Zeit und sozusagen den Anforderungen der neuen vernetzten Welt, ist natürlich das Rüberstreuen in die non-lineare Angebote mehr geworden’)

³⁴ (‘im Redaktionellen ist der Bereich Multimedia ist völlig erkannt und wird sicherlich auch wahrgenommen. Nur im Fokus der Koordinationsfragen ist immer noch zunächst mal, wo spielst du welches lineare Programm, ist sicherlich noch oben auf der Liste und das andere ist nachgelagert’)

³⁵ (‘Wir beschäftigen uns jetzt in unseren übergreifenden Koordinationssitzungen nicht dezidiert sozusagen darüber, was man in 3,4,5 Jahren online dann machen will. Sondern andersherum wird ein Schuh draus. Du generierst Angebote, linear zunächst einmal, und sagst dann, wie schaut die korrespondierende optimale Verwertung auch online aus. Um dann die Zielgruppen zu erreichen, die du vielleicht im Kinderprogramm linear nicht mehr ansprichst’)

³⁶ (‘es gibt mehrere Institutionen, die sich mit dem Thema Multiplattformstrategien befassen’)

³⁷ (‘Verästelung [...] das macht schon [member of AG Multiplattformstrategie]’)

³⁸ (‘Das ist tatsächlich ein Thema, da sind wir dran. Weil es in der ARD eine Arbeitsgruppe gibt, die nennt sich auch direkt Arbeitsgruppe Multiplattformstrategie. Da werden genau diese Fragen untersucht. Da wird genau gesagt, also wie stellen wir uns eigentlich an welcher Stelle auf. Ist das nachvollziehbar, ist das transparent, was wir da machen. [...] Und das streut jetzt auch letztendlich in alle Koordinationen rein’)

⁴¹ (‘Auch in Zukunft wird dies voraussichtlich kein Thema der AG Multiplattformstrategie sein, da es nicht zu ihrer Beauftragung gehört, sich um Kinderangebote zu kümmern. Sie ist für übergreifende, nicht redaktionelle Fragen eingerichtet. Sie ist für übergreifende, nicht redaktionelle Fragen eingerichtet. Über die Kinderangebote kika.de, Check Eins auf DasErste.de wird in der Fernsehprogrammkonferenz gesprochen’)

⁴³ (‘Es gehört nicht zum Zuständigkeitsbereich der ARD Onlinekoordination, die Onlineangebote (oder Telemedien) für die ARD zu koordinieren, da es überhaupt kein „ARD-Kinderangebot“ gibt, das gemeinschaftlich finanziert wird’)

⁴⁴ (‘Für die Koordination der Kinderprogramme [...] ist der Familienkoordinator zuständig.’)

⁴⁵ (‘quer übers Haus verteilt’)

⁴⁶ (‘KIKA ist dort aber nicht Mitglied’)

⁴⁷ (‘Der MDR vertritt hauptsächlich dann auch seine Interessen’)

⁴⁸ (‘Ich würde mir auch gerne mehr ARD-Kollegen am Tisch wünschen’)

⁴⁹ (‘Ich finde es [...] sinnvoller, wenn man direkt [ARD colleagues], wenn die mit am Tisch wären. So hat [the CheckEins colleague] auch immer vermittelnde [Aufgabe], weil [the CheckEins colleague] über Dinge spricht, die [the CheckEins colleague] auch selber gar nicht macht. [the CheckEins colleague] weiß dann vom [one federal broadcaster], was die so tun, und bringt das dann mit, aber das [...] wäre besser, wenn derjenige auch gleich am Tisch säße’)

⁵⁰ (‘einer besseren Verschränkung des Ersten mit KiKA’)

⁵¹ (‘Doppelstrukturen bei den Telemedienangeboten’) —

⁵² (‘primäre Hausaufgabe ist erstmal der lineare Bereich. Ganz klar, hängt auch damit zusammen, dass die Häuser z.T. ihre ganz eigenen Strukturen haben. Und nicht überall das mit einander verwoben ist’)-

⁵³ (‘wir versuchen - das ist eine Hausaufgabe, die wir uns jetzt schon für den Relaunch gesetzt haben, die Verlinkung attraktiver zu gestalten. Momentan ist sie nicht attraktiv. Weder bei uns noch beim KIKA. Also auch die KIKA-Seiten, die zu uns linken, sind nicht schön und nicht kindgerecht. Und das wollen wir eigentlich ändern. Gleiches gilt auch für die Mediathek. Also auch da wollen wir die Mediatheken besser miteinander verkoppeln.’) -

⁵⁴ (‘qualitativen gesellschaftlichen Mehrwert’)

⁵⁵ (‘wahrscheinlich ganz praktische, lebensnahe Gründe’)

⁵⁶ (‘Lieblingssendungen und Protagonisten’)

⁵⁷ (‘da müsste eine Entscheidung eher TopDown gefällt werden und da glaube ich, ist das

Thema am Ende wahrscheinlich auf der Intendanten-Ebene erstmal noch nicht so hoch angesiedelt, dass man da sagen würde: OK, das braucht eine Gesamtstrategie für alle Angebote, auch für alle Gemeinschaftsanstalten und explizit dann auch da den Kinderkanal. Aber das ist eine Vermutung. Das ist Spekulation')

⁵⁸ ('Die haben es schon einfacher insofern, weil [...] das ist ihr Kanal und bei uns haben wir diesen Zwitter KIKA, der es halt ein bißchen schwierig macht')

⁵⁹ ('Kind') ('Geburstwehen')

⁶⁰ ('ARD und ZDF [...] die Eltern vom Kinderkanal')

⁶¹ ('Elternschaft')

⁶² ('das Kind von beiden')

⁶³ ('Elternschaft')

⁶⁴ ('Wunschkind - allerdings mit Hintergedanken')

⁶⁵ ('Rivalitäten')

⁶⁶ ('Also es geht auch viel gut zusammen, aber es gibt eben auch immer Punkte, wo es reibt. [...] Ja, wie es in einer Familie ist, sagen wir ganz oft so, also das Kind wird erwachsen und stellt Forderungen')

⁶⁷ ('Das ist immer schwer, das immer so ganz mit einem Satz zu beantworten. Ich kann es insofern beantworten, dass der Kinderkanal sehr wohl ein Teil der Gesamtstrategie von ARD und ZDF ist. Und damit nachgelagert sozusagen auch die Online/Multiplattformstrategie dann auch eine Rolle spielt. Dass es jetzt ganz konkret sich ein Schwerpunkt auf diese Multiplattform [...] beschreiben [liesse], dass man sagt, man versucht da jetzt schon eine konkrete Strategie dazu zu entwickeln, das ist wenn überhaupt erst in den Kinderschuhen. Also es ist erkennbar, dass sich auch da Arbeitsgruppen bilden, Zusammenschlüsse dann hergestellt werden, um genau diese Fragen dann auch mal zu beleuchten. Aber das ist noch in den Anfangstagen')

⁶⁸ ('jetzt legt man sehr viel Wert auf diese Elternschaft, wo das herkommt')

⁶⁹ ('war früher nur KIKA, und jetzt heißt es immer "von ARD und ZDF"')

⁷⁰ ('im Politischen')

⁷¹ ('Gebührenfinanzierung rechtfertigen, das macht man in dem man transparent macht, dass dies ein Gebühren finanzierter Kanal ist, sodass Eltern gerne die Gebühren bezahlen')

⁷² ('wo zahlt eine Marke auf welche Online-Plattform ein')

⁷³ ('das Problem ist, dass das Kinderprogramm ja relativ ausgelagert ist. Es gibt keinen Pay Off für [die Rundfunkanstalt] so richtig, weil das Kinderprogramm, was [die Rundfunkanstalt] macht und was auch sehr erfolgreich läuft, ist KIKA dann. Das zahlt auf den KIKA ein und nicht so viel auf [die Rundfunkanstalt]. [...] Das ist ein bißchen unser Dilemma, dass man nicht sagt, Hey das ist ja [die Rundfunkanstalt]')

⁷⁴ ('wenn ihm ein allzu enges regulatorisches Korsett umgeschnürt wird, das ihn in seiner Handlungs- und Entwicklungsfähigkeit erheblich einschränkt')

⁷⁵ ('Ich glaube, das ist vor allem ein politisches Interesse, die Kräfte, also ich sag mal die Bedürfnisse zwischen ARD und ZDF sind sehr unterschiedlich. Das ZDF, das ist ein sehr zentralistisch geführtes Unternehmen, da ist es relativ einfach, bestimmte Haltungen abzufragen. Bei der ARD rede ich nicht mit einem, ich rede mit 7 oder 8 und jeder hat unterschiedliche Interessenslagen. D.h. die ARD lässt sich nur ganz schwer händeln und auf einen Nenner bringen, da gibt es einfach unterschiedliche Bedürfnisse. Und das spiegelt sich dann auch in den Angeboten wieder')

⁷⁶ ('ein spezifiziertes und differenziertes Angebot [...] ausgewählte Sendungen')

⁷⁷ ('Damit schafft der KI.KA gebündelt einen direkten Zugang zu allen öffentlich- rechtlichen Kinderangeboten und bietet somit Orientierung')

⁷⁸ ('Es gibt aber derzeit keine strategische Entscheidung von ARD und ZDF, dass es nur noch kika.de als zentrales Portal gibt')

⁷⁹ ('Ich finde das klasse, dass [the broadcaster] so etwas macht. Ich finde das absolut lobenswert, vorbildlich. Ja! Und von daher finde ich, das soll auch laut gesagt werden')

⁸⁰ ('wir haben eine AG Online, um uns solchen Themen zu widmen, da sind aber die Interessenslagen wirklich sehr unterschiedlich. Der BR hat für sich die Entscheidung getroffen, Kinderangebote egal was [...] ist KIKA. So, und die wünschen sich ganz viel [von KiKA]. [...] Also muss man ein Mittel finden [...] die Ansprüche und die Bedürfnisse sind hoch.

Aber wenn wir z.B. den WDR nehmen, der WDR hat ein ganz anderes Interesse. Der hat eigene Kinder, der verfolgt eine andere Politik. Die haben ein Bekenntnis zum Kinderprogramm, das ist sehr stark. Und das wird auch glaube ich im Moment nicht in Frage gestellt. Die sagen eher, Nee wir machen unser eigenes Ding [...] wir wollen nur in Link [...] mehr wollen wir nicht. Also d.h. [...] unterschiedliche Partner mit unterschiedlichen Ausrichtungen. Und entsprechend findet sich das natürlich im Angebot wieder')

⁸¹ ('eine Erfolgsgeschichte')

⁸² ('auch etwas verbindendes')

⁸³ ('das liegt uns so am Herzen, diese Sendung. Und wir haben gar kein Geld und was können wir jetzt daraus machen? Und jeder trägt dann seinen Teil dazu bei. Die Grafik, die Technik, die Redakteure, und alle bringen ihre Kompetenz ein und erschaffen dann selber ein Produkt. Das ist ja ganz klar, dass das ganz anders daherkommt')

Original Quotes - Chapter 12

¹ ('Im Prinzip sei die Idee der Überprüfung des öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunks nicht falsch, aber die konkrete Implementierung begünstige nur Juristen und Unternehmensberater')

² ('Man stirbt bei diesen Verfahren aus Langeweile. Alle guten Ideen überleben oder sterben an dem Punkt, wo man sie umsetzt oder nicht. Und ich habe so viele gute Ideen sterben sehen, weil die Leute es letztlich vor lauter Verzögerung nicht mehr ausgehalten haben')

³ ('Freundlichkeiten') ('Verwaltungsarbeit')

⁴ ('Kollateralschaden')

⁵ ('da haben wir nun irgendwo ein paar Jahre hinter uns gebracht, wo wir uns mit Telemediengesetzen und all diesen Freundlichkeiten beschäftigen müssen, die da viel Arbeit machen und viel Verwaltungsarbeit aber auch gemacht haben. Und da hat man im Grunde jetzt eine klare Rechtsposition und die muss man halt einhalten')

⁶ ('Ich muss das doch akzeptieren, was soll ich denn machen. Wenn das erstmal der rechtliche und gesetzliche Rahmen ist, in dem wir uns bewegen müssen, dann müssen wir es halt eben tun. Dann bleibt uns ja nichts anderes übrig.')

⁷ ('wir haben das natürlich hausintern ist das intensiver diskutiert worden. Aber nur wir können uns ja nicht über die gesetzliche Vorgaben hinwegsetzen. Die sind halt nun mal da.')

⁸ ('Wir sind der Auffassung, dass diese Forderung des Gesetzgebers insgesamt dem Wesen des Internets widerspricht. [...] Eine weitere Ausdifferenzierung der Negativliste würde [...] da man sich z.B. immer darüber streiten kann, wo ein Genre beginnt und wo es endet – zu einer Multiplizierung der unbestimmten Rechtsbegriffe führen, also zu mehr Unklarheit.')

⁹ ('ein mehr deutsches Problem war')

¹⁰ ('der Beihilfekompromiss ist ja in guten Teilen in seiner Verschärfung eine Folge der deutschen Diskussion, der deutschen Innenpolitik gewesen, weniger als EU')

¹¹ ('Dass wirklich der BBC diese Funktion zugemessen wurde [to "Build Digital Britain"], das hat es in Deutschland nie gegeben, sondern wir erleben immer nur misstrauisches Beäugen, ob der öffentlich-rechtliche Rundfunk nicht zuviel tut. Und dann möglicherweise Behinderungen [...] die Rundfunkgesetzgebung, die dem Beihilfekompromiss mit der EU folgte, hat ja postuliert - dass viele Inhalte nur sieben Tage im Netz stehen bleiben dürfen, was zur Folge hatte, dass die Sender [...] 80% ihrer Seiten depublizieren mussten - also dieses spezielle Wort, alleine daran kann man sehen, wie groß die Unterschiede sind')

¹² ('Gesetzgeber')

¹³ ('schafft der Gesetzgeber aber einen theoretischen Begriff')

¹⁴ ('in der vom Gesetzgeber vorgesehenen Eigenständigkeit')

¹⁵ ('Grenzen gesetzt')

¹⁶ ('Der Gesetzgeber sagt, sie können die neuen Verbreitungswege nutzen, aber das Angebot muss zunächst einmal in der herkömmlichen Produktionsform bereits bestehen. So. Sonst können Sie es nicht machen. Außer Sie gehen dann her und sagen, ja da muss man die Telemediengesetze ändern wieder ändern')

¹⁷ ('der Gesetzgeber möchte ja am liebsten das genau auf eine Folge zugeschnitten haben den Sendungsbezug')

¹⁸ ('der Staatsvertragsgesetzgeber [...] beabsichtigt')

¹⁹ ('Gesetzgeber eindeutig [...] im Auge gehabt')

- ²⁰ ('Privilegierung durch den Gesetzgeber')
- ²¹ ('respektieren die ARD-Landesrundfunkanstalten den Willen des Gesetzgebers')
- ²² ('eine komplexe Geschichte')
- ²³ ('auch ganz klar um Wettbewerbsfragen')
- ²⁴ ('zusätzlichen Streit mit den Verlegern [...] Bildungsverlage usw.')
- ²⁵ ('Ich glaube auch nicht dass das irgendeinem Zeitungsverleger jetzt geholfen hat, was wir da alles gelöscht haben. [...] das war ja mit ein wesentlicher Punkt, dass die Zeitungen und die privaten Rundfunkanbieter dort geklagt haben.')
- ²⁶ ('da gab es ja auch diese Vorstöße von der privaten Filmwirtschaft und all die und auch von Konkurrenten, die einfach gesagt haben, Hoppla! War natürlich auch mit Auslöser in dem Fall. Wenn ihr plötzlich irgendwelche Dinge da macht online, die überhaupt keine Entsprechung im Linearen haben, dann steht ihr da in einer großen Konkurrenzsituation und dann wollen wir das nicht.')
- ²⁷ ('da fängst du halt irgendwelche Dinge [...] da können sie spielen und so, da hat es nix mit der Sendung zu tun. Und in dem Moment ist es klar, in dem Moment ist es justitiabel')
- ²⁸ ('Jedem dem das öffentlich-rechtliche System am Herzen liegt, der muss dafür sein, dass es einen effektiven Dreistufentest gibt. Denn so unendlich viele Chancen haben wir auch nicht. Das System muss irgendwann gesellschaftlich stärker rückgebunden werden, weil ansonsten irgendwann mal ein drastischer Totaleinschnitt dann irgendwann kommen müsste.')
- ²⁹ ('Die ARD-Landesrundfunkanstalten sehen in der Darlegung dieser Anforderungen und der Durchführung des Dreistufentests auch eine Chance, sich selbst über programmliche Inhalte und Standards zu vergewissern, die publizistische Relevanz der eigenen Angebote öffentlich darzulegen und letztlich so die Akzeptanz für diese Angebote zu erhöhen.')
- ³⁰ ('der Wille zur Reform [...] das ist nur der erste Schritt, dass es sozusagen in einem Test von außen verankert wird, genauso wichtig ist, dass es als eine Managementtechnik nach innen angewendet wird')
- ³¹ ('nicht unbedingt immer erst solange warten sollten [...] bis [sie] sozusagen durch neue gesetzliche Vorgaben gezwungen sind, bestimmte Dinge zu tun')
- ³² 'Wir stehen vor der großen Gefahr hier eine weitere Chance zu verpassen.'
- ³³ ('Verwaltungsarbeit')
- ³⁴ ('Rechtssicherheit')
- ³⁵ ('bei der breiten Öffentlichkeit kommt das ja auch nicht an') [...](('Zeitungsverleger')
- ³⁶ ('Es war ein Riesenaufwand, diese Telemedienkonzepte zu schreiben, alles im Detail zu beschreiben. Das ist da, ok, das ist gut. Ich treffe relativ wenig Leute, die das dann auch dann jemals gelesen haben, oder die das auch mal zur Kenntnis nehmen. Also, insofern klar. Transparenz [...] ist völlig in Ordnung. Wir haben das ja auch brav gemacht. Aber ich merke jetzt nicht, dass jetzt, also ich wüsste nicht, dass mich jemals mal angesprochen hätte drauf "Ach, ich habe da in Eurem Telemedienkonzept gelesen, und das wusste ich gar nicht. Und das finde ich jetzt gut, dass ich das jetzt weiß." Oder. Also ist mir nicht passiert. Nee!')
- ³⁷ ('diese Forderung des Gesetzgebers insgesamt dem Wesen des Internets widerspricht')
- ³⁸ ('Wir haben ein Verweildauerkonzept vorgelegt, weil wir das mussten. An einer noch weiteren Ausdifferenzierung einer Vorschrift, die wir für medienuntypisch halten und die einen analogen Begriff (Zeits[t]rahl) bemüht, um eine digitale Entwicklung zu steuern, sind wir nicht interessiert und wir halten das langfristig auch nicht für zielführend. Wir sind der Auffassung, dass man den Nutzen der Gebührenzahler nicht durch Verweildauerbegrenzungen beschädigen soll.')
- ³⁹ ('Hauptthema war Sendungsbezug von Spielen und Verweildauer. Verweildauer, Verweildauer, Verweildauer!')
- ⁴⁰ ('Mumpitz')
- ⁴² ('ausgerechnet diese Sache mit der Verweildauer ein mehr deutsches Problem war und weniger ein EU Problem')
- ⁴³ ('Aber vielleicht fallen die ja mal eines Tages. Also gibt da nicht auf, dafür zu kämpfen, dass man sagt, diese zeitlichen Beschränkungen sind Mumpitz. Aus Sicht der Zuschauer.')
- ⁴⁴ ('wenn man so ein Kind ist mit vielen Eltern mit dem ZDF und mit vielen ARD Anstalten')

- ⁴⁵ ('wir bei der Mediathek wirklich viel aushalten mussten, weil immer Nachfragen kamen, "Warum zeigt ihr die Programme nicht, die anderen [schon]?" Die Fragen kamen, also da musste der KiKA viel aushalten bei der Zielgruppe')
- ⁴⁶ ('Kinderprogramm würden wir bis auf wenige Ausnahmen grundsätzlich unter Bildung subsumieren das heißt da gilt eine Verweildauer von 5 Jahren')
- ⁴⁷ ('Die haben diesen normalen 7-Days-Catch-Up. Wiederum mit der Ausnahme von Hintergrundstücken [...] z.B. so etwas "Wie funktioniert ein Atomkraftwerk?", "Was ist Radioaktivität?", das kann natürlich länger als 7 Tage stehen, weil das ist ja eher "Bildung" zu zuordnen.')
- ⁴⁸ ('auch unabhängig vom Dreistufentest würden Sie ja einen aktuellen Bericht nicht irgendwie wochenlang stehen lassen') ('die Relevanz einer Nachricht einordnen [...] Weil sonst einfach irgendwann niemand mehr durchblickt bei der Fülle der Information')
- ⁴⁹ ('am Nachteiligsten sich ausgewirkt hat, sind wahrscheinlich diese Listen [...] weil sie etwas Statisches haben')
- ⁵⁰ ('freiwilligen Löschkaktionen')
- ⁵¹ ('für die Redaktionen [...] wie es jetzt so schön hieß, das Depublizieren, da hat sich natürlich bei uns geändert, dass wir viele Sachen nicht vorhalten dürfen, nicht länger als ein Jahr, es sei denn sie haben einen zeitgeschichtliche Relevanz. D.h. so etwas wie Rezepte, oder leider auch so etwas wie Ratgeberthemen müssen dann nach einem Jahr offline genommen werden.')
- ⁵² ('das war aber auch keine große Geschichte. Da muss man jetzt keine Träne weinen. [...] die [other public service children's proposition] haben da sicherlich mehr gelitten. Natürlich')
- ⁵³ ('Sendebetreuung')
- ⁵⁴ ('Wir dürfen nur das abbilden z.B. in der Mediathek, was auch tatsächlich im Fernsehen gelaufen ist, da sind wir so etwas Zusatzmaterial angeht, gibt es da konkrete Vorgaben.')
- ⁵⁵ ('schränkt uns der RfStV da auch ein oder gibt uns konkrete Vorgaben, was wir auf Drittplattformen machen dürfen')
- ⁵⁶ ('auf Drittplattformen dürfen wir keinen Exklusivcontent haben vom Staatsvertrag her. Also wir dürfen jetzt keine Filmchen oder so etwas speziell nur für [...] unsere Facebook-Fanpage z.B. produzieren')
- ⁵⁷ ('Angekaufte Spielfilme und angekaufte Folgen von Fernsehserien, die keine Auftragsproduktionen oder Koproduktionen sind, werden nicht angeboten')
- ⁵⁸ ('Wir haben natürlich die Einschränkung, wir dürfen keine Lizenzprogramm einstellen, macht einen großen Anteil aus. Das hat uns auch wirklich wehgetan. Also bevor es den neuen Rundfunkstaatsvertrag gab. Wir haben Verabredungen z.T. mit den Lizenznehmern, die sagen, könnt ihr haben für 7 Tage. Wir dürfen es aber nicht nutzen. Also d.h. da fehlt uns schon einmal ein großer Teil. Wir hatten z.B. die *Glücksbärchis* online, die waren extrem beliebt auch für 7 Tage. Mussten wir dann danach rausnehmen. [...] Das war bevor der RSt, der neue in Kraft getreten ist, 2008 muss das gewesen sein, 2008/2009 so in dem Dreh rum. Da haben wir Rechte, die wir einfach nicht ausnutzen können.')
- ⁵⁹ ('zwei stark bremsende Faktoren')
- ⁶⁰ ('Wir mussten Spiele rausnehmen, weil Sendungen [...] nicht mehr ausgestrahlt worden sind. Das war eigentlich der eigentliche Grund. Ansonsten haben wir unsere Spiele wirklich immer so gebaut, dass wir die Charaktere und die Themen aus den Sendungen genommen haben. Jetzt der Gesetzgeber möchte ja am liebsten das genau auf eine Folge zugeschnitten haben den Sendungsbezug. Auf einen konkreten Ausstrahlungstermin')
- ⁶¹ ('nach dem Drei-StufenTest dürfen wir ja keine Spiele mehr machen, die nur fürs Vergnügen sind [...] Also das reine Vergnügen dürfen wir nicht mehr')
- ⁶² ('zwei klitzekleine Spielchen gelöscht, wo keine Sendungsbezug herstellbar war')
- ⁶³ ('gerade bei *Bernies [Hörreise]* [...] wir haben eh nicht so viel Spiele. Und das ist wirklich mal was Sinnvolles. Und dann muss man das rausnehmen. Also das ist schon schwer zu verstehen')
- ⁶⁴ ('wir müssen ja immer sehr stark schauen, gab es eine Sendung dazu. Und dann können wir dazu etwas anbieten. [...] Jetzt haben wir quasi das Recht das wieder für ein Jahr online zu lassen')

- ⁶⁵ ('natürlich hätte ich mir gewünscht, dass in dem spielerischen Umgang, in dem gerade Kinder und Jugendliche an das Netz gehen, Spiele in einer größeren Breite möglich gewesen wären')
- ⁶⁶ ('Dieser Staatsvertrag ist sehr kompliziert, in vielen Fällen auch sehr interpretationsfähig')
- ⁶⁷ ('Diese Angebote präsentieren wir weiter vor allem im TV. KIKAninchen.de ist die dazugehörige Onlinebegleitung')
- ⁶⁸ ('Unsere Aufgabe ist immer genau zu einem TV Angebot das Online-Angebot zu konzipieren')
- ⁶⁹ ('die Programmbegleitung des Kinderprogramms im Netz')
- ⁷⁰ ('Ich glaube, da ist auch eine gewisse Schwierigkeit wirklich, dass Online-Angebote im öffentlich-rechtlichen Bereich auch rein programmbegleitend sein müssen')
- ⁷¹ ('Der [Sendungsbezug] spielt überhaupt keine Rolle in Bezug auf die Telemedienangebote der ARD (und des ZDF), da alle als nicht sendungsbezogene Angebote genehmigt wurden. Der Sendungsbezug ist nur im Hinblick auf Einzelschriften der Negativliste relevant (Ausweisung von Spielen)')
- ⁷² ('die meisten Spiele bei uns sind auch in dem Sinne Lernanwendungen. Da lernen die Kinder auch was. [...] Wobei man da immer sagen muss wo fängt das Spiel an wo hört die Lernanwendung auf? Das ist sicherlich noch einen Diskussion, die wir dann in den nächsten Jahren irgendwann führen. [...] Also ein Quiz sowieso, weil ein Quiz ist immer eine Wissensabfrage, insofern ist das für mich ganz eindeutig. Aber auch andere Spiele, weil [...] auch wenn es was mit Geschicklichkeit zu tun hat, lernen die Kinder darüber erst einmal den Umgang mit der Maus. Weil auch das ist ja was , das nehmen wir so selbstverständlich , aber das ich mit der rechten Hand was bewege und da am Bildschirm dann was passiert, diese Übertragung, die muss ja erst mal erlernt werden')
- ⁷³ ('wir dürfen Spiele ja nur anbieten, wenn sie einen Sendungsbezug haben. Das ist ja die Negativliste beim Telemediengesetz. [...] Auch wenn sie pädagogisch wertvoll sind sozusagen. [...] Der [broadcaster] ist da vielleicht strenger. [...] Es gibt die Negativliste im Telemedienkonzept und dort steht explizit Spiele mit nur mit Sendungsbezug. Und daran sind wir gebunden')
- ⁷⁴ ('Ein Spiel zeichnet sich dadurch aus, dass Unterhaltung und Zeitvertreib im Vordergrund stehen. Liegt bei spielerischen Elementen der Schwerpunkt auf der Informations- und Wissensvermittlung, ist nicht von einem Spiel auszugehen. Spielerische Elemente stellen einen wichtigen Bestandteil von Kinderangeboten dar')
- ⁷⁵ ('Weniger Sendungsbezug als Programmbezug')
- ⁷⁶ ('Jetzt der Gesetzgeber möchte ja am liebsten das genau auf eine Folge zugeschnitten haben den Sendungsbezug. Auf einen konkreten Ausstrahlungstermin.')
- ⁷⁷ ('Das ist so eine Art Interpretationsfrage eher, die oft an uns herangetragen wird. Wo wir dann sagen, nehmen Sie Beispiel Roary, der Rennwagen. Roary, der Rennwagen, der fährt in jeder Sendung ein Rennen gegen die anderen Rennwagen oder erlebt irgendwelche Abenteuer. Wir haben auf der Internetseite ein Spiel, wo man gegen Roary ein Rennen fahren kann. Was soll ich denn da als konkreten Sendungsbezug angeben? Gebe ich jede Folge an? Das ist doch Quatsch. Ist das der letzte Ausstrahlungstermin der Folge? Weil es ist wirklich in jeder [vorkommt]')
- ⁷⁸ ('Kokoksnuss-Spiel')
- ⁷⁹ ('weder war das pädagogisch besonders hochstrebend noch hatte es einen Sendungsbezug, da haben wir es halt rausgenommen')
- ⁸⁰ ('Haltungsfrage')
- ⁸¹ ('Gerade auch das Vorschulthema war doch ein großes Reizthema. Da viele natürlich auch gesagt haben, gibt es überhaupt ein bedarf in der Gesellschaft. Brauchen Vorschulkinder ein Internet, sollten die nicht lieber gar nichts mit den neuen Medien zu tun haben? Und da galt es natürlich bei uns immer wieder Überzeugungsarbeit zu leisten')
- ⁸² ('wir haben alle den selben Staatsvertrag, warum müssen wir uns da so knebeln lassen und die anderen nicht? Und ich glaube, das ist wirklich, hat auch viel damit zu tun wie der Rundfunkrat quasi seine Funktion ausübt. Wie streng oder wie locker das gehandhabt wird')
- ⁸³ ('Kontrollgremium')
- ⁸⁴ ('Kleinteiligkeit, ja Detailversessenheit')
- ⁸⁵ ('Wie viele Tage dürfen welche Inhalte ins Netz? Was ist programmbegleitender, was

originärer Onlineauftritt? In welchen Programmkategorien dürfen welche Inhalte wie und wie lange online angeboten werden? [...] Dabei ist doch eins wirklich wesentlich: Wo bleibt da eigentlich noch der publizistische Wettbewerb, der für den Beitrag des öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunks zur deutschen und europäischen Medienkultur doch der maßgebliche Faktor ist?')

⁸⁶ ('sind jetzt nur die großen. Also zB die Sendung mit der Maus wird nicht explizit ausgewiesen. Und die Online-Angebote des Hörfunks, da gibt es ja auch eine Menge, die sind dann eher in den Hörfunk-Angeboten mitbeschrieben, die haben nicht unbedingt einen eigenen Test gemacht, so wie wir das getan haben. Auch, glaube ich, das Kindernetz vom SWR war Bestandteil des SWR Angebotes und ist da quasi mitgenommen worden, während der KIKA schon als eigener Sender explizit dargestellt worden ist. Auch das Kinderangebot des ZDF ist im ZDF mitgenommen')

⁸⁷ ('eine extreme Anstrengung')

⁸⁸ ('einfach nicht akzeptabel')

⁸⁹ ('Man braucht einen langen Atem')

⁹⁰ ('so ein Test ist innerhalb von einem halben Jahr zu machen, das halte ich nicht für realistisch so wie er im Moment aufgebaut ist und mit den Erfahrungen, die wir gemacht haben')

⁹¹ ('knebeln lassen')

⁹² ('Als die Verhandlungen und der Dreistufentest eingeführt wurden, da ging es ja auch um das Verweildauerkonzept. Also wie lange dürfen Online-Videos zB online stehen? Da war das Haus, das Justizariat sehr, sehr stark für uns. Also wir haben z.B. anders als der KIKA, die ja wirklich für jeden Pups andere Verweildauer haben, mal drei Monate, mal 6 Monate, mal 7 Tage, wir haben eine generelle Verweildauer von 2 Jahren für alle unsere Inhalte. [...] Da habe ich schon gemerkt, dass das Haus sich sehr stark macht, für das eigene Kinder-Angebot. Um nicht in diesen Albtraum 7 Tage, 3 Monate, 6 Monate, 9 Monate, 12 Monate, irgendwie so, sondern einfach zu sagen, Das ist wichtig, Kinder haben ein Recht da drauf. Wir wollen das Maximale rausholen, 2 Jahre!')

⁹³ ('wie der Rundfunkrat quasi seine Funktion ausübt')

⁹⁴ ('ehrenamtlich-tätige Menschen')

⁹⁵ ('das Problem mit dem Dreistufentest in Deutschland ist, dass natürlich, um bemessen zu können, ist denn ein bestimmter neuer Dienst gemäß Auftrag oder auch nicht, die Gremien ja Kriterien entwickeln müssen. Und diese Kriterien sind natürlich am Ende qualitative Kriterien. Und natürlich machen sie sich damit Gedanken über "Wie sollte denn das Programm denn sein und gestaltet sein, um gemäß Auftrag zu sein')

⁹⁶ ('die Kontrollgremien in eine Position zu versetzen, in der sie oder aus der sie heraus, Einfluss auf die inhaltliche Entscheidungsfindung nehmen könnten, dann, für meine Begriffe, wird das ganze Konstrukt in Frage gestellt werden')

⁹⁷ ('wir haben jetzt den Fakt, so wie es ist, und ich glaube, man muss einfach lernen, dass man bestimmte Dinge von einander entkoppeln muss. Weil wir im Fernsehprogramm in anderen Genehmigungsprozessen stecken, die wesentlich kürzer sind als [für] das Onlineangebot')

⁹⁸ ('Nach Auffassung des Rundfunkrats wäre eine noch stärkere Anpassung des Verweildauerkonzepts an kindliche Bedürfnisse wünschenswert gewesen. Dies kommt auch in den Stellungnahmen des Kinderschutzbundes, wonach Kindernachrichten länger als sieben Tage vorgehalten werden sollten, oder [...] die Verweildauer für Magazine, Reportagen, Dokumentationen zu kurz sei, zum Ausdruck')

⁹⁹ ('mittelfristig eine Harmonisierung der Verweildauerkonzepte innerhalb der KI.KA-Angebote, aber auch der öffentlich-rechtlichen Kinderangebote insgesamt angestrebt werden sollte. [...] Im Zuge der für kikaninchen.de und KI.KAplus geplanten Evaluierung wird sich der MDR-Rundfunkrat erneut mit dieser Thematik befassen')

¹⁰⁰ ('Überarbeitung des Dreistufentestverfahrens')

¹⁰¹ ('das Problem der Verweildauern')

¹⁰² ('Wiederholungen für Kinder')

¹⁰³ ('wir jetzt machen ist ein Youtube-Kanal einrichten. Das sehen wir jetzt als nicht so problematisch an, dass wir da den als Teaser-Kanal benutzen')

Original Quotes - Chapter 13

¹ ('aktuellen Programmierstandards wie Flash')

² ('moderner Programmiermethoden wie Flash')

³ ('Das war einfach dringend notwendig. Also unsere vorhergehende Seite war nicht mehr zeitgemäß und der Relaunch und der Refresh, neues Design, war einfach notwendig.')

⁴ ('immer noch das bildstärkste und emotionalste Medium für Kinder')

⁵ ('Das ist [...] auch noch so und da weiß ich auch nicht, wie schnell sich das wirklich ändert. Also weil wir merken, dass TV z.B. jetzt für Online immer noch [...] der treibende Kanal ist. Wenn wir Experimente machen, [...] also da kam eine Sendung im Herbst und wir haben schon im Januar, Februar angefangen mit einem Online-Angebot. Wir haben auch einen [...] Produktions-Blog, wie die Sendung entsteht. Das war kein Erfolg, also keiner hat die Sendung gesucht. Keiner hatte eine Bindung an die Marke. Also es war schwierig')

⁶ ('es ist sehr stark nach den Sendeterminen ausgerichtet. Also [...] am Wochenende sehr hohe Klickzahlen eben durch die Sendungen am Vormittag')

⁷ ('es gibt Sendungen, die das standardmäßig integrieren [...] es gibt immer noch Sendungen, die es nicht machen. Die einfach auf Online gezielt hinweisen, oder der Moderator es auch erwähnt, Geh zu [a broadcaster's children's website]! Das sind eigentlich die effektivsten Hinweise.')

⁸ ('kann man auch deutlich sehen, dass das in den Ferien weniger abgerufen wird, als zu Schulzeiten. Also ist auch eindeutig, das sind Informationen, die die Kinder einfach für die Schule dann auch benötigen')

⁹ ('es ist so, wenn Superwetter ist und Schulferien, habt ihr auch ein Problem, weil da sind auch die Kinder draußen. [...] Entweder gucken die Leute fernsehen und gehen dann auf [a broadcaster's children's website] oder sie sind sowieso nicht am Fernsehgucken und gehen raus')

¹⁰ ('Das Angebot an Chats und Foren im Rahmen der ZDF-Telemedien ist programmbegleitend und wird redaktionell eng betreut. [...] Die Redaktion prüft innerhalb von 48 Stunden alle Fo-renbeiträge auf Beleidigungen, Verleumdungen und grundsätzlichen Regeln der Netiquette. Chats werden redaktionell moderiert. Zur Zeit arbeitet dazu ein Team von freien Mitarbeitern unter Leitung von zwei Redakteuren im Schichtbetrieb und betreut nicht nur die Online-Angebote des ZDF, sondern auch den speziell für Kinder und Jugendliche konzipierten tivi-Treff.')

¹¹ ('community, die ist jetzt im Moment z.B. noch nicht so erfolgreich, also jetzt von den Nutzerzahlen gemessen und von den Zugriffen. Aber ich denke, es ist ein wichtiger Beitrag auch das zu haben und im Portfolio zu zeigen, wir bieten für verschiedene Altersgruppen und verschiedene Bedürfnisse eben was an.')

¹² ('Das könnten wir alleine auch gar nicht leisten, denn dazu benötigt man viele Partner, z.B. in der Industrie, um eine kritische Masse zu erreichen, damit ein solches Angebot wahrgenommen wird')

¹³ ('Arbeitsaufwand')

¹⁴ ('gewisse Aktionen auch schwer möglich macht')

¹⁵ ('Also es ist eine Herausforderung definitiv. Wir müssen für alles das Einverständnis der Eltern uns abholen. D.h. für jeden Fotowettbewerb, für jeden Videowettbewerb, [...] dann müssen wir wirklich von jedem, bevor wir das Bild veröffentlichen, und da sind 20 Kinder drauf, dann müssen wir wirklich von 20 Eltern die Einverständniserklärung. Deshalb machen wir solche Aktionen eigentlich nicht mehr, oder bzw ganz ausgewählt. Das gleiche gilt für die Community. Wir haben eine anonymisierte Community, nicht mit Echtnamen, die Kinder können keine Fotos von sich hochladen, die Eltern müssen immer bestätigen, [...] bevor es in die Community kommt')

¹⁶ ('man kann erstaunlich gut von diesen Unterschriften erkennen, ob ein Kind zwei Unterschriften gesetzt hat, oder ob es wirklich eine Elternunterschrift ist. Wir haben auch Telefonnummern, in kritischen Fällen rufen wir an und fragen, haben Sie das wirklich unterschrieben. Also das funktioniert seit 2004 extrem gut. [...] Die Hürden sind relativ hoch, dafür ist sie auch eine der sichersten in Deutschland')

¹⁷ ('neue technische Lösungen kommen irgendwann')

¹⁸ ('einen geschützten Raum schafft für Kinder und für Eltern')

¹⁹ ('ich denke auch, dass wird die Zukunft sein [...]. Also gerade Vorschule, [...] weil das

meistens läuft ja vormittags oder zu irgendwelchen Zeiten, wo normalerweise Kinder gar nicht gucken können. Und da finde ich ist so ein geschützter Raum im Netz, das wäre total wichtig. Und ich hoffe sehr, dass die Öffentlich-Rechtlichen sich da aufmachen, quasi solche Kanäle zu schaffen')

²⁰ ('in dem Sinne, dass Kinder dadrin sind und können gar nicht raus und woanders hin, das nicht')

²¹ ('gutes Programm, oder keine Angst haben müssen über zuviel Werbung oder alle möglichen solche Dinge, also inhaltlich')

²² ('Wir haben Kindersendungen auch in der DasErste-Mediathek, und die werden auch über die DasErste-Mediathek eingespeist, allerdings ist da ja auch immer die Gefahr, dass sie von dem einen Tigerenten-Bande-Video dann die Tagesschau sehen und das [...] auch kein kindersicherers Umfeld ist. Deswegen haben wir CheckEins auch so losgekoppelt quasi. Man kommt über die Navigation [...] zu CheckEins.de [...] Aber von CheckEins.de kommt man als Kind [...] nicht so leicht zurück')

²³ ('es war eine ganz klare Vorgabe, dass die Kinderinhalte nicht in der ZDF-Mediathek auftauchen dürfen aus Kinder- und Jugendschutzgründen')

²⁴ ('Insofern hat man sich aus diesem Grund dazu entschieden, zwei getrennte Mediatheken zu machen. Und so können die problematischen, für Kinder problematischen Inhalte immer in der ZDF-Mediathek sein. Und die Kinderinhalte sind getrennt davon.')

²⁵ ('wir sagen, Ok wir haben da eigentlich unserer schönen, unseren eigenen Walled Garden aufgebaut. [...], d. h. wir können vom Online-Angebot, über den Chat, das Forum, über Video on-demand, eigentlich alles anbieten, was wir als wichtig empfinden, dass man Kindern anbieten müsste. Und wollen Dopplungen vermeiden. D.h. wir wollen eigentlich schon, insofern eine klare, strikte Trennung haben, damit wir nicht Doppelstrukturen aufbauen, d. h. [another broadcaster] macht dann nicht auch noch eine Community, nicht auch noch ein Forum zu [a children's series], wenn es bei uns schon eins gibt. Oder [another broadcaster] streamt nicht auch noch [eine Kinderserie], wenn wir das schon tun. Oder macht nicht auch noch ein Online- Angebot, wenn wir eines haben. Das entlastet uns gegenseitig, spart Doppelarbeit.')

²⁶ ('es sind ja nicht nur die Kinder selber, sondern es sind ja auch die Eltern, wo wir merken, dass die zunehmend ratlos sind, und dass immer wieder, wenn sie das Kindernetz entdecken, die Eltern sagen, "Ja, ist das toll, dass es sowas gibt"')

²⁷ ('Wahrscheinlich sind die Rechte dann da noch nicht geklärt. Also wir haben z. B. jetzt den Fall wieder. Die Serie [a children's series] läuft ab nächste Woche wieder. Und die 2. Staffel läuft da, die haben wir komplett in der Mediathek. Und [...] die 1. Staffel, die ist noch ein bißchen älter, die haben wir wiederum nicht. Also das ist wirklich auch noch so eine Rechtefrage.')

²⁸ ('Beim KIKA kann ich es mir nur so erklären, [...] dass das auch wieder die Rechtefrage ist. Dass sie auch wieder nicht alles abbilden können, weil die ja auch sehr viele eingekaufte kleine Kindersendungen haben.')

²⁹ ('hat was mit Rechten zu tun')

³⁰ ('viel offensiver damit umgehen kann, weil eben die Rechte ergänzend zum Linearen ganz anders verhandelt wurden')

³¹ ('Nicht zu allen Programmen, die es linear gibt, gibt es VOD-Rechte, also fehlen Inhalte. Das kann man aber nicht denen vorwerfen, die Mediatheken anbieten.')

³² ('[the children's department staff] haben viele Rechte für die Online-Mediathek, aber [the children's department staff] haben nicht die Kapazitäten dies einzustellen [...] Für Redakteursarbeiten bleibt dann keine Zeit mehr, wenn alle Redakteure nur noch Daten in Systeme tippen, dann machen die nichts Schönes mehr, und keine Projekte mehr und keine redaktionellen Tätigkeiten')

³³ ('eine Herausforderung, die Messungen der Online-Sichtungen')

³⁴ ('Unterschiedliche quantitative „Währungen“ für die Mediennutzung in Deutschland')

³⁵ ('für so ein kleines Spartenprogramm, für so eine kleine Sendestrecke wie für [the branded children's slot] schon ganz spannend, wenn man das noch mitdazurechnet')

Appendix II – Interviewees

Interviews Germany

number	position
D21	senior producer, online, ARD
D22	senior producer, online, ARD
D23	senior producer, online, ARD
D24	senior producer, television, ARD
D25	senior producer, television, KiKA
D26	senior producer, online, KiKA
D27	senior policy executive, ZDF
D28	senior producer, online, ZDF
D29	senior policy executive, ARD
D30	senior producer, online/television, ZDF
D31	former broadcasting council member
D32	senior policy executive
D33	senior producer, online, ARD
D34	senior research executive, ZDF
D35	senior producer, online, ARD
D36	broadcasting council member

Interviews UK

number	position
UK51	senior producer, online, BBC
UK52	senior producer, online/television, BBC
UK53	senior producer, online, BBC
UK54	former senior producer, online/TV, BBC
UK55	senior producer, online/television, BBC
UK56	senior policy executive, regulatory body
UK57	senior producer, online, BBC
UK58	representative civic group
UK59	senior research executive, BBC

Fieldnotes Germany

number	position
D01	conversations with current and former senior producers and executives, independent producers, senior policy and research executives; ARD/ZDF, regulatory and governance institutions
D02	
D03	
D04	
D05	
D06	
D07	
D09	
D10	
D11	
D15	

Fieldnotes UK

number	position
UK08	conversations with current and former senior producers and executives, independent producers, senior policy and research executives; BBC, regulatory and governance institutions
UK12	
UK13	
UK14	
UK16	

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