

Children, Television and the New Media

*A Reader of Research and Documentation in
Germany*

Edited by Paul Löhr and
Manfred Meyer

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Address: Bayerischer Rundfunk
Internationales Zentralinstitut
D – 80300 München

Telephone: +49 89 5900 2140

Fax: +49 89 5900 2379

E-mail: IZI@brnet.de

Homepage: www.izi.de

Head: Paul Löhr

Series Editor: Manfred Meyer

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Faculty of Humanities

University of Luton

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Luton

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Telephone: +44 (0) 1582 743297; Fax: +44 (0) 1582 743298

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Children's television in transformation? Something is going on in children's bedrooms¹

Ben Bachmair

It is apparent that children's television has begun to move in Germany: *Der Kinderkanal* (children's channel), a joint effort of the ARD and ZDF, and Nickelodeon as well as further two digital children's channels on DF1 'in the background' are signalling fundamental changes. How is all that to be assessed? Children's programmes, broadcast round the clock so to speak, are, of course, something many had wanted,² not least to provide children with an appropriate and reliable service at viewing times that best suited them.

But there are still some open questions, which point more to long-term changes. How, for example, is the development of thematic channels to be judged? Is it not more a case of the children's channels, as the pioneers of this development, speeding up this fragmentation of television as we know it? Will the beleaguered children's sector not result in new genres, which, although they comply with the children's viewing behaviour – mquick comic and video mixtures without any comprehensible narrative sequence, banal series, indiscreet chat-shows, embarrassing playback shows with children – tend to worry thoughtful adults?

Susanne Müller, the experienced head of the ZDF's Department for Children's Programmes and the ZDF's co-ordinator for the public service *Kinderkanal* already mentioned, believes, irrespective of this development, that in the end 'nothing is really new' that is appearing all over the place on the TV screen for children. What is changing and with what momentum? In summer 1997 media scientists and programme producers met at Kassel University to discuss these problems at a workshop on the current situation of children's television.³ The aim was to sound out how programme offers for children, their reception and integration into their everyday life change, and into which general development children's television is integrated.

The following argument on this: the familiar form of television is undergoing a transformation, which can be seen from the change in the organisation (full programmes vs. thematic channels), from new genres, from the integration of television into multimedia arrangements and from the recipients' new patterns of viewing behaviour (eg zapping). Probably the dynamics of mass communication as a whole are changing.

Responsible for all this is both technological and the cultural development. Thus multimedia are resulting from the overlapping of computer, telephone and screen media. At the same time media and objects of consumption are becoming sources of everyday aesthetic symbolism which are becoming increasingly important for social cohesion and /or the demarcation of social environments.

The dynamics can be recognised by the examples of children's television or children as the target audience of television. Since children's television – with its move towards thematic channel structure – is currently changing and at the same time much attention is being paid to the relationship of children and television, children's television and children as television users are obvious indicators of the further development of television and mass communication. Simultaneously, as the development of the media changes so does the cultural framework of reference of and for childhood.

How can the dynamics of change be approached by reasoning? Hans-Dieter Erlinger (1995) has documented the history of children's television as part of the special research area and in doing so given priority to a systematic study and ordering of the programmes offered. Because market and cultural dynamics have intervened in the relationship between man and the media, television is also being developed by its users.⁴ So how far, to ask quite pointedly, is television already integrated into individual media and event arrangements? Both children's bedrooms and music scenes and their styles are opening our eyes to this development and showing how the new form of mass communication will function.⁵

1. Children's bedrooms – a typical example of subjective media and event arrangements

If we visit 9-year-old Jonas in his room our eye is immediately caught by two posters hanging above his bed. One shows the heroes of the year and the other the *Power Rangers*. Of course, there are many more things as well: dinosaurs, a collection of minitoys from chocolate eggs and little toy figures from McDonald's. Asked about the posters, he begins to talk:

Interviewer (I): And who are those characters in the posters?

Jonas (J): Those in the poster are the heroes in 1996.

I: And what is that?

J: Well, these are, these here, for example, all heroes and these two are the silliest, they are the Undertakers.

I: And who are they?

J: Oh, they fight with each other. They throw each other on the ground till one is knocked out. Then they sort of jump onto the man's stomach and so on.

I: I see. And you find that silly.

J: Yes. I don't like that very much. And I have seen, I've seen a film with Hulk Hogan. He was a bit brutal as well, but only a bit. I watched him at grandma's. Yes. And then I think they're all good.

I: You watch more television at grandma's than at home, then?

J: I suppose I do.

I: And who is that? *Power Rangers*?

J: Yes. Actually I wanted to go and see the film at the cinema, but then it was sold out, and then I got a poster from my parents. And I bought that from Limit (magazine for 8- to 12-year-olds, published by Ehapa. ed.). That's *Power Rangers* as well.

I: And what do they do?

J: Well, they fight for what's good, fight monsters and that sort of thing.

I: I see.

J: And they are sort of one-eyed moles.

I: They look funny. Where do they live then?

J: They live high up somewhere, on a huge mountain. But here they are wearing masks. So that's only the suit. Without it they look much better. Yes. And he's just joined them because they needed help, and he, I've forgotten what he's called, their leader, brought him into the territory and gave him a suit and weapons.

I: Did you see that on television?

J: Yes, I often see it on television. Well, that's not coming any more. But I often used to see it on television.

I: Tell me some more about it.

J: Yeah, well, what can I say, well, these two are really dumb, they pretend to be stupid, and then they went to visit the baddies, and then they fought for them, but then they turned stupid again and then they went away. Yes. And that's all I know really.

I: But you like it, don't you?

J: Yes. I look at other series, like *Captain Planet* and...

I: And which series do you like best?

J: Um, well, let me think about that. I like *Power Rangers* best actually. Yes. 'Cos the others are always series with painted, they're all painted. This is real. They're real things, real figures.

I: With proper actors?

J: Yes. I can't say any more about the *Power Rangers* actually, because that's all I know about them.

I: Do you like boxing as well, because there's a boxing poster hanging up there?

J: Hm. Yes. It's not very good, but I like Henry Maske more. I have another poster of him here, but it's lying down there.

I: And in this heroes picture? They aren't just sportsmen, are they?

J: No. Well, these three are sportsmen and those three as well and those aren't, they make films, sort of action films.

I: Do you know a film they take part in?

J: No, not really. Well, I did see a bit of one once. By Arnold Schwarzenegger, but I was only allowed to look at it for a bit. And

otherwise I only have this one here, it's new, but I've known Sylvester Stallone for some time.

I: And what do you know where Sylvester Stallone has taken part?

J: Well, I only know one *Terminator* film, and I have another by him, I don't know when his birthday is, I have another sort of poster with him on it, and yes, and then I have a small picture of him. And of others as well. Of the *Power Rangers* as well. And of a wrestler as well and...

I: So you're fond of Sylvester Stallone?

J: Yes. I've got a picture of him too. And of the footballers as well. Yes.

I: And why do you like Sylvester Stallone?

J: Yes, because, well, I can't really describe it, because he makes good films. Well, better than, er, Arnold Schwarzenegger, because in his films there is always someone dead at the beginning and with him it always takes a bit of time. I've found out from my parents that he made a film and nobody died in it. It was a kind of quiet film.

I: But you've never seen one of his films, or have you seen one?

J: Hmm (*shaking head*). They're all for children over 12.

(Interview and research conducted by Anke Piotrowski and Britta Albrecht.)

Jonas uses the two posters to order and assess films and series. What is astonishing is his statement at the end of this part of the conversation on Stallone and Schwarzenegger, who for him merge into the same type of man and whose films he has never seen. So with the aid of the posters he orders not only his primary film experiences, but also, and in the same thematic context (strong, wild men), the secondary hearsay experiences. Only when asked does he distinguish between primary and secondary experiences ('They're all for children over 12'). The two posters supply him with the metalevel so that he can occupy himself with the media that are presumably thematically relevant for him. He can talk about these media after he has ordered them according to his assessment.

He begins with a genre classification, heroes and *Power Rangers*. The heroes poster lists figures from the area of sport. He formulates straightaway as an introduction that the wrestling stars the Undertakers and Hulk Hogan are problematic in sport ('...and these two are the silliest, they are the Undertakers'; '...Hulk Hogan. He was a bit brutal as well, but only a bit'). For brutal Hulk Hogan, who fits into the genre of sport far better than the weird figure of the Undertaker, he has even looked for somewhere where he is undisturbed and yet safe watching them, at his grandmother's.

Besides the Heroes of the Year there is a poster of the *Power Rangers*, which he obviously prefers. It is true, he does not explain the relationship between the heroes and their sport context and the *Power Rangers*. (Probably it is the fighting, and perhaps also the transformation motif in *Power Rangers* and wrestling.) He does, however, make some distinctions in the case of the *Power Rangers*: cinema and television version, the fight between good and evil as part of the plot, scene of the action, figures and

their clothing. In spite of his detailed knowledge (eg the fantasy area with the huge mountain/the two idiots from that part of everyday adolescent life, the 'normal level' of adolescents' everyday life that belongs to the transformation in the *Power Rangers*), he plays his cards close to his chest when the interviewer wants to hear more. He then corrects the idea that the heroes poster shows not only sportsmen but also a mixture of prominent sportsmen and action actors.

This short excerpt from the conversation only comes about because he has hung up posters to help him to condense primary and secondary media experiences thematically and in doing so to sound out genres for their structure and connections. Out of the posters planned as merchandising products he makes a 'primary medium'⁶ for himself with an integration and reflection function that is important for him. He connects the two posters, with nothing in common apart from merchandising, in his subjective, thematic perspective. Hanging up the two posters is certainly also possible from the genre perspective. Personal themes (fighting, men...) plus genre programmes certainly make it advisable to hang both these posters on the wall.

What does Jonas do when he hangs up posters and thinks about them? It is qualitatively certainly something different from media reception. In his room Jonas arranges media like the posters and much else besides, adds his media experiences to them as a reflective performance and in this way mixes for himself a kind of 'text of his own' which he explains in the interview with the help of the objects in his room.

Further on in the interview he reports on, for example, his SuperNintendo and the games he has to play on it. Thus he relates that he vies with older boys on who has the most games. But he also borrows games from them. Then he sits down on his bed-settee and fetches one soft toy after the other that are lying around on his bed. He has, as he says, twenty of them, which he all calls by the name he has given them, with the exception of the lion. Finally he shows a Tyrannosaurus rex which he has begun to build with his father. To do this he has a building kit. But he also has a happy families card game with dinosaurs. It is only the film he has not yet been allowed to see. Part of Jonas's textual arrangement made up of the games, media and leisure-time pursuits are, of course, also his clothes, with which he maybe shows how important sport and also his music style (Michael Jackson or rap) are to him.

So what the media market has to offer children like him he arranges to fit his own room. The room is his form of appropriation and organisation, for both objects and experiences.⁷ He allocates them their place, and can then, as with a text, bring out the elements of his media arrangement by way of explanation. In relation to television experiences, the secondary media of the posters are already in the textual form in which they can be lexically called up and evaluated.

2. 'Formation of meaning' as the essential dynamics of mass communication

Jonas's bedroom becomes a personal text which is fed out of the symbolic sources of our society and which at the same time also functions as a medium of communication. If this statement is generalised, one arrives at Pierre Bourdieu's (1991) insight into symbolic forms⁸ which in a society make possible and structure the social organisation of classes and strata, today new social forms of integration and demarcation. In the logic of symbolic forms our society is beginning to change, increasingly more than with the hitherto familiar mechanisms of political and large-scale industrial measures. Thus culture is given a decisive function, although no longer in the categories of education or advanced civilisation, but in those of everyday aesthetics.

Everyday aesthetics is, so to speak, the generic term or the metalevel which functionally unites the symbolic sources of our society. Gerhard Schulze (1992) has systematically given the reasons for and empirically explained this cultural dynamics in his book *Die Erlebnisgesellschaft* (the experience society). In his context, 'functionally' means: as life-world components (*Lebensweltbausteine*) of subjective arrangements of media, goods and events which may assume, for example, the form of a child's bedroom.

When the relationship between man and the media changes, new models are required to explain it. A concept like that of the formation of meaning (Bedeutungskonstitution) reacts to the novel ways of integration and fragmentation of our society.⁹ 'Multimedia' and 'individualisation' are the key terms for this in the on-going public discussion. Thus at present it can be seen that television will lose its function as a leading medium. A look back at cultural history puts this in the right perspective by showing that what is happening to television is what radio and various print media have already survived.

What is the course of this development? In democratic industrial societies those 'things' have gained acceptance that promised individual freedom and helped to bring it about. This is a fundamental part of individualisation, in which people shape their individual lives through the experience of consuming, ie of individually disposing and consuming. That is more than shaping the course of one's personal life. What people have to 'provide' today is the construction of a life-world for which they are individually responsible.¹⁰

This construction of a life-world takes place in a perspective of egocentric experience,¹¹ which, in keeping with the trend of economic changes, uses symbolic components. A pair of jeans, for example, defines its practical value not only as an article of clothing, but also as a brand which proclaims thrift or a feeling for quality or association with a style of music. It is in this sense that Jonas uses the space provided by his family to shape his world. In this connection not only do his current life-themes have an essential function in shaping it, but he also turns to members of his

family (action films at his grandma's, dinos with his father) and his friends (cinema, probably the *Power Rangers*, and heroes).

That elements of different media by no means have merely an enrichment function is in keeping with the current trend, namely to achieve free disposal in a complex contradictory world. The media, like commercial quarries, supply, so to speak, the symbolic building material to construct an individual life-world. People's essential and individual achievement in shaping it is here the formation of meaning, namely by individually and meaningfully arranging the very varied array offered by the media. There is maybe a wrestling fan sitting in Jonas's class who thinks Hulk Hogan is 'super' or 'sweet'. The Kelly fans, who would love to go sailing into the freedom of the intact family idyll on the Irish houseboat, show the female specialists of *Caught-in-the-Act* (a very successful boy group band at the moment) their demarcation with, for example, the appropriate prints on their T-shirts. What the media, goods and services offer thus become a symbolic building-block that can be linked up.

At this point it would be advisable to argue formally and to use the term medium with limitations. Media in the trend to integrate multimedia have the function of text-like components which then link people up with their textual arrangements. Thus Jonas uses his room not only as a traditional space in a middle-class home, but he also turns it into a text to attach himself to a social relationship; at the same time he takes his bearings from the guidelines offered by the media and consumption. This is a form of reflexivity in order to make sure (in a post-modern way, so to speak) of social guidelines, contradictions and options, which – in his own individual experience perspectives – is actually 'what it is all about'.¹²

3. On the way to a new model of mass communication

With the key words 'formation of meaning', 'experience orientation' and 'everyday life aesthetics' a history of the theory of mass communication continues to be written which has found it very difficult to look below the simple surface. It is quite enjoyable to leaf through the theoretical recollections of James Halloran (1990) on the Prix Jeunesse research. Thus the first study in 1965 dealt with 'Television experience patterns in children and juveniles'.¹³ It looked at information on television reception by children: What happens in the recipients with the stimuli of television, how do different viewers react to programmes produced for them? This was like the producers' question: 'How do we get the message across?' Only after that was the research question also directed at the programme-makers and 'scrutinised' their 'intentions and assumptions' (Keilhacker 1965, p. 13 f.). In this way the intentionality of a mass communication organised by and with the media was made the focus of attention.

Then the Prix Jeunesse research opened itself up for the complex integration of television into society by asking about the role of television in the socialisation of pre-school children. The viewing behaviour of the

children was not considered in isolation, but in relation to other individuals, groups and sequences. Television was regarded – especially inside the family – as 'one of several connected influences on the development of the child' (Hömborg 1978, p. 14). After that the producers' side of the communication process conveyed by the media was looked at anew: How do the programme-makers see their viewers, their task, their aims? How can they implement their ideas in the broadcasting organisations?

The conceptional development first ran, therefore, over a kind of model of 'influencing' the viewers. It was a matter of measuring the appropriate viewer variables, the aim being also to set up the 'process of influencing' appropriately with regard to the media. Only comparatively late did it become clear that in this way the 'relationship between television and viewer was being taken out of its social context' (Hömborg 1978, p. 25).

Now, at the latest with models of television as a form of social action,¹⁴ the way was also open to a mass communication which, then as now, was beginning to break away from the organisation of mass communication by the media. At that time reception began to guide mass communication.

Today the media are becoming one of many sources of symbols. The charts and audience ratings, hitherto regarded as indispensable on account of their clarity, have in the meantime lost importance as measurements of mass communication, because the 'gravitational poles' of mass communication – media/recipients – have shifted. The reception data are meant to make the pole of 'reception' transparent, since it is the source of the dynamics. To make it clear what is involved here, a model of the formation of meaning that explains this new 'gravitational field' is perhaps quite helpful.

Formation of meaning refers to the central social activity in a culture dominated by the media and consumption. Thus individualised social and cultural activities assume that people individually give their own meanings to media and other sources of symbols. The processes of sensibly shaping the everyday world by the recipients are thus based on individual selection and interpretation of all media or whichever are available or sought after. In the times before television, of course, people in industrial societies in many different ways produced their life-world as their own everyday life and as their own world of interpretation.

The penetration of more and more areas of life by the media and linking media with goods and services by means of advertising is, however, turning, for example, television pictures in all their variants, from film to MTV, into an all-round symbolic building material of the everyday world. This symbolic material is being individually acquired by people, namely

- (a) in the perspective of the course of their own lives and subjective themes;
- (b) related to the existing or desired social environment;
- (c) with the media, related to one another, forming the relevance framework;
- (d) in the perspective of what is arranged in the respective text.

This (a) sensible perspective, (b) concrete social and (c) intertextual formation of meaning is only one functional connection in one's own

everyday occurrences which in the 'reflective risk society' (Beck 1986) means in the last analysis building up and maintaining one's own life-world.

With the categories of the formation of meaning and everyday aesthetics it is possible to imagine a 'new' mass communication of a society based on individualisation. On the basis of children's bedrooms, that may look like an academic exaggeration of simple everyday phenomena. But, as in *Alice in Wonderland*, a complex, new, perhaps also – as defined by Huxley – a brave new world is opening up. Here the sociologists are leading the debate. Ulrich Beck's or Tony Giddens's contributions, especially the idea of reflexivity, are very encouraging. In the contradictions of societal structures, in the construction of a life-world for which individual responsibility has to be taken and in enforced fragmentation, there are also new forms of emotional and rational penetration of what is happening around us, with us and caused by us. The children are certainly showing us quite naturally how to do this.

The public debate, with an eye on technological innovation, is using multimedia as a model, and this looks harmless, but only at first sight. If we take a second look something basically new is revealed – a change of major significance. Fragmentation will, among other things, oust television from its key media function. But before that happens, there are several intermediate stages, namely, within the cultural framework of reference of television among the broadcasters and of watching television among the viewers.

4. From the contradiction between television and subjectivity to the stylistically integrating scripts

The culturally determined fragmentation, from individualisation to multimedia, goes hand in hand with new forms of integration. Such integration mechanisms are emerging in children's culture. The question is now about which new integration mechanisms can already be discerned and how they will shape the development of children's television.

Ever since Philippe Ariès (1978), at the latest, it has become clear that 'childhood' is not a constant, but something that accordingly arises in the dynamics of a society and its culture. Neil Postman (1983) has drawn his theoretical conclusions from this and maintains that a society dominated by television also creates its own typical picture of childhood. He believes that television with an openness lacking any distance or its talkativeness is depriving children of the protective phase of a sheltered upbringing which is important for them, and is exposing them defencelessly to an adult world.

The relationship between children, their culture and television is certainly more complex and is based on mechanisms different from those of disappearing barriers. The Bremen sociologist Heinz Hengst assumes that both children and television encounter cultural lines of development in their activities. Thus subsequent to the age of enlightenment there is a 'middle-class education and development project' which conflicts with an 'autonomy project' and turns 'against helplessness and dependency' and

also against 'the excessive expectations of the middle-class education project' and against the 'childhood constructions determined by the middle-class picture of childhood'. The education project is future-oriented, while the autonomy project is orientated to the present.¹⁵

The market, or the media market, can side with one or the other 'project', more with the educational task or more with supporting the autonomy and independence of childhood. When Nickelodeon links its logo with 'Give children a voice' it is clearly placing itself on the side of the autonomy project – a thought that would have been unthinkable for the various children's hours from the early days of television.¹⁶ Postman's arguments are, in the last analysis, also based on this education project.

The British research project 'Children's Media Culture' by Buckingham, Jones and Kress (1998) looks at the power of television to define the respective ideas of childhood. The ways in which television people or parents or journalists do this are such familiar categories as broadcasting time, viewing duration etc, although questions are once again asked about their cultural content. The findings promise to be interesting, since here it is a matter of using broadcasting routines, time allotted etc to disclose the basic cultural pattern into which children's television has been embedded from the 1950s until today.

What began relatively simply in the early times of television is meant to become transparent in its cultural logic. Thus the broadcasting time is one of the means of social regulation and a way of defining the concept of 'child'.¹⁷ One of these is how the broadcasts intervene in the mother-child relationship. It was thus clear for the BBC programmes in 1956 that young children watched television at home with their mothers. In 1956 children's television was integrated into the programmes for housewives. Children were part of a kind of women's and mothers' time slot in the family organisation. Thus the BBC was broadcasting *Watch with Mother* from 10.45 to 11.00 a.m. in 1956 – and still doing so in 1966. After it there was a station break during midday. As expected, there is no longer a schedule like the one in 1956. The genres regarded and broadcast as suitable for children are also changing analogously.

In addition to the fundamental ideas of children's subjectivity in the 'education' or in the 'autonomy project' that structures childhood, there is, according to Heinz Hengst, a mediation context (Vermittlungszusammenhang) that likewise creates structures. Thus media and consumption companies (Konsumunternehmen) take up everyday trends and connect them with their economic intentions. To this end they condense and generalise everyday events to create 'scripts' which the recipients then also adopt together with programmes, merchandising items, suitably styled clothing or settings for plots, for example, for sports equipment.

Of course, children's television, too, is integrated into this mediatory interaction of 'economic strategies and everyday practices'. Their distinguishing feature is the following: 'The media and consumer industries

process sub-cultural scripts to create 'style packages' for a global audience. In doing so they bring out age- and generation-specific aspects which are put into concrete terms and modified by children on a local level in the circle of their peers.¹⁸ Linking children's culture with sport is typical of this. *Streetball*, for example, is presented as a structure of stylistically integrated body movement, of fashion, sports venues, fan articles and, of course, media as well, from the special interest magazine to the cinema film or advertising.¹⁹

In this way the script *Streetball* (that is or was basketball without a club and fixed rules) came about in dense conurbations as a game of fast movement and continual negotiating. In Germany Adidas, for example, took up the script and marketed it together with regional sports shops and ARD radio stations. Tens of thousands came to 'Streetball Competitions', but in the meantime it is a sport script that is being phased out.

The scripts will probably not only decide on the success of television stations with children, they also function as an important means of integrating programmes. Thus the two children's channels *Nickelodeon* and *Der Kinderkanal* of ARD and ZDF are almost indistinguishable in their orientation to the 'autonomy project'. Whether *Pippi Langstrumpf* or *Pete & Pete*, they always come out on the side of the children. Probably this fundamental common interest of the two channels also provides the motivation to design changeable logos in a creative way. The logos are only very different at first sight: with the common orientation to the subject model of the 'autonomy project' they not only adopt the creativity of their young viewers, but consistently side with the children as creative television viewers. On the basis of the definition of childhood there is no competition whatsoever between the channels.

In the logic of the mediation model it is, however, clear that marketing arguments generalise this creativity and subject orientation to create viewer bonding. The reception orientation of marketing plus siding with the children's independence and individuality leads not only to a clearly recognisable label, which every kind of fashion advertising needs as well, but with the station logos there also arises a new and amusing minigenre.

There are, however, also stylistically recognisable differences, which mark the various main areas when the children's channels are integrated into scripts. That is somehow connected with whether the grannies are meant to enjoy viewing and the young mothers are given the security of not only being present at the 'autonomy project' but also, looking to the future, of doing something for the 'education project' of their children when they choose to watch a children's channel.

Scripts with an emphasis on creativity or tacit educational philosophies lead beyond that to new genres or favour the repeat of old familiar material. Clubs like the *Tigerenten Club*, lifestyle magazines like *Bravo-TV*, talk- or game-shows arise in the 'mediatory connection' of everyday life, media, goods and event venues, which in the marketing strategy offices are always created with their sales value in mind, and which then result in

condensed scripts whose styles and themes fit in with everyday life. Probably, in addition, programme areas that integrate are an important aid on the part of the programmes to adjust to diverse scripts and thus to everyday patterns typical in their themes and styles.²⁰

It can also be foreseen, of course, that the trends in everyday life result in new scripts which from the outset are designed for multimedia. Examples here are *Hugo* on Kabel 1²¹ or the Internet projects of RTL2, ARD, ZDF, Nickelodeon, Kinderkanal etc. Because mediatory connections, especially under the risk conditions of the individualisation of everyday life, are only partially calculable with regard to strategy, there is still much movement remaining in the cultural development of children's television.

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Notes

- 1 The German version of this article appeared in *TeleviZion* 10/1997/2, pp. 13-19.
- 2 Cf. the so-called 'Kölner Thesen zum Kinderfernsehen' (Cologne theses on children's television) in Jacobi and Janowski 1998, p. 17.; Deutsche Bischofskonferenz 1998.
- 3 'Kinderfernsehen im Umbruch I' (Children' television in transformation.), Workshop on June 27-28. 1997; organised by Universität Gesamthochschule Kassel; Internationales Zentralinstitut für das Jugend- und Bildungsfernsehen (IZI), Hessische Landesanstalt für Privaten Rundfunk (LPR Hessen), Chairmen: Ben Bachmair, Paul Lühr.
- 4 Cf. Erlinger 1997, pp. 13 ff. and pp.101 ff.; Bachmair 1996.

- 5 Cf. Bachmair 1997.
- 6 Cf. Moss 1996.
- 7 Cf. Brown *et al.* 1994; Steele and Brown 1995.
- 8 Cf. Bourdieu 1989, 1991.
- 9 Cf. Bachmair 1996, p. 16.
- 10 Cf. Schütz 1974.
- 11 Cf. Schulze 1992.
- 12 Cf. Beck 1986.
- 13 Cf. Keilhacker 1965.
- 14 Cf. Teichert 1973, 1974.
- 15 Cf. Hengst 1996.
- 16 Cf. Hickthier 1995.
- 17 Cf. Kress 1997.
- 18 Cf. Hengst 1997, p 4.
- 19 Cf. Bachmair 1996.
- 20 Cf. Erlinger 1996.
- 21 Cf. Fink 1997.