

Britain's Channel 4

A TV provider caught between private sector funding and its cultural mission

by Gabriele Bock and Siegfried Zielinski

On November 2 1986 the fourth terrestrial channel of British television celebrated its anniversary. Four years previously, it had started broadcasting under the insignia of a computer-animated figure 4 – under close scrutiny from its national rivals as well as specialists from the international broadcasting industry. In an article published in *Media Perspektiven* 4/ 1983, Stephen Hearst, then special adviser to the programming department and subsequently to the director general of the BBC, predicted slim chances of success for this pioneer TV channel. Hearst felt that there were few development opportunities for the new channel, especially given the limited availability of financial and personnel resources (in its first year, there was, on average, a mere £ 30 000 available for each hour of programming). He also felt that the channel's core programming concept was wrong. ("In my opinion, television is too expensive for addressing small minorities, unless it also attempts to capture the interest and gain the favour of a wider public.")

In the recently published Peacock Report, which was primarily concerned with the future funding of the BBC (cf. *Media Perspektiven* 9/1986), one recommendation (which was little more than a footnote) also addressed the funding of Channel 4: "As financial support by the ITV companies shall cease, Channel 4 should, in the future, become self-financing by taking on the selling its advertising slots." (1)

But how compatible with each other are Stephen Hearst's rather sceptical prognosis and the recommendation to leave Channel 4 to the mercies of the free market economy? Is there not – as is often proposed in Germany – an irreconcilable contradiction between TV as a commercial enterprise and the progressive development of TV culture? And if commerce and culture are to be accommodated under the same roof, are they not inevitably in conflict?

The creation of Channel 4

Let's go back in time for a moment. In Germany, few know how Channel 4, a pioneer in the world of television, came into being and how it has since developed. (2) And it is this lack of knowledge that tends to lead to premature calls for importing this 'ideal model' into, for instance, the German broadcasting service.

The Broadcasting Act, passed under the Conservative government in 1980, was the result of an intensive debate during the seventies (which generated some brilliant innovative proposals) about reorganising the British broadcasting landscape: Channel Four Television Company Ltd was inaugurated and – in January 1981 – started preparations for going on air. (3)

Since the mid fifties, UK television has been financed from two sources: the BBC as a public service is financed by the licence fees paid by television

Initial
pessimistic
forecasts for the
future of
Channel 4

Peacock Report:
C 4 is to be self-
funding

Commerce and
art are not
irreconcilable,
are they?

Origin and
development

Dualistic
broadcasting

<p>consumers; commercial television broadcasting, in the shape of the ITV companies, is financed by the sale of advertising. It is important to note, however, that this kind of commercial television is a 'special case' so to speak, i.e. its programming and advertising are under the supervision of a public body, the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), which also gives out licences to private providers.</p>	<p>system</p>
<p>Technically, it has been possible to broadcast on four national television channels since the sixties in Britain. However, having already awarded to the BBC the third terrestrial TV frequency (BBC 2 started in April 1964) and local radio frequencies in 1963, Parliament would not have voted to give the BBC yet another national TV channel. Moreover, the BBC had their hands full providing programmes for their allocated frequencies and thus had no spare finances for expansion. Using the context of the debate around Channel 4, advertisers sought to break the private ITV companies' monopoly of TV advertising, proposing that BBC 1 should also finance itself through advertising, while BBC 2 and a newly established ITV2 should be relegated to the 'cultural ghettos'. These proposals were, however, unsuccessful. In the end, two viable but contrasting proposals came through as the only realistic options. Both took as their starting point the view that the BBC had to remain – in its status and existing rights – as it was:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Channel 4 was to be organised entirely innovatively, acting as a kind of 'publisher' (i.e. not just as a producer) and being a conduit for a wide range of voices. Programmes were to be sourced from companies, groups and institutions which were independent of the two existing television networks and were to serve hitherto neglected audiences. Most of all, as expressed in the Annan Report's proposal for creating an Open Broadcasting Authority (OBA), Channel 4 was to "contribute something new and do it in a new way". (4) On the principle of wide-ranging and balanced content, the most creative ideas were to be gathered. The finances were to come from block advertising, sponsored programmes and profit surpluses from the ITV companies. Such organisational and political solutions were strongly supported by independent British filmmakers, collectively represented by the Independent Film Association (IFA, which has since changed its name to IFVPA and includes video and photography producers). 2. It was not only the Conservatives who were against the idea of an OBA. The ITV companies were keen on claiming Channel 4 for themselves (in the interest of balancing the duopoly) as a second ITV network, controlled by the IBA, financed from advertising, and intended as a counterpart to BBC 2. 	<p>Debate around fourth TV network</p> <p>'Publisher' idea versus second ITV network</p>
<p>In the relatively liberal early Thatcher era, in 1979/80, a compromise was finally reached, resulting in a somewhat risky symbiosis between public and private, institutionalising Channel 4 as a living contradiction.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Channel 4 came under the control of the IBA, which is responsible for all private broadcasting in Great Britain, and Channel 4 Television Company Ltd. was nominated as a wholly owned subsidiary. 	<p>Compromise</p> <p>Control through IBA</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The ITV companies were obliged to finance the new channel from surpluses of their (heavily taxed) advertising revenues. The tax burden of the ITV companies was thereby reduced. The ITV companies were given the right to sell advertising time on the new Channel 4. (As with ITV generally, this amounts to up to six minutes of advertising per hour of broadcasting.) - With the exception of Wales, for which a special arrangement was reached (5), the new channel was conceived as a fourth national network, intended to offer a full programme. - The 'publisher' idea was by and large adhered to. With the exception of a regular 30-minute programme of audience feedback ("Right to Reply"), Channel 4 was not allowed to produce any programmes in-house. Instead, it was obliged to purchase most of its programmes from within the British market, plus a small number (15%) from abroad. The ITV companies were also to produce programmes for Channel 4 (and thereby make full use of their capacities). All 'news' programmes had to be obtained from their common subsidiary ITN (Independent Television News Limited). Above all, a substantial proportion of the programming (though nowhere specified as a quota) was to come from the so-called independents of the British film and video scene - a dazzling array of companies and commercial producers, ranging from "frustrated entrepreneurs" (Stuart Hood) at the fringes of the two established networks, to radical alternative groups. - Channel 4's programming brief was closely linked to the above 'publisher' idea: cultural and ethnic minorities – groups whose communicative needs had hitherto not been sufficiently taken account of – were to be reached and to be given a voice. A minimum of 15% of broadcasting time was thus allocated for educational programmes and a minimum of 60 minutes per week for broadcasts with religious content. Finally, Channel 4 was to contribute to a renewal of television culture and televisual forms, even though the necessary experimental broadcastings were not expected to always secure a mass audience. <p>In Germany, we are not unfamiliar with such projections. The third ARD programmes went on air under similar auspices. Channel 4 is different in that it is a private provider with a public mandate. Given that the BBC and ITV had hitherto produced themselves all the material that they didn't purchase abroad, the requirement for strict separation between editorial responsibility and programme production was downright revolutionary in Britain. Moreover, the obligation on Channel 4 to purchase its programmes from third parties fitted nicely into the economic-political ideas of the Thatcher government in that it was going to promote small and medium enterprises within the British audiovisual sector.</p> <p>Without responsibility for production, which inevitably requires administrative organisation, Channel 4 is able to work with a minimal number of personnel (which does, however, lead to chronic and extreme stress levels, according to staff members). In</p>	<p>Financing through surpluses of ITV advertising revenues</p> <p>Adoption of the 'Publisher Idea'</p> <p>Programming brief</p> <p>Characteristic features of this model</p> <p>Concept allows for thin staffing levels</p>
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<p>1985/86, the operation of its national network was carried by only 246 staff. (By comparison, the BBC has 30.000 employees in total) which meant that most of its budget, amounting to 88.5% in 1985/86, could be invested in programming. (6)</p> <p>The share that Channel 4 receives from the advertising by the ITV companies was determined on a percentage basis (between 14% and 18 %). The advantage of such an arrangement is that its budget increases in line with an increase in advertising revenues. Currently, Channel 4 receives 17% of the net income of the ITV companies, 20% out of which goes to the Welsh CS 4. This leaves Channel 4 with a budget of GBP 135.8 million for the financial year 86/87 (compared to approx. GBP 80 million when it first started). This means that a good GBP 120 million can flow into independent film production as well as the purchase of programmes.</p> <p>It was clear from the start that the ITV companies were not going to subsidise Channel 4 long-term. After all, it was the British State that was going to lose out on additional revenue from the special tax levied on the high advertising revenues from commercial television. A year before Channel 4's launch, Jeremy Isaacs made the following forecast, "If Channel 4 is able to win our predicted share of at least 10% of overall television audiences, there is no doubt in my mind that the ITV companies [...] will not only get their money back, but may earn additional revenue by the advertising they sell during our hours of broadcasting." (7)</p> <p>We will now take a closer look at what Channel 4's programming actually looks like, occupying a position between the established broadcasting providers, advanced technologies for TV distribution and ventures in video recording (a medium that is particularly popular in Great Britain).</p> <p>Programming structure</p> <p>With a brief to provide a wide-ranging full-time broadcasting service, it was clear from the start that Channel 4 had a difficult task to fulfil. Not only did it have to serve those groups – mainly minorities – that other TV providers had been neglecting, but it was going to broadcast a full 60 hours per week from the word go. By now, just over four years after its inception, broadcasting hours have increased to an average of over 70 hours per week and are set to continue rising. (8)</p> <p>On weekdays, Channel 4 starts broadcasting in the early afternoon, while at weekends programmes start around lunchtime. (9) Daily broadcasting stops shortly after midnight. In fact, Channel 4 programming is highly flexible: the start and the end of a day of broadcasting can, for instance, vary according to the timing of special sporting events or transmissions from Parliament proceedings. Four times a year, the sequence of programmes is</p>	<p>C4 budget currently amounting to 17% of ITV advertising revenues</p> <p>Subsidies by ITV not intended as a permanent solution</p> <p>An average of 70 hours of programming per week</p> <p>Programming is flexible</p>
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publicly announced at the so-called 'Launches'. This means that structural changes, such as shifting regular features to different broadcasting slots, are possible at relatively short notice. (10)

The overall aim of any broadcasting plan is to schedule regularly reoccurring programmes at fixed times. That said, Channel 4 programming is characterised by a high proportion of programmes of variable length (such as films, operas, ballets). Therefore, the starting times of the regular programmes will often vary and the programming schedule may appear somewhat 'restless' (cf table 1).

With nine films featuring in the weekly edition of the TV Times that we had selected for our analysis of the programming content showed that Channel 4 prioritises films. The number of films and the mix of old and new films during that week can be regarded as typical for Channel 4. Another focus is on series – again a mix of old and new – including cheap imports from the USA (e.g. "Bewitched" or "Too close for Comfort") and "Brookside", a series specifically commissioned by Channel 4 four years ago and intended as a counterpart to ITV's "Coronation Street". The idea behind "Brookside" was to address – through fiction – issues affecting British society, e.g. unemployment, the dual burden of work and family on women, or inadequate parenting. (11)

**Programming priorities:
feature films
and series**

Table 1 (pls refer to insert of original German copy)

Title of Table 1: Overview of Channel 4 programming in week 11.10 1986 – 17.10.1986

Source: compiled by authors from a copy of the above TV Times

Compared to Channel 4's first full broadcasting week in November 1982, the week of 11.10.86 to 17.10.86 revealed twice the amount of fictional series (ie.17), as well as a repeat of "Brookside" on Saturday. To conclude from this fact alone that programming is more 'commercial' nowadays would, nevertheless, be hasty. It is important to analyse Channel 4 programming over a longer period – only then is it possible to detect certain trends. Among their more 'unusual series' were, for instance, the two Brazilian productions "Dancin' Days" and "Slave Girls Isaura"; the latter had recently also been broadcast in one of ARD's afternoon slots.

In addition to the distribution of broadcasting times for series and films, Table 2 shows that on weekdays, the news are the only steady and constant feature in the entire programme. Both the scope and the timing of the news have remained constant since Channel 4 started, with the only exception that in the beginning, the Friday news was only half an hour long. Since, the Friday news has been extended and brought in line with the news' length on other weekdays. Furthermore, 'news summaries' have been introduced at weekends. The overview of Table 2 also shows those broadcasts that are particularly characteristic for Channel 4. A comparison of Table 1 and 2 reveals that the blank spaces left in Table 2 are shown in Table 1 as documentaries, information broadcasts, cultural programmes, shows and quizzes.

**Weekday news
as a steady and
constant feature**

Tabelle 1 Überblick über die Channel 4-Programme in der Woche vom 11.10. bis 17.10.1986

Zeit	Samstag	Sonntag	Montag	Dienstag	Mittwoch	Donnerstag	Freitag	
13.00	Channel 4 Racing	ab 12.30 Baseball						
13.30								
14.00		Everybody here						
14.30		They got me covered (1943)	The Late Late Show	Down Me- mory Lane (1951)	Buck Privates (1941)	Channel 4 Racing	Channel 4 Racing	
15.00	Angels wash their faces (1939)		The Irish Angle	10 Mil- lion	Mavis on 4			
15.30								
16.00			Mavis on 4					
16.30	La Pèleri- nage (frz.)	This made news	Countdown	Countdown	Countdown	Countdown	Countdown	
17.00	Brookside (Wdh. vom Montag u. Dienstag)	Sir Peter Scott		Bewitched	Hogan's Heroes	Those mar- vellous	Car 54, where are you	
17.30	Right to Reply	News Sum.	Grampian	Make it pay	Abbott & Costello	Benchley Shorts	Revid	
18.00		Business Programme	Sheepdog Trials	Keeping your words	Family Ties	(Komiker- Portrait)	Solid Soul	
18.30		Boat Race	American Football	I could do that	Ellis Is- land Show	In Time of War	Union World	The Chart Show
19.00		News Sum. 7 Days	Chasing Rainbows	Write on	Channel 4 News	Channel 4 News	Channel 4 News	Channel 4 News
19.30	Strangers Abroad	Channel 4 News Comment Weather		Channel 4 News Comment Weather	Channel 4 News Comment Weather	Channel 4 News Comment Weather	Weather	
20.00		Fish out of water	Brookside	Brookside	Talking to Writers	Equinox Shock	Bookchoice	
20.30	Redbrick		Fairly Se- cret Army	Wild- screen	Diverse Reports	Trauma	What the Papers say/ A Week in Politics	
21.00	Paradise Postponed (Wdh. v. ITV Montg.)	Baryshni- kov by Tharp	St. Else- where	Awards 1986	Werther Oper von Jules Massenet	Oh Made- line	The Cosby Show	
21.30	Hill Street Blues		4 Minutes			Annika	Gardeners' Calendar	
22.00		Wuthering Heights (1939)	Oil: The Indepen- dents	Kiss Me Goodbye (1982)		Golden Girls		
22.30	Saturday Almost Live (Show)		Scorpio Rising/ What can I do with a Male Nude/ 17 Rooms		La Vie à l'Envers (1964)	Going for Gold (Olympic Games)	Living with Schizo- phrenia	
23.00		Beyond Belief				Identifi- cation of a Woman (1982)		
23.30		Ministry of Fear (F. Lang) (1943)	Too Close for Comfort	Relative Strangers				
24.00								
0.30								
1.00								

Quelle: Eigene Zusammenstellung nach Angaben der TV Times vom 11.10. bis 17.10.1986.

<p>It suffices to look at Channel 4's proportional programming types within an average week to realise that it is different to other commercial and non-commercial television broadcasters (cf. Table 3, page 45 of original article). Non-fiction programmes count for an unusually high share of over 40 %. Almost 20% of the entire broadcasting time is dedicated to "Current Affairs and General Factuals", with the addition of news, educational programmes and other documentaries, some of the latter referring to current issues. In the financial year 1984/85, 35 % of programming was dedicated to fiction, i.e. films, serials, drama series etc.</p> <p>In our representative edition of the TV Times, out of 75 broadcasting hours, 27 hours are dedicated to series and films (36 %). This corresponds almost exactly to the average weekly quota cited in the IBA yearbook 1986. Even the addition of the 30-minute French short film <i>La Pèlerinage</i> doesn't substantially increase this share. Three short films (from <i>Eleventh Hour</i>) were considered non-classifiable borderline programmes between documentary and fiction and were thus left out.</p> <p>Apart from a high proportion of non-fiction and flexible programming, the programming structure of Channel 4 does not appear to be particularly innovative. The large proportion of cheap fiction imports from the US may well disappoint those who expected an 'alternative' broadcasting service from Channel 4, but 75 hours of weekly broadcasting does, of course, not come cheap. However, a closer look reveals an innovative element in Channel 4 programming that is less quantifiable: an effort appears to have been made across programme types to find both new types of programmes and new and innovative content.</p>	<p>Percentage share of the various programming sections</p> <p>High proportion of non-fiction and flexible programming, important innovations</p>
<p>A few special features of the non-fiction programme</p> <p>From the beginning, Channel 4 has had the brief to be innovative both in form and content across programme types. This posed a particular challenge for the areas of general TV news, political news programmes and documentaries, where other providers had already extensively experimented with the format of reports and other presentations.</p> <p><i>Table 2 and Table 3 (please refer to insert of original copy with translations attached)</i></p> <p>Channel 4 has from the start been obliged to buy in its news programmes as well as all other programmes from outside (except for "Right to Reply"). In the beginning, after an intensive search on the free market, Channel 4 was unable to find a production company with sufficient capacity to produce news programmes. Eventually, with the agreement of the IBA, it commissioned the company that produced the news programmes for the ITV companies, Independent Television News (ITN), with the productions of its news.</p> <p>ITN has a team of approx. 120 staff to take sole care of the Channel 4 news programmes; these include five news broadcasts of almost 60 minutes on weekdays (interrupted by two advertising slots) and two shorter versions of</p>	<p>Production of news programmes by ITN</p> <p>Immediate response to current events not possible</p>

Tabelle 2 Schematischer Überblick über Spielfilme, Serien mit Spielhandlung, Sportsendungen und besondere Channel 4-Programme in der Woche vom 11.10. bis 17.10.1986 (1)

Zeit	Samstag	Sonntag	Montag	Dienstag	Mittwoch	Donnerstag	Freitag
12.30		Sport					
13.00							
13.30	Sport						
14.00							
14.30		Spielfilm		Spielfilm	Spielfilm		
15.00	Spielfilm	(1943)		(1951)	(1941)	Sport	Sport
15.30	(1939)						
16.00							
16.30							
17.00	C 4-Serie (Wdh. v. Montag u. Dienstag)	News Sum.		Serie	Serie		Serie
17.30					Serie		Jugend programm
18.00	Right to Reply	Sport			Serie		Pop Musik
18.30	Sport						
19.00	News Sum.		Channel 4 News Comment Weather	Channel 4 News Comment Weather	Channel 4 News Comment Weather	Channel 4 News Comment Weather	Channel 4 News Weather
19.30			C 4-Serie	C 4-Serie			
20.00							
20.30			Serie		Aktuelle Berichte		
21.00	ITV-Serie (Wdh. v. Montag)		Serie			Serie	Serie
21.30							
22.00	Serie		4 Minutes			Serie, vorher ITV	Serie
22.30		Spielfilm		Spielfilm			
23.00		(1939)		(1982)			
23.30			The Eleventh Hour		Spielfilm		Spielfilm
24.00	Spielfilm			Serie	(1964)	Serie	(1982)
0.30	(1943)						
1.00							

1) In diesem Schema sind nur die Teile des Channel 4-Programms enthalten, die häufig oder regelmäßig auf diesen Sendeplätzen zu finden sind. Wie ein Vergleich beider Schemata zeigt, werden in den "Lücken" Dokumentationen, Informationsprogramme und anspruchsvolle Kulturprogramme, aber auch Shows und Quizsendungen gezeigt. Einige Programme, vor allem Auftragsproduktionen von Channel 4, lassen sich traditionellen Programngenres ohnedies nur schwer zuordnen.

Table 2: overview of films, serials, drama series, sports programmes and in-house programmes in from 11.10.1986 – 17.10.1986

Time	Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
12.30		Sport					
13.00							
13.30	Sport						
14.00							
14.30				Film (1951)	Film (1941)		
15.00	Film (1939)	Film (1943)				Sport	Sport
15.30							
16.00							
16.30							
17.00	C4 series (rep. of Mo +Tue)				Series Series Series		Series Youth programme Pop music
17.30	Right to Reply			Series			
18.00	Sport	News sum.					
18.30	News Sum.		Channel 4 News	Channel 4 News	Channel 4 News	Channel 4 News	Channel 4 News
19.00			Comment Weather C4 series series	Comment Weather C4 series	Comment Weather C4 series	Comment Weather	Weather
19.30		Sport					
20.00					Current events		
20.30				Series			
21.00	ITV series (rep of Mo)					Series	Series
21.30	Series		4 Minutes	Film (1982)		Series formerly ITV	Series
22.00					Film (1964)		
22.30							Film (1982)
23.00			The Eleventh Hour				
23.30		Film (1939)					
24.00	Film (1943)			Series		Series	
0.30							
1.00							

- 1) Table 2 only shows those broadcasts that occur frequently or routinely in those particular slots. A comparison of Table 1 and 2 reveals that the blank spaces left in Table 2 are shown in Table 1 as documentaries, information broadcasts, sophisticated cultural programmes, shows and quizzes. For some programmes, especially for commissions by Channel 4, it is difficult to match them with traditional programming genres.

Translator's note: In German the word 'Serie' refers to both serial and series, so 'Series' in the table above, may refer to either.

Tabelle 3 Die durchschnittliche wöchentliche Programmleistung von Channel 4 in den verschiedenen Programmsparten (1)

	Dauer Std.:Min.	Anteil in %
Nachrichten	4:00	6
Aktuelle Ereignisse und allgemeine Dokumentationen	13:05	19
Kunst	2:40	4
Religion	1:15	2
Erziehung/Bildung	7:29	11
Zwischensumme Informationssendungen	28:29	42
Fernsehspiele, Serien Sendungen mit Spielhandlung	14:45	21
Spielfilme	9:33	14
Zwischensumme Erzählformen	24:18	35
Unterhaltung und Musik	11:13	16
Sport	5:01	7
Summe: Alle Programme	69:01	100

1) In einer Durchschnittswoche im Geschäftsjahr bis 31.3.1985.

Quelle: IBA Yearbook 1986.

Wie alle übrigen Channel 4-Programme (mit der Ausnahme "Right to Reply") müssen auch die Nachrichtensendungen von einer Quelle außerhalb des Hauses bezogen werden. Als die Verantwortlichen auf dem freien Markt keine Produktionsfirma fanden, die über ausreichende Kapazitäten verfügte, wurde schließlich im Einvernehmen mit der IBA die Independent Television News (ITN) beauftragt, die auch die Nachrichtensendungen für die ITV-Companies produziert.

Für die fünf fast einstündigen Nachrichtensendungen, die zweimal durch Werbung unterbrochen werden, und die beiden Kurznachrichten am Wochenende steht bei ITN ein Team von ca. 120 Mitarbeitern zur Verfügung, das sich ausschließlich um die Channel 4-News kümmert. Die Sendungen werden ebenso angeliefert wie Filme oder Dokumentationen; das bedeutet, daß Channel 4 einerseits kaum Einfluß auf die Nachrichtengestaltung hat und andererseits auch keine Möglichkeit, auf aktuelle Anlässe spontan zu reagieren.

Abgesehen von der Dauer der Nachrichtensendungen, die längere und mehrere Beiträge zu einem Thema ermöglicht, unterscheiden sich die Channel 4-News äußerlich kaum von ITV- oder BBC-Nachrichten. Art, Aufbau und Präsentation wirken recht konventionell, formale Experimentierfreudigkeit ist nicht zu beobachten. Inhaltlich ist allerdings für die Nachrichten ein neues Konzept entwickelt worden, dessen wesentliche Merkmale die deutliche Abkehr vom "Schlagzeilenjournalismus" und die Setzung neuer Schwerpunkte in der Berichterstattung sind.

Da den Nachrichtenteams für ihre Beiträge mehr Zeit zur Verfügung gestellt werden kann, können sie ausführlicher Hintergründe und Entwicklungen von Ereignissen darstellen. Außerdem setzen die Channel 4-News auch thematisch andere Akzente, u. a. mit häufigen Berichten aus Wissenschaft

Produktion der Nachrichtensendungen bei ITN

Reaktion auf aktuelle Ereignisse nicht möglich

Äußerlich keine Unterschiede bei Nachrichtensendungen zu BBC und ITV

— allerdings inhaltlich andere Schwerpunkte

Table 3: Average weekly broadcasting according to types of programmes (1).

	Duration hours:mins	Share in %
News,	4:00	6
current affairs and general documentaries	13.05	19
Art	2.40	4
Religion	1.15	2
Learning and education	7.29	11
Sub-total of information programmes	28.29	42
Teleplays, serials and drama series	14.45	21
Feature films	9.33	14
Sub-total of different types of 'stories'	24.18	35
Entertainment and music	11.13	16
Sport	5.01	7
Total of all programmes	69.01	100
1) figures for one average week in the financial year up to 31.2.1985		

Source: IBA Yearbook 1986

<p>news at the weekend. These programmes are delivered to Channel 4 in the same way as the films and documentaries, which means that Channel 4 has neither a say in its design nor is it in a position to respond to any given events that may come up at short notice.</p> <p>Apart from the longer duration of the news programmes, which allow for the inclusion of several as well as longer contributions to one topic, Channel 4 news does not significantly differ from ITV or BBC news: it is quite conventional in nature, structure and presentation with no signs of innovative experimentation. In terms of content, however, Channel 4 news is innovative in so far as its focus has shifted away from 'headline journalism'.</p> <p>Since the news teams have more time at their disposal, they are able to describe the background of and developments around events. Furthermore, in stark contrast to other providers, Channel 4 focuses on specific topics, e.g. science, technology, art or economy. Even the Royal Family is given less attention by Channel 4. Whilst the wedding of Prince Andrew and Sarah Ferguson almost took up the entire duration of the BBC and ITV news, Channel 4 settled for a brief mention after the first advertising break (12). A similar 'disregard' is exercised for the reporting of natural disasters and criminal acts of violence. (13)</p> <p>Whilst Channel 4 has virtually no influence over the design of the news programmes, it does choose its own commentators, who – from Mondays to Thursdays after the news – give their opinion on certain events. The original intention was to give a voice to a manageable number of representatives from differing social groups, but to date over 700 well-known or lesser known personalities have been given the opportunity to contribute. This may be seen as testimony to a relative openness on the part of Channel 4. In the week selected for this article, the following individuals were commenting in this slot: the president of the Institute of Public relations, a representative of the Eritrean Information Service, a member of Parliament and Peter Bull, who was introduced by the TV times as a "former nurse and self-employed builder".</p> <p>Channel 4 news are always closely connected to the channel's many "Current Affairs" programmes. A prime example is the magazine programme "Bandung File", relating to and aimed at ethnic minorities. Its editor Farrukh Dhondy pursues the following objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To give an opportunity to ethnic minorities to present themselves and issues relating to their lives to a wider public through the medium of TV - To inform these minorities on a regular basis about social issues in the countries of their own or their forefathers' origin. <p>Each programme consists of a selection of topical issues plus an approximately 20-minute documentary, which may relate to a third world country or address living conditions of minorities in cities like, for instance, Birmingham. Independent film and video producers provide Dhondy with contributions towards his programme. (14) The producers are often</p>	<p>No outward differences to BBC and ITV news,</p> <p>but focus is placed on different content</p> <p>Commentators reflect relative openness of Channel 4</p> <p>"Current Affairs" programmes aimed at minorities</p>
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<p>themselves members of the minority they report on, which is why their programmes tend to have a very authentic flavour.</p> <p>"Friday Alternative" is another example of a Channel 4 programme on topical issues. Slotted in after the 30-minute news on Friday, this pioneering current affairs show, characterised by a radically new reporting style and aimed primarily at a younger audience soon made Channel 4 history. It consisted of a dynamic mix of relatively short reports presented from a range of perspectives. Accompanying state-of-the-art computer graphics and video animations (a video artist was co-producer) ensured that the reports became accessible to all viewers.</p> <p>One of its early broadcasts scrutinised the government's claim that inflation and unemployment rates were linked and that the government's prioritisation for bringing down inflation rather unemployment was justified. The programme used computer graphics to show how unemployment and inflation had actually developed over a long period and that the linkage between the two was not as obvious as had been claimed by the British government.</p> <p>"Friday Alternative" was produced by a company called <i>Diverse Productions</i>, headed by former BBC employee David Graham. In order to make the programme as lively as possible, both in terms of content and format, 240 people from 20 different groups were recruited from all over the country, each contributing from their unique perspective. Yet, it was precisely this enriching new dimension of diversity that brought about the downfall of the programme. A story dealing with media reporting on the Falkland war by the British media was taken as grounds for accusing "Friday Alternative" for lack of professionalism. In the end, the programme was quietly removed from the timetable over the summer break. (15)</p> <p><i>Diverse Productions</i> was now commissioned to develop a new programme, and, after six months, came up with "Diverse Reports", a series that is still being broadcast today. The groups that had contributed to "Friday Alternative" were dissolved, the computer graphics were scrapped and experienced journalists were hired to assure professional standards. First, the programme contained several reports of a certain length, but nowadays the focus is on a single topic per programme. The only difference between "Diverse Reports" and conventional magazine programmes is that it has a different conception of balance. Opinion journalism is still practised and equilibrium of perspective is upheld across the entirety of the programmes rather than within one single programme. According to David Graham, the deciding factor for the selection of a topic is not its political stance, but its unusual perspective. (16)</p> <p>Investment in independent audiovisual culture</p> <p>In 1985/86, a quarter of Channel 4 programmes, amounting to 43% of the channel's budget, came from the independent sector. (17) They were mainly 'Specials' and serials of the type described above and spanning a wide range of topics from art programmes to current affairs. Nonetheless, two strands of programmes – deliberately created by Channel 4 and</p>	<p>Innovative concept of topical "Friday Alternative"</p> <p>The end of "Friday Alternative"</p> <p>But determined continuation of opinion journalism</p> <p>One quarter of programmes comes from independent producers</p>
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<p>particularly relevant to the British film and video industry – can be identified: “The Eleventh Hour” and “People to People”, two series overseen by Alan Fountain as commissioning editor, and “Film on Four”, a series of programmes relating to film and drama. Behind the choice of these three programmes is the intention to promote culture in two very different ways and a large part of Channel 4’s international recognition as an innovative broadcaster is due to the inclusion of these programmes.</p> <p>“Eleventh Hour” and “People to People” are typical examples of Channel 4’s addressing and representing audiences that have hitherto been neglected or entirely left out. These slots now provide audiovisual producer (similarly to the independent filmmakers who earlier fought for the ‘publisher concept’) with opportunities to create their own programmes. They include a range of producers and experimentalists in video and cine film as well as some quite radical political groups, who all share a sense of disapproval of established television culture and aesthetics.</p> <p>Programmes such as described above are predominantly produced in workshops, most of which have sprung up in a number of British regions over the last few years, but some of which were established one and a half decades ago (e.g. Amber Films). They are financed by communal and regional programmes that promote culture, supported by trade unions, the British Film Institute (BFI) and occasionally by private sponsors. As production collectives, film or video distributors or operators of production studios, they are thus independent of the broadcasters. In this area of programme production, Channel 4’s approach is different to the rest of independent film production in that instead of commissioning individual programmes, it promotes the overall work of a workshop. A workshop will, for instance, receive funding for between 1 to 3 years. In return, Channel 4 is able to select programmes for television broadcasting from the pool of the workshop’s productions, whilst the workshop retains the right to additionally exploit its productions for other purposes. In principle, the funding is granted independently of whether or not the workshop productions are selected for television screening.</p> <p>In this way, Channel 4 undertakes to promote the entire workshop endeavour, thereby giving a kind of infrastructural support to workshops (it also helps with setting up new groups), or in Alain Fountain’s words, the self-contained existence of independent film and video production companies is of prime interest to Channel 4 as a source for innovative and experimental programmes. (18)</p> <p>Currently, Channel 4 is supporting 4 workshops on a 3-year and a further 10 on a 1-year contract. Business development funds go to another 4 workshops and so-called ‘resource funding’ is given to another 5 workshops, amounting to a total of 23 workshops in receipt of Channel 4 financing. Additionally, Channel 4 has been supporting a further 14 workshops since its launch four years ago.</p> <p>The promotion of feature films</p> <p>In terms of established genre categories, “Eleventh Hour” and “People to</p>	<p>Promotion of workshops</p> <p>Independent film and video production companies as a source of innovative and experimental programmes</p> <p>Dissolving strict</p>
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<p>People" would come under documentaries, although many of the more recent productions are characterised by a distinct blurring of boundaries between fact and fiction. These innovative productions have been brought into British television by independent British filmmakers who have freed themselves from the restraints of programme compartmentalisation.</p>	<p>programme categories</p>
<p>To the outside world, the promotion of feature films is mainly taken care of by "Film on Four", under the direction of David Rose who joined Channel 4 with 25 years experience within drama/fiction from the BBC. This strand of programming approximately equates to the impact that the "Film/Fernsehabskommen" (agreement for government funding of film production) has had for years on the infrastructure of German film production. The relative steep rise of British film production since the beginning of the eighties, coupled with a simultaneous decline in cinema attendance (19) and the fact that "New British Cinema" has become a trademark at international film festivals in recent years is closely linked to the role that Channel 4 has played. Set up in spring 1984 with the international film market in mind, Channel 4 and <i>Film Four International</i> (FFI) have become a focal point for the British and West European film scene. And Channel 4 films, which can also be shown in cinemas, have become somewhat of a centre of gravity within Channel 4 programming.</p>	<p>"New British Cinema" through C4 feature film promotion</p>
<p>Apart from the dedicated contributions by the many enthusiastic staff members of Channel 4 (the role of Deputy Chairman on the Board of Directors is currently the director, producer and president of Goldcrest Films Limited, Sir Richard Attenborough), its success in promoting feature films is largely due to the fact that editorial responsibility and audiovisual production are strictly separated. Together with a brief for innovative content, such a separation enables Channel 4 to invest a large part of its budget in creative independent film and television production. Up to the autumn of 1986, this amounted to a yearly average of GBP 8 -10 million, invested in a total of 107 productions. (20)</p>	<p>Important: separation between editing and production</p>
<p>The different means and strategies employed for the promotion of films are testimony to a highly creative Channel 4 management team. Given this diversity in approach, it is often hard for the outsider to identify those programmes that Channel 4 has contributed to:</p>	<p>Ways of directly promoting films:</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - First of all, there are the commissions that Channel 4 undertakes on the basis of project proposals and scripts received. In the beginning, Channel 4's relatively meagre budget was divided up evenly to assist the 20 productions per year, but this inevitably led to low-budget productions. Over time, more complex co-financing models have been adopted, with substantial contributions by Channel 4 and in particular with a higher allocation of funds to particular films. In terms of quantity, so far 20 productions have been entirely financed by Channel 4 and another 47 have been co-financed (the other 40 productions in "Film on Four" consisted of 28 pre-purchased productions, 10 repeats from the ITV programme and 2 "licenced" films). 	<p>-direct commissions</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Channel 4 has been and still is involved in first class international co-productions, such as the Swiss/Portugese film "Dans la ville 	<p>-Co-production</p>

<p>blanche" by Alain Tanner or "Paris, Texas" for the production of which Wim Wenders received financial backing in exchange for "Flight to Berlin". (21)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Through Film Four International, Channel 4 can sell feature films that it has financed or co-financed. In turn, the proceeds from FFI films have gone, over the last two years, into the production of such outstanding films as "A Zed and Two Noughts" by Peter Greenaways, "A Letter To Brezhnev" by Chris Bernards or "My Beautiful Launderette" by Stephen Frears. - Channel 4's close cooperation with the BFI is crucial in the context of the British film industry. It includes distribution as well as production (in 1986, for instance, the two institutions, equipped with a selection of films from the London Film Festival 1985, went on tour, visiting 13 British cities). The current annual BFI report proudly acknowledges the receipt of a generous financial contribution by Channel 4 for its feature film production activities over the next three years. (22) Because of the channel's support for the BFI's film production, each film that is produced over the last few years is indirectly also a Channel 4 film (e.g. "Caravaggio" by Derek Jarman, which cost a mere £475,000). - Channel 4 repeatedly stepped into the breach in situations where, outstanding films would have run out of funding during their production. This was the case with Greenaways' "The Draughtman's Contract" or Richard Eyre's "the Ploughman's Lunch". Channel 4's flexibility to come to the rescue spontaneously in such situations is possibly one of its most impressive characteristics. 	<p>Capacity to sell films</p> <p>Cooperation with BFI</p> <p>Flexibility in regard to sudden difficulties</p>
<p>The apparent loss of cinematic quality and the increasing substitution of the "movie-movie" culture by a "tv movie" culture (23) has – over the last four years – been a constant concern, vociferously expressed by film critics. However, with regard to the cinema screening of the films by Greenaway, Jarman, Jordan or Eyre, such criticism is hardly justified. Moreover, many film makers have long started to also make films for the small screen. Directors such as Peter Greenaway have long moved beyond the possibilities of cinema film. The videos he produced for Channel 4 are amongst the best and most innovative productions that have been achieved in audiovisual culture over the last few years.</p>	<p>Complaint over loss of quality not tenable</p>
<p>A more pressing issue is the dependency relationship between Channel 4 and the independent film makers. Against the background of Channel 4's position as the only important distributor of audiovisual material and as commissioner rather than producer, these small independent production companies, often established for the sole purpose of producing for Channel 4, heavily rely on Channel 4 for their existence. Moreover, the BBC and ITV will most probably not change their production policies in the foreseeable future. This became particularly evident when proposals in the Peacock-Report for an increase in commissions were met with a negative reaction by the BBC.</p>	<p>Potential conflict: independent film makers become dependent on Channel 4</p>
<p>Acceptance Even though Channel 4 is financed from the profits of the ITV companies</p>	<p>High acceptance</p>

<p>and therefore does not depend on viewing figures, in the end, it is the public – as well as the politicians in charge – who decide how successful Channel 4 is. The Channel 4 annual report 1986 reveals that since November 1983 (cf. figure 1) Channel 4's share in overall television viewing figures (24) has steadily increased. While ratings hovered between 4% and 5% initially, by January 1986 they rose to a monthly average of 9%.</p> <p>The weekly viewing figures have continually risen over the past four years (cf. figure 2). In early 1986, 90% of households with a television viewed at least one Channel 4 programme per week. Viewer behaviour appears to reflect Channel 4's programming policies in relation to target groups: many choose those broadcasts that have been designed for them. The fact that people do not stay with one channel over a long period is reflected in the average daily viewing time of 18 minutes. (25)</p> <p>Along with rising numbers of viewers the British people's attitude towards Channel 4 has changed too. By now, only a quarter of those questioned believe that it is aimed at minorities, while in 1983, almost 50 % thought so. Channel 4's image has become more positive and the difference to other English television providers is perceived more clearly by the public, e.g. its experimental approach, its new forms of programmes, different contents, and the fact that many programmes are aimed at specific target groups and are not offered in the same form by any other provider. (26)</p> <p>In 1985, the IBA launched a large-scale survey ("Attitudes to Broadcasting"), the aim of which was to compare the programming schedule of all English television providers. The question of which channel provided the best programmes within individual programme categories yielded a surprising result for Channel 4. 41% of respondents named youth programming for 16-24 year olds as the top category; within this category, 19% of respondents favoured ITV and a remarkable 10% favoured Channel 4; Channel 4 was thereby voted equally popular to BBC1 and far more popular than BBC2 (2%). In the category of cinema films, Channel 4 also outscored BBC 2 with 7% versus 5%, although the two large providers were clearly in the lead in this category (ITV: 33%; BBC: 18%). (27)</p>	<p>of C4</p> <p>Selective use of C4 programming by public</p> <p>Channel 4 score high in survey on programme preferences</p>
<p>Summative comments – particularly in view of Channel 4 as a potential model for future channels</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1.</p> <p>In its brief history, Channel 4 has to some extent proven that it is possible to appeal to a wide audience by, for instance, combining within one single programme such contrasting contributions as the portrayal of minority groups alongside what might be called elite audiovisual computer graphics and video animations. Not least because of its limited financial resources (which primarily affect the entertainment segment aimed at appealing to a broad public) the result is a mix of cheap imports, ITV repeats and experimental, creative and often highly ambitious programmes. Examples are arts programmes, feature films and video productions, themed mini-series or even such unprepossessing little slots as "Four Minutes", in which an attempt is made to recapture for television short films that do not follow in the tradition of commercial video-clip culture.</p>	<p>Positive first attempts, but in terms of quantity, mainstream programmes prevail</p>

Figures 1 and 2 (please refer to insert of original copy)

2.

Channel 4 does not just function as the IBA's cultural flagship for private television (in the IBA annual reports, a disproportionately large section is given over to the description of Channel 4 programmes), but there is a danger that its programmes aimed at minorities fulfil a kind of 'alibi' function for the ITV companies. In other words, Channel 4's regular broadcasting of programmes aimed at specific target groups such as migrants, religious groups, young people, trade union members etc. relieves the ITV companies of their duty to make space in their schedules for the communicative concerns of those groups.

'Alibi' function
for ITV
companies

3.

The complete separation of editing and production has undoubtedly had an effect on the infrastructure of British broadcasting culture and has, in particular, led to a renaissance in the production of non-Hollywood films. But the downside is that the programmes are 'canned goods' in that they have mostly been produced in advance. It is thus only possible to report on national or international current affairs or react spontaneously to political or cultural events within the news broadcasts delivered by ITN. (*Diverse Productions*, for instance, requires a production lead time of approx. five weeks for one of their 'report' programmes) And reporting of and reacting to topical events falls exclusively to the BBC and ITV. Channel 4 therefore loses out on opportunities to experiment with live TV, which – against the background of the 'canned goods' offered by the new distributors such as cable and satellite TV and video recording – is becoming ever more central to TV output in general.

Problem with
separation of
editing and
production: only
'canned goods'
and no live
broadcasts

4.

The abandonment of the idea of a mass audience in favour of attracting specific, often small, target groups with diverse interests and tastes – frequently referred to by representatives of Channel 4 and in particular by its chief executive Jeremy Isaacs – has certainly instilled a progressive impetus into established television programming. But it does not come without risks. Such fragmented programming is also ideal for pay-TV and pay-per-view services and was in fact part of a long-term projection for the British television landscape (28) proposed by the Peacock committee.

Specialised and
target-group-
oriented
programmes
also a viable
option for pay-
TV services

5.

At present, the 'experiment Channel 4' is only feasible thanks to its niche existence within the established duopoly of the two large British television broadcasters. The BBC on the one hand, as the only broadcasting service for which the British people are willing to pay high licence fees, and ITV on the other hand, which – thanks to its monopoly on advertising – receives extremely high revenues (29), remain the two guarantors for a continuation of Channel 4's current programme profile. A change in this set-up would not only have important consequences for both the BBC and ITV, but also for Channel 4, which undoubtedly is one of the more remarkable innovations on the European television scene. A reduction in advertising revenue by the ITV companies, e.g. as a consequence of advertising coming into the BBC or

A change of the
set-up would
spell the end of
Channel 4 as it
was conceived

Abbildung 1

Anteil von Channel 4 am Gesamtpublikum (Share)

Anteil in %

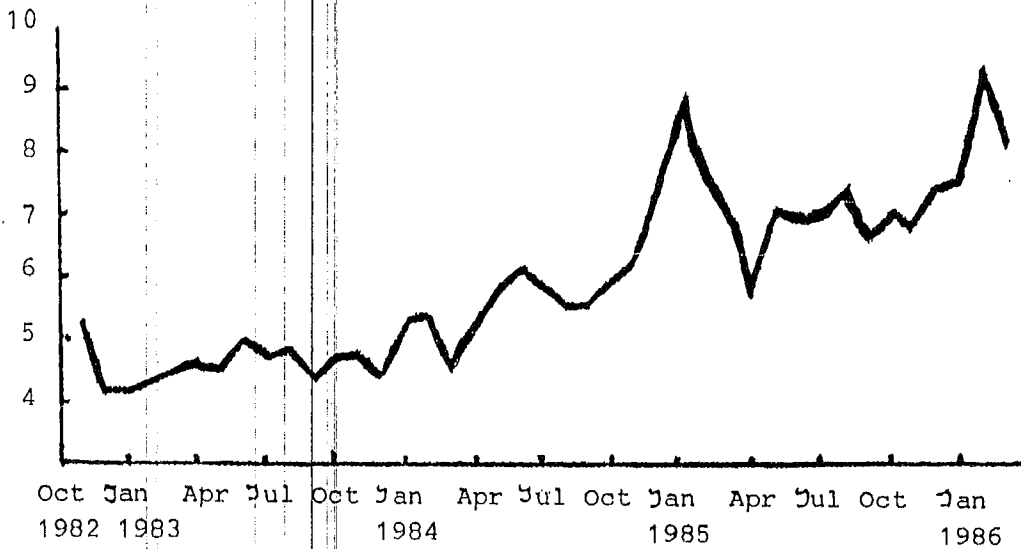
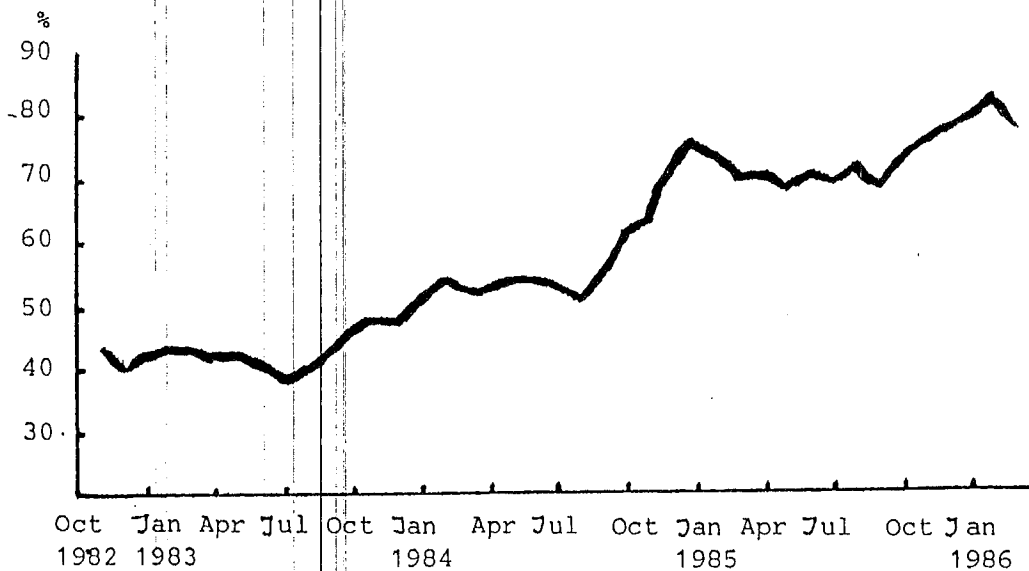


Abbildung 2

Weitester Seherkreis von Channel 4 (Patronage)



the emergence of viable commercial competitors, would take away the very livelihood of Channel 4. Its self-financing system through selling advertising slots would force it to become an ordinary competitor of the other ITV companies. In the long term, this would fatally compromise the current experimental culture and its commitment to minorities.

6.

And finally, a seemingly trivial consideration, which is, however, relevant in terms of Channel 4's status as a model. The social subsystem 'television' is only one part of a complex overall social and historical system. The launch of Channel 4 was a result of a long and intensive political and cultural debate, which has inevitably shaped its current format. We believe that it is impossible to undertake such an experiment in a society that has no tradition of media-related political discourse such as has existed within the British broadcasting landscape since its beginnings in the 1920s. A final note on the feasibility of transferring an idea that is rooted in a particular – in this case uniquely British – culture: experimental or innovative programmes such as those that emerged under the direction of Michael Kustow, or the provocative elements of current affairs programmes such as "Opinions", not only call for a high tolerance threshold on the part of the television audience, they also require more general support from a public for whom radical ways of addressing aesthetic and political issues are part and parcel of everyday life.

Programming experiments only possible with a public who is open and has a high threshold of tolerance

6.

Und schließlich eine Banalität, die aber im Hinblick auf die Modellfrage zu betonen ist: Das gesellschaftliche Subsystem Fernsehen ist komplex mit anderen Subsystemen und dem jeweiligen Gesamtsystem verflochten, auch in historischer Perspektive. Die Gründung von Channel 4 war Resultat einer langen und intensiven politischen wie kulturellen Debatte, die ihn mit seinen Besonderheiten wesentlich geprägt hat. Die Implementierung des Experiments oder von Teilen desselben in eine Gesellschaft, welche die Tradition solcher medienpolitischer Diskurse, wie sie für die britische Rundfunklandschaft seit ihrer Entstehung in den 20er Jahren typisch sind, kaum noch kennt, scheint uns unmöglich zu sein. Und vielleicht das Wichtigste in diesem Zusammenhang: Programmexperimente/-innovationen, wie sie aus dem von Michael Kustow betreuten Kunststressort, aus der engagierten Workshop-Arbeit kommen, oder auch die provokativen Elemente des Current Affairs-Programms – z. B. die "Opinions"-Schiene: man stelle sich etwa eine 30minütige ätzende Demonstration der britischen Premierministerin durch Germain Greer, völlig unausgewogen, ohne Widerpart, übertragen auf deutsche Verhältnisse vor – bedürfen nicht nur einer hohen Toleranzschwelle von seiten des Publikums; sie benötigen auch eine (Atmo)Sphäre von Öffentlichkeit, für die der Umgang mit extremen ästhetischen wie politischen Entwürfen selbstverständlicher Teil des Alltagslebens ist.

Programmxperimente
und -innovationen nur
bei hoher gesellschaft-
licher Toleranz und Of-
fenheit möglich

Anmerkungen:

- 1) World Broadcast News, September 1986, S. 8.
- 2) Einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Aufhebung dieses Mangels leistete jetzt die Akademie der Künste in Berlin in Zusammenarbeit mit dem British Council. Sie veranstaltete vom 26. bis 29. November 1986 einen Workshop zu Channel 4, anlässlich dessen auch zahlreiche Programme des Kanals vorgestellt wurden. Vgl. dazu auch die ausführliche, von Kraft Wetzel redigierte Broschüre: Fernsehen alternativ: z. B. Channel Four. Berlin 1986.
- 3) Knapp zusammengefaßt in Stuart Hoods Buch "On Television", London 1980. Ausführlich wird die Vorgeschichte des Channel 4 dargestellt in: Blanchard, S./D. Morley (Hrsg.): What's this Channel Fo(u)r? London 1980 und Lambert, S.: Channel Four. Television with a Difference? London 1982. Beide Bücher wurden vor Programmbeginn des C4 geschrieben. Bei der Zusammenfassung der Geschichte des C4 beziehen wir uns auf diese Quellen wie auch auf die unter Anmerkung 4 genannte.
- 4) Vgl. Report of the Committee on the Future of Broadcasting. (Chairman: Lord Annan). London 1977.
- 5) Zu dieser eigenartigen Konstruktion, auf die wir hier nicht näher eingehen können, vgl. ausführlich: Bevan, D.: The mobilization of cultural minorities: the case of Sianel Pedwar Cymru. In: Media, Culture & Society No. 2, Vol. 6/1984.
- 6) Channel 4 Television Company Limited: Statistical Information. London o. J. (1986).
- 7) Jeremy Isaacs in einem Leitartikel der BBC-Zeitschrift "The Listener" v. 5.11.1981, S. 527.
- 8) In seiner Rede anlässlich des Workshops in der Akademie der Künste am 26. November 1986 kündigte Jeremy Isaacs an, daß Channel 4 demnächst "rund um die Uhr" senden will.
- 9) Diesen und den folgenden Ausführungen liegt eine Auswertung von 17 Ausgaben der TV-Times, der offiziellen Programmzeitschrift der IBA, zugrunde. Die Stichprobe umfaßt November/Dezember 1982, jeweils zwei Wochen aus den Jahren 1983 bis 1985 und vier Wochen von 1986. Die letzte uns zur Verfügung stehende Ausgabe vom 18. bis 24.10.1986 weist eine Erweiterung des Wochenendprogrammes in die Vormittagsstunden aus.
- 10) So sind die Publikumssendung "Right to Reply", das Kinderprogramm "Everybody Here" und das Gewerkschaftsmagazin "Union World" auf wechselnden Sendeplätzen zu finden.
- 11) Vgl. redaktioneller Beitrag in der TV Times v. 30.10. bis 5.11.1982, S. 84 - 86.
- 12) Die Informationen wurden dem Vortrag von Caroline Thompson, Commissioning Editor in der Current Affairs Abteilung von Channel 4, am 28. November 1986 im Rahmen des Akademie-Workshops entnommen.
- 13) Auch Jeremy Isaacs ging in seiner Rede auf dem Akademie-Workshop ausführlich auf die Nachrichten ein. Seine Darstellung deckte sich mit der von C. Thompson.

- 14) Farrukh Dhondy, Commissioning Editor Multicultural Programmes, in einem Interview am 27. November 1986, das für unser Channel 4-Projekt aufgezeichnet wurde.
- 15) Paul Marris in seinem Einführungsvortrag zu "Friday Alternative" und "Diverse Reports" anlässlich des Akademie-Workshops und in seinem Beitrag zur Begleitbroschüre.
- 16) David Graham während der Podiumsdiskussion anlässlich des Akademie-Workshops.
- 17) Channel 4 Television Company: Statistical Information. London o. J. (1986).
- 18) The work of Channel Four's Independent Film and Video Department – Eleventh Hour – People to People – Workshops. London o. J. Daraus stammen auch die in diesem Zusammenhang erwähnten Daten.
- 19) Vgl. den Beitrag von Docherty, David/David E. Morrison/Michael Tracey: Die britische Filmindustrie in den 80er Jahren. Die Herausforderung des Wandels. In: Media Perspektiven 11/1985, S. 813 - 820.
- 20) Siehe Anmerkung 17.
- 21) Vgl. dazu den Beitrag von J. Isaacs in: Sight & Sound, Spring 1984.
- 22) BFI: Film and Television Yearbook 86. London 1986, S. 27.
- 23) Vgl. z. B. den Schwerpunkt "Life before death on television" in: Sight & Sound, Spring 1984, aus dem auch die zitierten Begriffe stammen.
- 24) In Großbritannien werden die Einschaltquoten von Audits of Great Britain (AGB) im Auftrag des Broadcasters' Audience Research Board (BARB) gemessen. AGB hat in 3000 repräsentativ ausgewählten Haushalten Meßgeräte aufgestellt, die ähnlich wie die GfK-Geräte in der Bundesrepublik die Fernsehnutzung der einzelnen Familienmitglieder registrieren. Diese Daten bilden die Grundlage für die Berechnung der Einschaltquoten und der Reichweite. Vgl. dazu Hearst, Stephen: Rundfunkforschung in Großbritannien. In: Media Perspektiven 3/1982, S. 191 - 198.
- 25) Vgl. Wakshlag, J.: Channel 4: The Audience's Response. IBA Research Department, August 1985, S. 23.
- 26) Ebd., S. 19 ff.
- 27) "Attitudes to Broadcasting in 1985". IBA Research Department, Januar 1986, S. 10.
- 28) Vgl. Hearst, Stephen: Der Peacock-Report. Eine Kritik. In: Media Perspektiven 9/1986, S. 567 - 581. Zu Pay-TV in Großbritannien vgl. Teidelt, Irene: Teleclub und Co. – Pay-TV in Westeuropa auf S. 21 - 37 in diesem Heft.
- 29) 1985 betrug das Jahreseinkommen aller ITV-Companies zusammen ca. 985 Mio Pfund, wovon 95 Prozent aus dem Verkauf von Werbezeiten stammten (vgl. Jahrbuch der IBA 1986, S. 178). Dieser Betrag entspricht in etwa den ca. 3,5 Mrd DM des gesamten Gebühreneinkommens der Bundesrepublik in 1985.