

# Television Studies

The Basics

Toby Miller



The Basics

# TELEVISION STUDIES

## THE BASICS

*Television Studies: The Basics* provides a thorough overview of central debates in the field of television studies, and draws from a range of examples across the world.

Elana Levine, *University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, USA*

Miller has pulled off the trick of writing something for both the student and the connoisseur, for combining an informed review of the field with bursts of genuine originality. In the terminology of his subject, this is a must-read TV guide.

Justin Lewis, *University of Cardiff, UK*

*Television Studies: The Basics* is a lively introduction to the study of a powerful medium. It examines the major theories and debates surrounding production and reception over the years and considers both the role and future of television.

Topics covered include:

- broadcasting history and technology
- institutions and ownership
- genre and content
- audiences.

Complete with global case studies, questions for discussion, and suggestions for further reading, this is an invaluable and engaging resource for those interested in how to study television.

**Toby Miller** is Professor of Media & Cultural Studies at the University of California, Riverside.

# The Basics

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# TELEVISION STUDIES

# THE BASICS

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# INTRODUCTION

## THE TELEVISUAL SUBLIME

Television. Maybe it was all a study in the art of mummification. The effect of the medium is so evanescent that those who work in its time apparatus feel the need to preserve themselves, delivering their bodies to be lacquered and trussed, sprayed with the rarest of pressurized jellies, all to one end, a release from the perilous context of time.

(Don De Lillo 1994: 136)

The discovery and use of, let us say, radium had a profound effect in medical methods. Properly used it was a boon to mankind. Improperly used it killed. In this respect, television is like radium but with one difference – radium is rare; television is exactly the opposite, for it is destined to encompass the world. With the passing of every day this genie is growing bigger and stronger.

(Richard Whittaker Hubbell 1942: 223)

In theory, democracy begs for the ear. In action, it challenges the eye.

(David Sarnoff 2004: 309)

A spectre haunts television: the Internet.

(Paul Attallah 2007: 346)

What *is* television? It stands for so many things, in so many contexts, for so many different people that the answer could cover a dozen books. A short list might include fun, boredom, public service, profit, sport, action, news, men, the United States, movies, color, disaster, routine, poisonous fumes, toxic parts, sweated manufacture, and ragpicker recycling. TV is an object produced in a factory



that is distributed physically (via transportation) and virtually (via advertising). At that point it transmogrifies into a fashion statement, a privileged (or damned) piece of furniture that is there to be stared at. Audiences are the opium of television – it craves them, longing to control their time and space. When they become sick of it, their set becomes outmoded junk, full of poisons and pollutants in search of a dumping ground. In short, television has a physical existence, a history of material production and consumption, in addition to its renown as a site for making meaning. It is “an entertainment medium; a scientific phenomenon; a multifaceted industry ... a feature of modern *public* life which has a place in nearly every *private* home” (Stokes 2000: 1).

Television is very old, despite the fact that very few viewers existed until the 1950s, and, *pace* the quotation immediately above, vast numbers still don't own a set; in West Africa, for example, it remains basically an urban phenomenon (Osei-Hwere 2008: 180). In what sense, then, has TV been around so long and in so many locations? Because people have always fantasized about transmitting and receiving sounds and images across space via a box. Richard Whittaker Hubbell made the point by publishing a book in 1942 (before almost anyone possessed a TV) entitled *4000 Years of Television*. The device even has its own patron saint, Clare of Assisi, a teen runaway from the thirteenth century who became the first Franciscan nun and was canonized in 1958 for her bedridden vision of images from a midnight mass cast upon the wall. Centuries later, Pius XII declared that this was the world's first broadcast (Berger 2002; Pattenden 2008).

So television has long been part of our fantasy structure. In 1879, a *Punch* magazine cartoon imagined a husband and wife seated in front of their wide-screen set, watching mixed-doubles tennis (Settel and Laas 1969: 10). The idea was even connected to the telephone from the latter's beginnings in the 1870s, when Alexander Graham Bell envisaged sending images through his new invention (Uricchio 2008: 290). Yet we think it's novel to hear “Your television is ringing” (Standage 2006)! The word “television” was coined by the Russian academic Constantin Perskyi at the 1900 Paris International Electricity Congress. His hybrid etymology – using both Greek and Latin to name an apparatus that could bring sight from far away – nicely encapsulates the slightly

illegitimate nature of TV (Lange 2003). Hugo Gernsback, editor of the first science-fiction magazine, wrote an article for *Modern Electrics* in 1909 that proposed television should be a two-way device. He envisaged it as “two mirrors” linked electrically. The complex, multi-sited development of televisual technologies in the 1920s and 1930s saw manifold conflicts of both people and methods – mad-cap and hyper-rational inventors pitched against and alongside corporations; governments and companies circling one another over who would control the coming marvel; debates over whether radio would dwarf and ultimately destroy TV; different nation-states vying to be “first” with a functioning, competitive apparatus; and scientists struggling over whether optical-mechanical or electronic-scan lines would make the best images and most reliable devices (Uricchio 2008: 297).

In the Hollywood movie *Murder By Television* (Clifford Sanforth 1935), large media companies covet the new technology, but are confounded by its inventor, Professor Houghland. He refuses to obtain a patent, because he wants to sequester television from conventional notions of property so that it can become “something more than another form of entertainment.” Houghland puts on a grand demonstration, joining people across the US, then taking them live to Paris, London, and an unnamed Asian city. It’s all part of a grand design to “make of this earth a paradise we’ve all envisioned but have never seen.” But just at Houghland’s moment of triumph, when TV seems set to assure “the preservation of humanity” and “make of this earth a paradise,” he is killed on-screen. A doctor secretly involved with “foreign governments” (a cable to him in code is signed “J. V. S.” – Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin’s initials) uses the sound of a telephone ringing back in his office to radiate waves that merge with great spirals emanating from the television set to create an “interstellar frequency ... a death ray.” The message is clear: Houghland’s invention incorporates the best and the worst of human thought and guile, and the mystery of modern life; his public-broadcasting, not-for-profit model cannot be cordoned off from capitalism; and his invention can enter the minds of spectators to control their thoughts and harm them.

As TV came close to realization, it attracted intense critical speculation. In a 1930 edition of the *Daily Worker*, a socialist newspaper, activist Samuel Brody argued that television in the US

would seek to pacify audiences through “the same authentic lies” as cinema. Conversely, the Soviet Union would deploy television to “build socialism and a better world for the laboring masses” (1988: 106).

In 1935, aesthetics philosopher Rudolf Arnheim wrote a “Forecast of Television.” He predicted that it would offer viewers simultaneous global experiences, from railway disasters, professorial addresses, and town meetings to boxing title-fights, dance bands, carnivals, and aerial mountain views – a spectacular montage of Athens, Broadway, and Vesuvius. TV could surpass the limitations of linguistic competence and interpretation. It might even bring global peace by showing spectators that “we are located as one among many.” But this was no naive welcome. Arnheim warned that “television is a new, hard test of our wisdom.” The emergent medium’s easy access to knowledge would either enrich its viewers, stimulating an informed public, vibrant and active – or impoverish them, manufacturing an indolent audience, domesticated and passive (Arnheim 1969: 160–3).

Two years later, Barrett C. Kiesling said “it is with fear and trembling that the author approaches the controversial subject of television” (1937: 278), while the noted children’s writer and essayist E.B. White argued in 1938 that it was “going to be the test of the modern world” (1997: 2). David Sarnoff, President of RCA, poured millions of dollars into research and development to “bring to the home a complete means of instantaneous participation in the sights and sounds of the outer world” (1942), and Adolph Bolm from the Ballets Russes welcomed television, because “to the dancer, the choreographer, and the painter it offers something unique” (1942). Hubbell praised TV’s potential to “make a classroom of an entire nation” and teach the public “fine arts, surgery, or extinguishing fire bombs” (1942: 221). (Does this remind you of today’s cybertarian claims about the Internet, by any chance?)

Hubbell saw the emergence of television as “a story of time and space annihilated, telescoped into the pulse beat of an electron.” It had the potential to “create or consume entire nations” (1942: 9). White thought the new “peephole of science” would transport us “beyond the range of our vision,” to reveal “either a new and unbearable disturbance of our general peace or a saving radiance in

the sky: We shall stand or fall by television – of that I am quite sure” (1997: 2). Sarnoff hoped for “the greatest opportunity ever given us for creating close ties of understanding among the peoples of the world” (2004: 310). At the same time, he warned that TV’s location “in the intimate background of one’s home” made it “a far more powerful force than anything we have yet known,” with the capacity to transmit “propaganda intended to arouse racial animosities, religious hatreds, and destructive class struggles” (1942). By 1949, the notion of a joyously interactive system of electric two-way mirrors was reimagined as a system of centralized surveillance and domination in George Orwell’s *1984* (1977). Pope Pius XII issued an encyclical letter in 1957 admiring television’s capacity to communicate “the news, thoughts and usages of every nation” as “food for the mind especially during the hours of recreation.” TV offered the Vatican a means of uniting “the worldwide flock with its Supreme Pastor.” But unless it was “subjected to the sweet yoke of Christ,” the new technology might be a “source of countless evils,” by enslaving viewers’ minds.

These hopes and concerns have never really gone away. The first international multi-sited television program, 1967’s *Our World*, reached 400 million people across thirty-one countries, most famously debuting The Beatles’ “All You Need is Love,” a stinging critique of US and Soviet imperialism. But even here, there were limitations to the utopia, because First, Second, and Third World political-economic differences restricted participation in the broadcast (Bignell and Fickers 2008a: 28; Parks 2005). On the other side of the ledger, right up to the 1970s, apartheid South Africa prohibited TV on the grounds that it would dilute the Afrikaner way of life, indoctrinate viewers into Marxism, and encourage liberation for blacks (Boateng 2008: 194–5). This utopic/dystopic oscillation is comically captured in Glen David Gold’s novel *Carter Beats the Devil* (2001), where a young magician must battle Satan for control of television and preserve its eccentric inventor, Philo T. Farnsworth (who in real life had the invention wrested from him for corporate capitalism by RCA’s Vladimir Zworykin).

This diabolical struggle often shames viewers as well as critics. Consider this Ivy League professor recalling New Haven follies of 1953:

In those days a Yale faculty member who owned a television set lived dangerously. In the midst of an academic community, he lived in sin. Nevertheless, in an act of defiance, we put our television set in the living room instead of the basement or the garage where most of the faculty kept theirs, and we weathered the disapprobation of colleagues who did not own or would not admit to owning this fascinating but forbidden instrument.

(Silber 1968: 113)

Half-a-century later, Argentina's *Ciudad* says: "Demonizar la televisión es parte de la lógica del medio" ["Demonizing television is part of the logic of the medium"] (Iribarren 2005).

Why has this essentially domestic entertainment device caused so much anxiety? Perhaps because it was the first technology to stream images and sounds into domestic as well as public space, TV has received the greatest attention (largely critical) of any cultural medium: in the eloquent words of its first great scholar, Dallas Smythe, television channels an immense "flow of representations of the human condition" (1954: 143). Most programs are dedicated to entertainment, and that focus, along with the ease of use and the double pull of vision and sound, have long produced embarrassment and even shame – for producers as well as viewers. The Director-General of the BBC at the time the new medium was becoming popular, William Haley, refused to have a set in his own home, and instructed TV executives to ensure viewers did not watch it much. This ambivalence was shared across the Atlantic: it is rumored that Jack Warner insisted that television sets never be part of Warner Bros. movies' *mises-en-scène* (though TV became a profitable home for washed-up movies, washed-up stars, and recovering and non-recovering studio alcoholics) (Airey 2004; Attallah 2007: 326; Becker 2008). Consider this exchange in Alfred Hitchcock's *Dial M for Murder* (1954):

TONY: You write for the radio, don't you?

MARK: No, television; for my sins.

US producer David Susskind confided to 1950s readers of *Life* magazine that he was "mad at TV because I really love it and it's lousy. It's a very beautiful woman who looks abominable" (quoted in

Schramm *et al.* 1961: 3). This sexist metaphor exemplifies the seemingly ineradicable binary opposition of televisual uplift versus televisual degradation. Such dreams and concerns about TV have never receded. Fifty years later, Fox Entertainment president and former NBC executive Kevin Reilly said: “NBC is like the crazy ex-wife I can’t get away from” (quoted in Friedman 2009b).

And women were central to corporate calculations about TV from the very first, because they were expected to spend more time in the home than other potential viewers. In the early days of tuning sets, it was thought they would be unable to cope with the technical challenges of reception. Then there was the question of the unpaid labor they were doing in the home – how could that crucial economic and social service continue while they fell captive to commercials? The US strategy, which became orthodoxy elsewhere, was to drop plans for reconstructing the cinema in the home. Earlier assumptions about television repeating the immersive world of movies – lights off, full attention, and immobility – were rejected in favor of a distracted experience. Like radio, TV would be just one aspect of home life alongside demanding children, husbands, and tasks. Its visuals would reinforce a message that could be understood in another room or while doing chores – the volume would go up when the commercials came on (Morley 2007: 277).

These discourses about the emerging device and its broadcasts have formed a lasting trend, which I call the “televisual sublime.” In his 1954 testimony before an anti-leftist hearing held by the US Atomic Energy Commission, the noted physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer, who led the group that had developed the atomic bomb, and which ironically included many progressives like himself who were soon removed from office, talked about the instrumental rationality that animated the people who created this awesome technology. Once these scientists saw that it was feasible, the bomb’s impact diminished in intellectual and emotional significance. They had been overtaken by the “technically sweet” quality of the technology (United States Atomic Energy Commission 1954: 81).

This “technically sweet” element is part of the love of new technology, the drive for innovation, early adoption, and the mix of the sublime – the awesome, the ineffable, the uncontrollable, the powerful – with the beautiful – the approachable, the attractive, the pliant, the soothing. In philosophical aesthetics, the

sublime and the beautiful are generally regarded as opposites. The unique quality of consumer technology, especially television, has been to combine them. This is true at an industrial as well as an experiential level; many of the companies involved in developing then broadcasting TV, such as Westinghouse, General Electric, and Du Pont, also participated in the development of nuclear energy and weaponry – and advertised *on* TV from the earliest days. The US Advertising Council even sponsored television's coverage of bomb tests in 1952, under the auspices of the Atomic Energy Commission (Nelson 1992: 12, 37, 42, 44).

As it spread around the globe after World War II, TV became the most important cultural and political device in people's homes. Ever since, there has been widespread cultural anxiety at the supposed lack of "active choice" entailed in watching it (Carson 1983). The famous twentieth-century architect Frank Lloyd Wright called television "Chewing gum for the eyes" (quoted in Kellner 1990: 1). Novelist and attorney Andrew Vachss' hard-bitten, damaged criminal Burke, denizen of Manhattan's underworld, says: "If America is a nation of sheep, TV is the shepherd" (2006: 132). White Dot: The International Campaign Against Television ([whitedot.org](http://whitedot.org)) peddles keychains designed to turn off any set, and signs for restaurants boasting that they do not have TVs. It invites people who grew up before television to publish their memories online of that "better" time. And Wilco's noted album *Kicking Television* (2005) sets up live music as a means of losing one's addiction to the apparatus. In Philip Roth's *The Dying Animal* (the inspiration for Isabel Coixet's 2008 feature film, *Elegy*), David Kepesh, a professor and cultural critic, defines himself and his tastes in opposition to popular culture. Kepesh bitterly, glibly inveighs against "TV doing what it does best: the triumph of trivialization over tragedy" (2002: 145). But his philandering with graduate students, he realizes, relies not on his sagacity but its platform – television itself, where he presents a regular slot avowing how dreadful TV is (2002: 1)! In *From Russia, With Love*, James Bond's faithful housekeeper, May Maxwell, calls it "the sinful thing" (Fleming 1984: 92). But away from her monitorial gaze in *You Only Live Twice*, Bond finds a consoling feeling of modernity in his Kyoto hotel room thanks to a crime series (Fleming 1964: 117). The same logocentric interdependence on what is both loathed and loved,

the sublime and the beautiful, can be seen in the snobbery that creates hierarchies within the industry – HBO promotes itself with the slogan: “It’s not television. It’s HBO.”

Educators are often greatly afeared of television. A slew of studies seeking to account for the alienation between college students and their professors places the blame for student disinterest in pedagogy on the popular, and especially TV, which is held responsible for “prolonged immaturity” (Bauerlein 2006: B8; Lasch 1979: 226–8). Britain’s Association of Teachers and Lecturers surveyed 800 members in 2009 on this subject, and gleaned the following:

66 per cent said that *Big Brother* [2000–] was the programme that caused most poor behaviour among pupils, closely followed by *Little Britain* [2003–] at 61 per cent and *EastEnders* [1985–] at 43 per cent. Staff say these programmes led to general rudeness, such as answering back, mimicking, using retorts and TV catch-phrases (mentioned by 88 per cent), and swearing or using inappropriate language (mentioned by 82 per cent). Aggressive behaviour was highlighted by 74 per cent of those surveyed, and sexually inappropriate behaviour by 43 per cent.

([atl.org.uk/media-office/media-archive/Inappropriate-behaviour.asp](http://atl.org.uk/media-office/media-archive/Inappropriate-behaviour.asp))

Neil Postman’s *Amusing Ourselves to Death* (1987) tropes Aldous Huxley to condemn popular culture, especially television. Postman favored writing and reading over filming and watching. He contrasted a lost past of creative civilization with a pesky present of dishpan dross dominated by mindless consumerist entertainment. *Amusing Ourselves to Death* sold over 200,000 copies and was translated into several languages. It inspired a Roger Waters album (*Amused to Death* (1992)) and public-broadcasting debates in Canada and the US, became a memorable phrase in the English language, and made its author a noted figure within the media, where, Kepesh-like, he would appear on television denouncing the very forum that opened up to him.

Postman’s argument against technology was made at a personal level, with his own subjectivity a guarantor of its validity – he famously wrote in longhand and declined to type. (Of course, that meant others performed such labor on his behalf.) He wouldn’t use



social-science or semiotic methods to analyze television. In fact he declined to deploy most academic knowledge about TV, apart from work done by his own inspirations, mentors, or students, paying virtually no heed to media, cultural, or communication studies. For instance, John Fiske and John Hartley's *Reading Television* (1980), which preceded his own success by several years and sold over 100,000 copies across seven languages, may as well never have happened. But the work Postman did fits into a very powerful critique of television. Alive only to shifts in the forces of production, he occupied a determinedly anti-Marxist frame that disavowed labor and conflict. His contempt for ordinary people as audiences, and his valorization of a better day long gone, effortlessly buys into nostalgia. Postman's allegedly halcyon era – the mid-nineteenth century – saw women disenfranchised, African-Americans enslaved, and the culture he favored being delivered by, to, and for white, property-owning men. In short, his better day was the supposedly quiet, deliberative domain before the crowd expressed itself. Yet this wistful, willful nostalgia continues to draw people into its mythic historical vision.

Policy-makers, too, are troubled by the people's device. The US-based Trilateral Commission, a foundation of corporate leaders and coin-operated intellectuals dedicated to strengthening capitalist societies, was founded in 1973 to solve, *inter alia*, the problem of awkwardly ungovernable populations in the era of TV. The Commission argued that television promoted an adversarial approach to political culture, emphasizing difference and debate rather than legitimacy and leadership. It distinguished a need for order from a need for democracy. TV was found wanting because it had made excessive contributions on behalf of the latter. Neoconservative and neoliberal critics continue to warn that it has become anti-free-enterprise, anti-family, anti-development, and anti-authority. The leading bourgeois economist Jagdish Bhagwati is convinced that television is partly to "blame" for global grass-roots activism against globalization, since it makes people identify with those suffering from capitalism. Bhagwati deems this TV empathy to be counter-productive, because it has not led to rational action (i.e. support for the neoclassical economic policies he supports, which many would say caused the problem). But he also maintains that television can be a savior! There is no need to litigate against companies that

pollute the environment, or impose sanctions on states that enslave children, because “in today’s world of CNN . . . multinationals and their host governments cannot afford to alienate their constituencies” (Bhagwati 2002: 4, 6).

On the left, TV is frequently identified as a crucial component of advanced capitalism, a site for delimiting, molding, and controlling people’s needs, and ensuring routinely high levels of consumption. Television is the key point of articulation between the requirements of a massively complicated economic system and the daily lives of people whose individual patterns of purchasing and laboring both service and are serviced *by* it. It is an effective device of ideological mystification, where economic travail in search of meeting basic needs is never adequately addressed, and viewers are subject to a false consciousness of happiness through the presentation of misleading versions of what their lives should be like. For feminists and anti-racists, TV is often derided for the demeaning, inaccurate, and stereotypical ways that it represents women and minorities (Kellner 1990; Miller 2002).

Of course, many people say TV is finished today, that it no longer matters. The rhetoric of newer audiovisual media is inflected with the phenomenological awe of a precocious child set to heal the wounds of modern life, magically reconciling public and private, labor and leisure, commerce and culture, citizenship and consumption. The alleged upshot? It’s *La fin de la télévision* [*The End of Television*] (Missika 2006) or *La televisión ha muerto* [*Television is dead*] (De Silva 2000) and the Internet is the future. The grand organizer of daily life over half a century has lost its pride of place in the physical layout of the home and the daily order of drama and data. We must all say “Bienvenidos al mundo de la postelevisión” [“Welcome to the post-television world”], where dual monopolies have been broken: the physical object no longer dominates, and nor does its model of unidirectional production. TV has lost its identity (Verón 2008).

Yet the evidence for such claims is sparse and thin. Historically, it is true that most new media have supplanted earlier ones as central organs of authority or pleasure, as per books versus speeches, films versus plays, and records versus performances. But TV blended all of them, becoming a warehouse of contemporary culture that converged what had gone before (Newcomb 2005,

110; Standage 2006). It is true that the corporate music industry is shrinking due to the Internet, with double-digit decreases in compact-disc sales over the last decade, and that the Internet is displacing newspapers in the Global North as a key source of political and commercial information. But corporate and public TV continue to grow by every indicator imaginable (Friedman 2008d; Pew Research Center 2008; Spangler 2009). Television still occupies vast amounts of people's time and money, because it delivers information and entertainment with astonishing speed and ease. The early signs are that the Internet and TV will transform one another. After all, what are computer and telephone screens based on as entertainment forms anyway? In the words of Steve Ballmer, Microsoft's chief executive, "we will see TVs become more sophisticated and more connected. The boundary between the PC and the TV will dissolve" (quoted in Moses 2009; for more on the company's views, see Microsoft 2009). Similarly, *La Tempestad's* 2008 dossier on the subject asked: "¿Está en la televisión el futuro del cine?" ["Does the future of cinema lie in TV?"].

Consider the United States, often a harbinger of media futures (for better or worse); as the editors of *A European Television History* put it, "American television becomes a horizon towards which all television seems to progress" (Bignell and Fickers 2008a: 4). In 2006, more than 98 percent of US homes had at least one set, while 64 percent had cable, up twenty points in twenty years. Consumers spent US\$20 billion buying new TVs that year. By 2007, 51 percent of people owned three or more (the proportion was 44 percent in Britain) (Motion Picture Association of America 2007: 35, 37; Borland and Hansen 2007; Ellis 2007: 40). In 2008, the number of US households owning televisions increased by 1.5 percent, with particularly significant growth among migrants and their recent descendants. Of the top 100 brands recognized by residents in 2009, sixteen were TV or film-related, with CNN and MTV in the top ten (Reynolds 2009).

The US population watched more television in 2005 than a decade earlier – *an hour more* than in that basically pre-web era. In 2007, AOL Television and the Associated Press polled US residents on their viewing habits. Over one-quarter of the population said they watched more than three hours a day, while 13 percent watched more than thirty hours a week, up five points on 2005.

TV is more popular than ever. Ratings disclose that the average household watched eight and a quarter hours of television daily, and individuals four and a half hours in 2006 – record numbers. And in 2008, the statistically most significant change in leisure activities was the increase in time watching TV. Even the venerable (if un-venerated) Academy Awards saw a ratings increase of 13 percent in 2009 (“Precious Little Time” 2008; “What Impact” 2008; Grindstaff and Turow 2006: 119; “Nielsen Media” 2006; Cabletelevision Advertising Bureau 2007; Rash 2009).

In the US, children between the ages of six and fourteen are tuned to television at rates unprecedented for twenty years; 69 percent of them have sets in their bedrooms, versus 18 percent with Internet access and 49 percent owning or subscribing to video-games (Pew Research Center 2005). Those aged between two and eleven watched 17.34 hours of TV a week in 2006, an increase on the previous year; in Britain, they watch more than fifteen hours. The keenest viewers are young girls. They quite like new technology, and adopt it at a frenetic pace – but “TV is king,” in the words of The Tubes’ album *Remote Control* (1979) (Downey 2007a; Ofcom 2009: 109; Friedman 2009h).

The average US resident watched 127 and a quarter hours of television a month in 2006, as opposed to spending twenty-six-and-a-half hours online and two-and-a-quarter hours with their cells; in 2009, 93 percent of adults watched at least an hour of TV a day, but just 4 percent watched an hour of video online each day. Video texts are mostly consumed on television and in real time: time-shifting occupies 5 percent of spectators, and the same proportion of cell-phone owners watch video on them. People under the age of twenty-four spend fewer hours on the Internet than older users, but watch more video. Three-quarters of people have viewed TV at some point or another online – but they spend seventy times more hours a month doing so via a conventional set. Those born between 1984 and 1990, a desirable demographic both commercially and politically because their fundamental desires are not yet formed in terms of preferred brands, choose television over the Internet and the cell-phone, for both entertainment and information. Half the Internet sites that children aged between six and eleven visit attract their attention through advertising on TV or in print. Right across the age spectrum, television is the most

influential advertising medium, and its influence is greater than during the pre-Web period. Hundreds of case studies undertaken over the past two decades confirm that TV is the principal source of raising brand awareness. But as there ceases to be a one-stop location for viewers, the larger stations face huge difficulties in maintaining their level of advertising (“Nielsen Reports Growth” 2008; “Majority of Americans” 2007; Shields 2009; “Nielsen Reports” 2008; “Kids Motivated” 2009; Gonsalves 2008; Neff 2009; Thomasch 2009). In Britain, people turned more and more to television as the twenty-first-century recession deepened, with distinct increases in ratings across 2008, while 94 percent of the population say TV news is their principal resource for understanding both global events and local politics (Fitzsimmons 2009; Graf 2008; Ellis 2007: 23; Gray 2009).

During the 2004 US Presidential election, 78 percent of the population followed the campaign on television, up from 70 percent in 2000 (Project for Excellence in Journalism 2005; Pew Research Center for the People & the Press 2005). Political operatives pay heed to this. Between the 2002 and 2006 mid-term elections, and across that 2004 campaign, TV expenditure on political advertising grew from US\$995.5 million to US\$1.7 billion – at a time of minimal inflation. That amounted to 80 percent of the growth in broadcasters’ revenue in 2003–4 (vanden Heuvel 2008: 34). The 2002 election saw US\$947 million spent on TV election advertising; 2004 US\$1.55 billion; and 2006 US\$1.72 billion. The correlative numbers for the Internet were US\$5 million in 2002; US\$29 million in 2004; and US\$40 million in 2006 (Gueorguieva 2007). The vast majority of electronic electoral advertising takes place on local TV – 95 percent in 2007 (TNS Media Intelligence 2007; Bachman 2007).

Consider the famous Barack Obama campaign of 2008 and its much-vaunted use of the Internet. The campaign spent the vast majority of its energy and money on television. The Internet was there to raise funds and communicate with supporters. The US Presidency cycles with the summer Olympics, broadcast by General Electric (GE) subsidiary NBC, but few candidates commit funds to commercials in primetime during this epic of capitalist excess, because more powerful homologues of competition vie for screen time – athletes and corporations. Obama, however, took a multi-

million dollar package across the stations owned by GE: NBC (Anglo broadcast), CNBC (business-leech cable), MSNBC (news cable), USA (entertainment cable), Oxygen (women's cable), and Telemundo (Spanish broadcast). TV was on the march, not in retreat: during the 2008 campaign, US\$2.2 billion was spent on TV and less than half a billion on radio, newspapers, magazines, and the Internet combined. On election night, CNN gained 109 percent more viewers than the equivalent evening four years earlier. And the Internet-enabled "citizen's democracy" heralded after Obama's victory? The first three months after his inauguration saw more money spent on political advertising by lobby groups (US\$270 million) than was normally the case in non-election years until September. Why? His reform agenda attracted huge expenditure by left and right on TV commercials addressing energy, labor, the environment, and health (Teinowitz 2008; Atkinson 2008; Gough 2008; Vogel 2009).

What about the old barriers to amateur producers sending and receiving sounds and images across distance? Haven't they been eroded, with YouTube open to all (5.8 billion video streams in January 2009 alone) and television soon to be forgotten? In fact, YouTube videos are the greatest boon imaginable to mainstream US TV. Rather than substituting for television programs, these excerpts and commentaries promote them, promising new business opportunities provided they can be legalized. Although amateur content forms the majority of what is on the service, it is barely watched by contrast with the vastly more popular texts of the culture industries: fifteen of its top twenty search terms are for US TV programs, and there has been a 600 percent increase since 2007 in people watching news videos from the Associated Press, Reuters, and similar corporate services. Along with the English Premier League, the Scottish Premier League, and Rodgers & Hammerstein, MTV's owner, Viacom, sued YouTube for copyright infringement because of the number of their texts that it rescreened. YouTube has been unpopular with advertisers because the amateurish texts are so variable in quality and theme and the professional ones are often illegally reproduced. So its owner, Google, reluctant to continue expending vast sums on server farms for a financially failed service at a loss of half-a-billion dollars a year, set up a new site of premium content, drawing on US TV

and cinema. MTV arranged with MySpace to overlay advertising on clips that it owned, and more and more firms made deals with YouTube to license their texts (Kruitbosch and Nack 2008; Tancer 2009; Donohue 2009; “Hulu Who?” 2009; Vascellaro *et al.* 2009; DeBord 2009; Learmonth 2009a, b; Pace 2008; *Viacom et al. v. YouTube et al.* 07 Civ. 2103).

Television continues to proliferate. There are tens of thousands of broadcast, cable, and satellite TV stations: over 7,000 in Russia; 3,000 in China; 2,700 in the European Union; and 2,200 in the US. Almost 100 million people now subscribe to satellite television, with massive growth in the Global South (Central Intelligence Agency 2007; Euroconsult 2008). And the Global Internet TV portal [global-itv.com](http://global-itv.com) lists over 9,000 stations available on the Web. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the peak body of advanced capitalist democracies from the European Union to Australasia, says that its members have witnessed an explosion of television across the first years of the twenty-first century, mostly via satellite and cable. The number of networks increased from 816 in 2004 to 1,165 in 2006 – 43 percent growth. The amount of time watching TV has also increased. In 2004, people in OECD countries spent one-third of their time using the media watching television and one-fifth online. Although other OECD members exhibit only half the loyalty to TV of US viewers, it remains the most popular medium (2007: 175, 177). European data illustrate the ongoing power of television to attract advertisers. The Internet is growing slowly, and drawing money and people away from print rather than TV (see Table I.2).

In the decade since deregulation opened Europe up to more and more commercial stations and niche channels, viewing has consistently increased across dozens of nations by twenty minutes per day (Open Society 2005). And in the Global South, a “television set (or a better television set) is the main consumer priority for most people” (Straubhaar 2007: 1). In 2007, 2.5 billion people averaged over three hours a day watching TV worldwide (Thussu 2007: 593). In many parts of the world, such as southern Europe, uptake of the Internet remains slow by contrast with the Nordic countries or northern Asia (Microsoft 2009). And consider Argentina, a country on the cusp between the Third and First Worlds in living standards. For young

Table I.1 Average household TV viewing time per day (hours)

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Australia	—	—	—	—	3.3	3.3	3.2	—	—
Austria	2.37	—	2.45	2.47	2.53	2.7	2.68	2.73	2.77
Belgium (Wallonia)	3.33	—	3.47	3.5	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.67	3.83
Canada	3.25	—	3.09	3.07	3.19	3.09	—	—	—
Denmark	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.6	3	3
Finland	2.48	—	2.68	2.8	2.78	2.85	2.88	2.93	2.82
Ireland	—	—	—	—	—	2.6	2.55	—	—
Italy	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.83	4	4.1
Japan	3.56	3.7	3.58	3.75	3.85	3.61	3.7	3.91	3.71
Korea	—	—	—	3.3	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.17	—
New Zealand	2.77	2.83	2.77	2.8	2.8	2.85	2.88	2.88	2.68
Portugal	2.75	2.62	3.37	3.38	3.22	3.08	3.45	3.57	3.53
Spain	—	—	3.73	3.7	3.77	3.92	4.1	3.63	3.62
Sweden	—	2.4	2.38	2.5	2.47	2.45	—	2.52	2.43
Switzerland	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.43	2.47	2.47	2.47	2.45
Turkey	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4	5
United Kingdom	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—
United States	7.2	7.25	7.38	7.52	7.65	7.7	7.92	8.02	8.18

Source: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD Communications Outlook 2007: 191, OECD 2007, [www.oecd.org/sti/telecom/outlook](http://www.oecd.org/sti/telecom/outlook)).



Table I.2 Developments in advertising market shares for different media types in Europe (%)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Television	31.6	31.9	32.7	33.2	33.7	33.8	34.1	34.6
Newspapers	35.0	34.0	33.1	32.3	31.9	31.7	31.3	30.8
Magazines	20.1	20.4	20.0	19.5	18.9	18.6	18.4	18.1
Billboards	6.1	6.5	6.6	6.7	6.6	6.6	6.6	6.6
Radio	5.0	5.0	5.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	6.0
Internet	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.7	2.2	2.7	2.9	3.1
Cinema	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9

Source: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD Communications Outlook 2007: 192, OECD 2007, [www.oecd.org/sti/telecom/outlook](http://www.oecd.org/sti/telecom/outlook)).

people, television is by far the medium with the greatest credibility and use – just one in twenty adolescents privilege the Internet for social and political knowledge (Morduchowicz 2008: 114, 116). The fear is that rather than being “hiper-conectados” [“hyper-connected”] people are really “hiper-segmentados e hiper-individualizados” [“hyper-segmented and hyper-individuated”] (Carboni and López 2008). In the case of Brazil, one of the world’s largest economies and populations, 68 percent of people have never used the Web, while South Africa has seen the spread of television-set ownership amongst black citizens with the spread of electricity (Nigro 2008; Becker and González de Bustamante 2009: 57; van Vuuren 2004: 11).

TV is expanding the kinds of spaces where it is seen, as well. Wal-Mart, the largest retail chain in the world, has its own network, broadcast over 3,000 stores in the US; 140 corporations advertise on its six channels. The model has been emulated in China, Brazil, and Britain (“How Not” 2008). India is seeing an explosion of channels and networks, just as it is with newspapers (one more instance where cybertarians are as inaccurate as they are solipsistic in saying papers are dying out). And the core customers in the explosion of South Asian television advertising? Car manufacturers – they increased expenditure by 29 percent in 2008 and dominate the national scene (one more instance where cybertarians are as inaccurate as they are solipsistic in saying car advertising is

dying out). The vaunted Indian film industry has entered the television warehouse, with big and little stars alike charging toward TV, and television actors brokering their way into cinema through mass exposure. The glamour of the industry is increasing at the same rate as its size and reach (Kamat 2009; “Overview” 2009). China has gone from fifty sets in 1958 to over 500 million today (Feng *et al.* 2008). In Brazil, about 200 sets in 1950 grew to the point where 98 percent of the nation has access. The huge TV network Globo continues to dominate public-interest knowledge – 42 percent of households with sets are tuned to its nightly news (Becker and González de Bustamante 2009: 45; Porto 2007: 368).

So it is silly to see the Internet in opposition to television; each is one more way of sending and receiving the other. The fact is that television is becoming *more* popular, not less. It is here to stay, whether we like it or not. I suspect that we are witnessing a *transformation* of TV, rather than its demise. What started in most countries as a *broadcast, national* medium, dominated by the state, is being transformed into a *cable, satellite, Internet, and international* medium, dominated by commerce – but still called “television.” And it can shift beyond this narrative, as per the reintroduction of state ownership in twenty-first-century Russia, or the BBC winning audiences away from commercial systems and revolutionizing online viewing. A TV-like screen, located in domestic and public *spaces*, and transmitting signs from other *places*, will probably be the future.

This little book aims to help you understand television by providing a brief tour of the field of knowledge dedicated to TV. *Television Studies: The Basics* explains television theory, in Chapter 1; institutions, in Chapter 2; content, in Chapter 3; audiences, in Chapter 4; renovating TV studies, in Chapter 5; and the future, in the Conclusion. Some books about the study of television focus almost exclusively on what other academics have to say. I think that’s worth knowing, but ideas about TV – and research into it – are produced by regulators, pediatricians, journalists, judges, viewers, activists, advertisers, producers, churches, women’s groups, and governments as well as scholars. So you won’t find endless references in this book to academic theorists, as if they alone constituted the field of knowledge about television. I’m concerned to show you how to study TV, not just cite professors.

Chapter 1 notes that television studies draws on a variety of theories and methods: ethnography to investigate production and reception; experimentation and clinical observation to connect watching television and subsequent conduct; textual and audience interpretation to speculate on psychological processes; content analysis to evaluate programming in terms of generic patterns; textual analysis to identify ideological tenor; and political economy to examine ownership, control, regulation, and international exchange.

Chapter 2 outlines the history of TV technology, the emergence of television around the world, and the role of the state, business, and labor in its development. We'll investigate public- and private-sector models, Third-World television, and the arrival of new technology, addressing regulation, deregulation, and globalization.

Chapter 3 highlights TV genres from the medium's origins to today; from the comprehensive service that provided sport, news, weather, music, comedy, and drama to contemporary stations dedicated to single kinds of programming.

Chapter 4 looks at television audiences as objects of anxiety, desire, and control via research instruments derived from communication studies, sociology, demography, the psy-function (psychoanalysis, psychology, and psychiatry), and marketing. These methods have been used by various constituencies: regulators, the psy-function itself, religionists, propagandists, and, above all, capital.

Chapter 5 offers examples of how to do TV studies by analyzing policies, programs, and topics. It draws on what has been outlined in previous chapters to offer some practical applications that should prove valuable across these three key domains.

The Conclusion thinks about the future of television. New digital environments, specifically telephones, PCs, and the Web, are transforming TV. Just as they are modeled on it, so television tries to look like them. Television tries to play well with others, as it learnt to do with earlier rivals such as radio and film.

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- (1) Is television very new or very old?
- (2) Have early predictions about TV come true?

- (3) How does television's history resemble the promises and panics associated with the Internet?
- (4) What is the televisual sublime?
- (5) Is TV over?

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